

SAPIENTIA ET ELOQUENTIA

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VOLUME 11

SAPIENTIA ET ELOQUENTIA
Meaning and Function in Liturgical
Poetry, Music, Drama, and Biblical
Commentary in the Middle Ages

Edited by

Gunilla Iversen and Nicolas Bell



BREPOLS

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Sapientia et eloquentia : meaning and function in
liturgical poetry, music, drama, and biblical commentary in
the Middle Ages. -- (Disputatio ; v. 11)

1. Bible--Homiletical use--History--To 1500.

2. Liturgical drama--History and criticism. 3. Drama,
Medieval--History and criticism. 4. Liturgy and poetry--
History--To 1500. 5. Church music--15th century.

I. Series II. Iversen, Gunilla. III. Bell, Nicolas.

264'00902-dc22

ISBN-13: 9782503520575

© 2009, Brepols Publishers n.v., Turnhout, Belgium

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D/2009/0095/74

ISBN: 978- 2-503-52057-5

Printed in the E.U. on acid-free paper

*Et quod in toto cantico,
hoc in singulis particulis eius fit atque in singulis syllabis eius,
hoc in actione longiore,
 cuius forte particula est illud canticum,
hoc in tota vita hominis,
 cuius partes sunt omnes actiones hominis,
hoc in toto saeculo filiorum hominum,
 cuius partes sunt omnes vitae hominum.*

(Augustine, *Confessiones*, XI.28)

(What occurs in the psalm as a whole occurs in its particular pieces and its individual syllables. The same is true of a longer action in which perhaps that psalm is a part.

It is also valid of the entire life of an individual person, where all actions are parts of a whole, and of the total history of 'the sons of men' [Ps. 30. 20] where all human lives are but parts.)

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The contributors to this book were all members of the project *Sapientia — Eloquentia*, financed by the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation (Riksbankens Jubileumsfond, Kulturvetenskapliga donationen), and we offer warm thanks to Dr Kjell Blücker, who has represented the Foundation and been a constantly supportive adviser. The project was led by Prof. Gunilla Iversen and based at the Department for French, Italian, and Classical Languages at Stockholm University. The members of the project met regularly to discuss the work in progress in, among other places, Sigtuna, Stockholm, Tyresö, Paris, and Cambridge. Many thanks are due to Prof. Dominique Iogna-Prat, who most generously invited us to meet for a final working session in October 2005 at the Centre d'études médiévales, Auxerre.

Among the many scholars who have assisted in the research of the project through fruitful scholarly discussions and in countless other ways, particular mention must be made of Prof. Dr Rainer Berndt, Hugo von St-Viktor Institut, Mainz; Prof. Pascale Bourgain, École des Chartes, Paris; Prof. Leonard Boyle, O.P.†; Prof. Susan Boynton, Columbia University, New York; Elisabeth Clavée, Musée National du Moyen Âge, Paris; Prof. ém. Jacques Colette, University of Paris I–Panthéon-Sorbonne; Prof. Anders Cullhed, Stockholm University; Prof. Gilbert Dahan, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris; Prof. François Dolbeau, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris; Marie-Thérèse Gousset, Bibliothèque nationale de France; Michael Gullick; Prof. Pierre-Marie Gy, O.P.†; Benkt-Erik Hedin; Viviane Huchard†; Docent Brian Møller Jensen, Stockholm University; Brigitte Lesne, Centre de musique médiévale, Paris; Prof. Rosamond McKittrick, University of Cambridge; Docent Päivi Mehtonen, University of Tampere; Prof. Constant Mews, Monash University; Prof. Eric Palazzo, Centre d'études supérieures de civilisation médiévale, Poitiers; Prof. Susan Rankin, University of

Cambridge; Prof. ém. Pierre Riché, University of Paris X–Nanterre; and Dr Tessa Webber, University of Cambridge.

We should also like to thank the libraries and archives that have allowed us to use and publish manuscript material: the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the British Library, the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds, the Landesbibliothek, Kassel, and the Arxiu Capítular de Girona.

ABBREVIATIONS

Publications

AH	<i>Analecta hymnica medii aevi</i> , ed. by Guido Maria Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry Marriott Bannister, 55 vols (Leipzig: Reisland, 1886–1922); <i>Register</i> , ed. by Max Lütolf, 2 vols in 3 (Bern: Francke, 1978)
AMS	<i>Antiphonale missarum septuplex</i> , ed. by René-Jean Hesbert (Brussels: Vromant, 1935)
CAO	<i>Corpus antiphonalium officii</i> , ed. by René-Jean Hesbert, 6 vols, <i>Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, series maior: Fontes</i> , 7–12 (Rome: Herder, 1963–79)
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis (Turnhout: Brepols, 1966–)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953–)
CLS	Cistercian Liturgy Series (Trappist, KY: Cistercian Publications, 1984–)
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna: Gerold and others, 1866–)
CSM	Corpus Scriptorum de Musica (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1950–)

CT	<i>Corpus troporum</i> , SLS, 21, etc. (1975–)
MGH Concilia	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica: Legum sectio III: Concilia</i> (Hannover: Hahn, 1893–)
MGH Poetae	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica: Poetae latini aevi Carolini</i> , ed. by Ernst Dümmler and others, 4 vols (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881–1923)
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus [...] series graeca</i> , ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 161 vols (Paris: Garnier, 1857–66)
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus [...] series latina</i> , ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Garnier, 1844–64)
PM	<i>Paléographie musicale: les principaux manuscrits de chant grégorien (ambrosien, mozarabe, gallican) publiés en facsimilés phototypiques</i> , ed. by the monks of Solesmes (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre; Tournai: Desclée, 1889–)
SBO	<i>Sancti Bernardi Opera</i> , ed. by J. Leclercq, H. M. Rochais, and others, 8 vols in 9 (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957–77)
SLS	<i>Studia Latina Stockholmiensia</i> (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1952– ; from 2006 published by Stockholm University)

Other Abbreviations

BL	London, British Library
BnF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

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INTRODUCTION

The tension between an ambition to preserve the traditions of our predecessors faithfully and an irresistible, creative wish to replace the old with the new is something we may all experience and recognize, as is the need to find new ways to reuse and adapt the old to fit the demands of new times, places, or contexts. This was surely a conflict experienced by many creative minds in medieval culture. A sense of continuity pervades many texts from the medieval epoch, be they commentaries, poetry, or theological or philosophical treatises: the same metrical form, the same image, the same biblical *figura*, the same ornamental device, may be found occurring and recurring in ever new variations and transformations. Take, for instance, the poetic form of the Sapphic strophe, transferred from Greek lyrics into Latin by such poets as Catullus and Horace and later transformed for use in liturgical poetry by Fortunatus in the sixth century, by Sedulius Scottus in the ninth, by Peter Abelard, Peter the Venerable, and Bernard of Clairvaux in the twelfth century, as well as by innumerable anonymous Christian Latin authors throughout the Middle Ages. Or consider the Old Testament figure of the lion cub, *catulus leonis*, sleeping for three days until woken by the roar of his father, that was used as a figure of Christ awakening from death after three days. St Augustine evoked this biblical figure, and many centuries later it was taken up again, in the ninth century by such authors as John Scottus Eriugena and in the tenth by being added to the chants of the Mass by the composers of liturgical tropes. Again the story resurfaces in the twelfth century in the work of Abelard, who plays with the figure in a series of hymns for his new monastic foundation of the Paraclete; meanwhile, the Victorine poets, in their new, systematic biblical exegesis, use the image of the risen lion, for instance in the Easter sequence *Zima vetus*. It is the same old image, but presented in new forms and used in new ways. A comparable situation obtains in the musical traditions of the

church, where the oral transmission of chant melodies depended on the recording and repetition of known formulas and their adaptation to new musical habits and compositions.

Scientia, in many medieval explanations of the branches of knowledge, is divided into *sapientia* and *eloquentia*. Without wishing to tie ourselves in this volume to any particular writer's understanding of the further divisions and understandings of these two concepts, we will use this commonplace distinction as a conceptual basis to epitomize the frames of mind which saw old, mainly monastic, forms develop in new directions. *Sapientia* is observable in the old ways of reading, singing, glossing, and commenting on biblical, liturgical, and other texts, and influenced the *eloquentia* of what was created by the new generation of authors schooled by the new masters in the twelfth century and after. The intention of this book has been to explore and try to shed further light on changes in functions, forms, and interpretations of various genres of liturgical poetry and representational (or dramatic) devotions, primarily from the ninth to twelfth centuries, as well as of medieval interpretations of liturgical and biblical poetry in commentaries from the twelfth to fifteenth centuries. We have also tried to identify changes in the relationship between poetry and music in theory and practice that begin to take place in the transition from a largely monastic culture to a new, scholastic culture in twelfth-century Europe.

It is immediately evident that both this liturgical poetry and the commentary literature to which it gave rise were influenced by the fact that their authors lived in a fruitful tension between two parallel and at the same time opposite literary traditions, one based on classical Latin literature and the other, the new Christian tradition, deeply influenced by texts of Hebrew and Greek origin. The former literary tradition was cultivated in the study of grammar and rhetoric among the *artes liberales*, in what we might call a didactic sphere, that is, a sphere in which the Homeric metre dominates, and where Virgil's *Aeneid* is taught as the first and predominant Latin text. On the other side stands a new literary Latin culture building on holy scripture and a Hebrew tradition cultivated in a liturgical and spiritual sphere. In this liturgical sphere the 150 Psalms constitute the basic text to be learned by heart, beside the books of the Old Testament prophets and the apostles, the canticles, and the Apocalypse.

When studying how the poetic experience has been explained and treated in Western culture, it becomes quickly evident that poetry has not always been perceived as a single genre among many, but as a basic expression of the experience of the human condition. This experience is the human discovery of the self in the presence of the ineffable. Poetry and individual religious experiences, poetry

and the divine, poetry and silence, poetry and transcendence, consequently constitute important conceptual fields in research of this kind. In the presence of the ineffable it is possible to pronounce words which in themselves preserve the ineffable, or to transcend them through explanatory words. This tension forms a central part of the Christian tradition and received its fundamental expression in medieval culture.

Among the writings of early monastic culture, many texts in our eyes best classified as poetry were regarded as exegetical or liturgical expressions formed according to biblical and rhetorical models. *Poetry* was a word used to refer to a language in metre, or in a pejorative sense to something made up or false, to *fictiones*. An obvious difficulty arises in the creation of new liturgical poetry and in its interpretation of its place and function, in terms of its propriety alongside biblical poetry such as the Song of Songs or the Lamentations. It seems that we are today more open to reconsider as poetry many of the hymns, sequences, processional antiphons, versified Offices, and tropes that were cultivated mainly in a monastic context in the ninth to twelfth centuries.

Liturgy itself was treated as a sacred poem full of hidden meaning, and became, like the *sacra pagina*, the object of elaborate interpretation and exposition by innumerable authors. Among the first generations of Carolingian commentators, the liturgy became the subject of allegorical and symbolic interpretation. Many writers, notably Amalarius of Metz or Hraban Maur and their followers, produced penetrating and suggestive interpretations of all the different parts of the liturgy. Later on, commentaries on liturgical poetry became a genre in their own right.

Textual interpretation in the form of tropes commenting on the biblical words of the chants can be seen as a form of sung gloss to the liturgical celebration. Early sequences often seem to function as a means of transforming into corporeal vocal expression the meaning of the originally Hebrew word *Alleluia*. Smaragdus of St Mihiel, in his commentary on the Rule of Benedict, *Diadema monachorum*, describes the ideal of monastic reading and singing in the ninth century, and in a passage cited in the first chapter below, he writes that the most important thing is not to bring sound to the ears but light to the heart. To affect the mind, the words must be sung. The poetry sung in the solemn celebration of the liturgy was regarded as an act of devotion and prayer, an expression of joyful praise. In singing, the biblical words of the chants and the added verses were transformed into a vocal manifestation, performed by the voice, perceived through the voice, and learned through vocal imitation. In an Augustinian tradition, the music, the wordless melisma, is the best way to express what the words cannot say plainly. The words are loudly pronounced in resounding song, perceived by the ear and

kept in the heart. It is noteworthy that both ‘word’ and ‘voice’ are designated by the word *vox* and that the sounding note and even the melody can be named *vox* as well. Naturally the words of the Psalms, and especially of Psalms 148–50, greatly influenced the language of the new liturgical poetry. In view of the great importance of the performance of liturgical poetry it is little surprise that certain authors, such as Regino of Prüm in the late ninth century, had located *poetria* under the discipline of music rather than of grammar or rhetoric.

In texts such as those treated in the following chapters, medieval authors in different ways develop the art of biblical interpretation, revealing hidden meaning in the *sacra pagina*. It seems that biblical interpretation in early monastic culture had more strength in the suggestive flow of biblical association than in the logical clarity and precision that came to dominate the later, scholastic tradition. In both periods the words of Douglas Kelly in his book *The Arts of Poetry and Prose* are applicable:

Ultimately, we seek to discover the literary and aesthetic expectations of the Middle Ages, and, more precisely, the extent to which those expectations determined how one wrote in verse and prose, in various times and places, and on different levels of accomplishment, from elementary versification to masterpiece.

Modern scholars of Latin literature have devoted much attention to the authors of the new poetics, the sophisticated masters of the new schools in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and there are a number of studies of authors such as Bernardus Silvestris, Alain de Lille, Geoffrey of Vinsauf, Matthew of Vendôme, John of Garland, and others influenced by the Latin translations of Aristotle’s philosophical and logical works and, later, by the Latin translation of his *Poetics*. Other scholars have limited themselves to liturgical genres such as tropes and sequences, or the representational texts grouped under the heading of convenience ‘liturgical drama’, and have mostly concentrated on material from before the end of the twelfth century.

In general, however, the literary and poetic writings represented in the two cultures of the earlier medieval period that we here categorize, albeit simplistically, as ‘monastic’ and ‘prescholastic’, or rather the writings belonging respectively to a liturgical and a didactic sphere, have been studied separately and not in relationship to one another. There are many reasons for this division in modern scholarship. Unlike the poetry of the early *auctores* and Church Fathers, such as the Ambrosian hymns and processional antiphons, or the verses of Venantius Fortunatus, Hilary of Poitiers, or Gottschalk of Orbais, which were often also copied into books studied in the *artes liberales*, the larger portion of liturgical texts in verse, such as tropes and sequences, is normally found in liturgical manuscripts

placed among the *libri divini* together with biblical and liturgical books as well as expositions and commentaries of biblical texts. They were thereby separated in medieval libraries and catalogues from texts found in the *libri liberales*, and they often remain separate in modern libraries and catalogues, under the rubric 'Liturgy'.

In this volume we will present and analyse medieval liturgical 'functional poetry' as well as commentaries and glosses on these poetic genres that belong to a monastic and prescholastic culture and that serve to connect the liturgical and didactic spheres. By using the term *liturgical poetry* we consciously seek to underline that these new creations were sung in the context of the central and fundamental cultural manifestation of Christian culture, the solemn celebration of the Mass and Divine Office. Here we find the poetic and musical genres represented by hymns, sequences, and tropes. In the following chapters, we will meet examples of different ways in which medieval authors and musicians could take up old material to use it in new ways. A series of 'case studies' based on specific manuscript sources forms the main core of the book.

We will present and discuss the changing functions and forms of new literary genres in the liturgy, as well as those more loosely connected with but still rooted in it. The case studies are interleaved with free philosophical reflections by Marcia Sá Cavalcante Schuback, which aim to linger on certain essential and fundamental questions underlying the remaining contributions. One of these interpolations, *Nunc et in aevum*, reflects on St Augustine and notions of time, music, and theology, while the other, *Sancta sonantia*, ponders the interaction between 'sounding' and 'meaning'.

In the case studies we will analyse selected texts from the ninth century representing dynamic new creations that came to have a visible influence, proceeding with studies on related material from the twelfth century, and finally thirteenth-century commentaries on early sequence texts. In the anthology a number of the texts analysed in the earlier chapters are presented together with an English translation and in some cases also a musical transcription.

Several manuscripts that have not hitherto been considered in literary studies of the Middle Ages have been used as sources for our discussions. At other times we have preferred to ask new questions when addressing well-known manuscripts, such as the Antiphoner of Charles the Bald (BnF lat. 17436), a ninth-century manuscript often discussed by liturgists and historians but here studied from a new musical and poetic point of view as an early source of sequences. Conversely, the Aquitanian manuscript BnF lat. 1139, earlier studied by musicologists and literary historians, is here considered from a liturgical point of view, while the

troper/proser from Nevers, BnF n.a.lat. 3126, is here treated as an important source as regards the question of the liturgical writings and ideas of Abelard, and in terms of the possible relations between Aquitania, Nevers, and St Victor. The contents of other manuscripts are here discussed in print for the first time, such as one of the manuscripts containing sequence commentaries, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 6. 8, as well as the manuscript sources for Gilbert the Universal's Gloss on the book of Lamentations.

Certain authors are treated in several connected studies in the volume. The writings of Paschasius Radbertus, for instance, appear in Nils Holger Petersen's discussion of the function and meaning of the representation of Christ's body in the Eucharistic elements, then in Gunilla Iversen's analysis of the function of singing in liturgical poetry, as well as in Alexander Andrée's comparative study of the commentaries on the book of Lamentations by Paschasius and Gilbert the Universal. Abelard is likewise treated in several chapters, though not here as a writer of dialectic and theology so much as a creator of liturgical texts.

The first two case studies focus on new musical and poetic creations for the liturgy in the ninth century. In the chapter '*Psallite regi nostro, psallite*' Gunilla Iversen analyses various interpretations and functions of the singing of 'Alleluia' and of the presence of the *maiestas domini* in ninth-century poetry, while Marie-Noël Colette's chapter on 'The Place and Function of Music in a Liturgical Context' takes up musical questions arising in the earliest witnesses of sequences and *versus ad sequentias*, including the Antiphoner of Charles the Bald.

The procedure of transforming an old text into a new form, adapted to a new time and setting, is analysed in Alexander Andrée's chapter, 'From *Propheta plangens* to *Rethor divinus*', which discusses a twelfth-century text, Gilbert the Universal's Gloss on Lamentations, in the context of the new forms of biblical commentary and gloss from this time that led in due course to the creation of a *Glossa ordinaria* in the works of the masters of Laon and St Victor. In Gilbert's gloss, the old commentary text of Paschasius Radbertus in the ninth century is reinterpreted and remodelled into a new form, reflecting a renewed use of rhetorical devices in biblical glosses.

Abelard's creation of a new monastic liturgy for the Convent of the Paraclete and his associated writings on liturgical chants will be treated from musical, literary, and liturgical points of view. His verse *Epithalamica*, used as a sequence in the Easter liturgy for the Paraclete, is among the new compositions also found in Nevers and Aquitania in the twelfth century treated by Marie-Noël Colette in her chapter on sequences and Latin *lais* in Nevers, Paris, and Aquitania, and by Gunilla Iversen in the chapter 'From *Jubilus* to Learned Exegesis', treating new

liturgical poetry in the twelfth century based on the material in the Nevers manuscript. *Epithalamica* is discussed in more detail by William Flynn in his chapter 'Letters, Liturgy, and Identity', which analyses the liturgical and institutional context for which it was written, following Abelard and Heloise's discussions of the liturgical texts to be used in the Paraclete. Another well-known composition that has earlier been treated from a literary and dramatic point of view but is here studied by Nils Holger Petersen in a devotional and theological context is the text known today as *Sponsus*, found in a twelfth-century Aquitanian manuscript. His aim is to set the medieval traditions conventionally understood by modern scholarship as 'liturgical drama' in a more recent discourse of liturgical and biblical representation.

The *De institutione musica* of Boethius was the standard text for the study of music throughout the Middle Ages, and therefore constitutes another means by which we may observe changing responses to a fixed text over time. References to Boethius's treatise are found in the writings of many other music theorists, and show new ways of using and understanding his text in relation to musical practice. Boethius was read and understood in new ways, his words taken up anew and reinterpreted in later centuries. Here different reinterpretations and uses are treated by Nicolas Bell in his chapter on 'Readings and Interpretations of Boethius's *De institutione musica*'.

A very special and until now unexplored area in the field of medieval Latin literature is represented by sequence commentaries. This material represents a new field for research on medieval thinking and literary and scholarly creations, and is here introduced and analysed by Erika Kihlman in her chapter 'Understanding a Text'. She presents an edition of a thirteenth-century commentary on three early sequences, *Alma chorus domini*, *Alle celeste*, and *Ad celebres rex*.

What we have found in these studies contradicts any assumption that an old monastic tradition simply came to be replaced by a new scholastic one in the twelfth century. The various texts discussed transcend the divisions traditionally assigned by such terms as *liturgical*, *didactic*, *prescholastic*, or *scholastic*, as the medieval authors concerned tend to fertilize their writings with traits from both contexts.

It is certainly true that many old pieces in the liturgical repertoires were being replaced by new ones. But what we witness is rather that the old texts, the old melodies, and the old figures are reinterpreted, reorganized, and expressed in new forms in an ambition to present and explain these texts in new ways. Like a colourful phoenix, the old texts are born anew again and again, the same but in a new form.

PSALLITE REGI NOSTRO, PSALLITE:
SINGING 'ALLELUIA' IN
NINTH-CENTURY POETRY

Gunilla Iversen

psallite Deo nostro, psallite
psallite regi nostro, psallite
quoniam rex omnis terrae Deus
psallite sapienter.

(Ps. 46. 7–8)

(Praise God, praise him with psalms.
Praise our king, praise him with psalms.
Since God is the king of all the earth,
Sing praises with wisdom!)

The exhortation in Psalm 46 to sing praises to God, the king of all the earth, and to sing with wisdom may stand as a programme for large parts of new poetic genres cultivated in the dynamic ninth century. It influenced poetic texts to be performed within the liturgy of the Mass as well as poems written to celebrate solemn events or for use as titulus verses in precious books produced for the king. The singing of *Laudes Dei*, or of the long melodies associated with the Alleluia of the Mass, also seems to have been an essential source of inspiration for the poetry created by authors more or less related to the so-called palace school of Charles the Bald.

Charles the Bald, who continued the tradition of his grandfather Charlemagne and his father Louis the Pious, eagerly supported the establishment of new abbeys and promoted monastic conversion.¹ Charles, who was even called 'pater

¹ See Pierre Riché, 'Charles le Chauve et la culture de son temps', in *Jean Scot Érigène et l'histoire de la philosophie*, ed. by René Roques, Colloques internationaux de CNRS, 561 (Paris:

monachorum' and 'monachorum lucerna' by Micon of St Riquier, spent most of his time in monastic establishments.² The King initiated the production of magnificent Bibles and liturgical books and was evidently very much engaged in monastic life in general as well as in the solemn celebration of the liturgy. Among the many abbeys under the special protection of the King, several of which he served as lay abbot, we call to mind St Martin of Tours, St Vaast, Corbie, St Germain d'Auxerre, St Riquier, as well as St Médard in Soissons, Compiègne, and St Denis.³ His influence at St Martial in Limoges was to transform the chapter into an abbey in 848.⁴ He provided the means for the abbeys under his protection to have substantial choirs to perform the liturgical chants, as we will see below. At the same time, the major events of his life were solemnly celebrated, even accompanied by literary divertissements with poems written for the occasion, 'since he was like a philosopher when it came to the arts' (quia erat in litteris quasi philosophus).⁵ Among the best examples are the playful poems of Sedulius Scottus and others in the literary circle around the King, or the early version of the biblical poem *Cena Cypriani*, performed on the day after his coronation as Emperor of Rome at St Peter's in 875.⁶

In the generations after the first Carolingian writers, there were in the ninth century a number of literate persons more or less closely related to the court and the palace school of Charles the Bald.⁷ Among them stood Gottschalk of Orbais, Jonas, Bishop of Autun, and Louis, Abbot of St Denis.⁸ Abbot Smaragdus

CNRS, 1977), pp. 37–46, also Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

² Micon of St Riquier, MGH Poetae, III (1892), ed. by Ludwig Traube, pp. 294–368.

³ See, for instance, Riché, 'Charles le Chauve', and his *Les Carolingiens: une famille qui fit l'Europe* (Paris: Hachette, 1983).

⁴ Jane Martindale, 'Charles the Bald and the Government of the Kingdom of Aquitaine', in *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, ed. by Margaret Gibson and Janet L. Nelson, BAR International Series, 101 (London: BAR, 1981), pp. 109–35.

⁵ *De imperatoria potestate in urbe Roma libellus*, PL, CXXXIX, col. 55; Riché, 'Charles le Chauve', pp. 44–45. All translations are mine unless stated otherwise.

⁶ See 'Iohannis diaconi versiculi de Cenae Cypriani', MGH Poetae, IV, 2 (1914), ed. by Karl Strecker, pp. 857–99. The text of the *Cena Cypriani* is found in the ninth-century manuscript from Compiègne, BnF lat. 17349.

⁷ See Peter Godman, 'Latin Poetry under Charles the Bald and Carolingian Poetry', in *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom* (see n. 4, above), pp. 293–309, and John Marenbon, 'Wulfad, Charles the Bald and John Scottus Eriugena', in *ibid.*, pp. 375–73.

⁸ See Rosamond McKitterick, 'The Palace School of Charles the Bald', in *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom* (see n. 4, above), pp. 385–400.

of Mihiel was connected with the court and taught the princes.⁹ Having assisted Benedict of Aniane in reforming the Benedictine monastic life, he was well established in both monastic and royal milieux, close to the court of Louis the Pious. We know Smaragdus as the author of a commentary on the Rule of Benedict, of the *Diadema monachorum*, a collection of prayers and readings to be used by the monks through the liturgical year, and of the *Via regia*, mainly written for the education of the royal sons.¹⁰ There was Paschasius Radbertus, the learned abbot of Corbie, author of the treatise *De fide spe et caritate*, of numerous poems, and of biblical commentaries such as that on the Lamentations of Jeremiah.¹¹ Lupus of Ferrière, pupil of Hraban Maur in Fulda, who had been installed as abbot of Ferrière by Charles the Bald in 841, is another of the poets related to the court, author of sermons and hymns.¹² Another member of the learned circle of the palace school, Sedulius Scottus, was a central personality in the Irish colony in Liège in the middle of the century, who besides his poetry wrote commentaries on the grammarians Donatus, Priscian, and Eutyches, as well as biblical commentaries. His *Collectaneum* is a florilegium mixing classical and Christian poets, and his name is also attached to a collection of *Proverbia Graecorum*, as well as a *Liber de rectoribus Christianis*, another book for the education of princes.¹³ And, of course, the learned Irish scholar John Scottus Eriugena was a leading figure in the palace school from around the middle of the century. At Charles's request he translated the treatise on the celestial hierarchies attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite. John Scottus was at the same time the author of many poems in Latin and Greek, often mixing the two languages, as well as writing a treatise on predestination, *De predestinatione*, and *Periphyseon*. His pupil Heiric d'Auxerre, also tied to the palace school, wrote the verse life of St Germain at Charles's request.¹⁴

These writers, all more or less closely related to the royal court and the palace school of Charles the Bald, as well as surely several others whom we do not even

⁹ McKitterick, *The Carolingians*, pp. 18–19.

¹⁰ PL, CII; MGH Poetae, I (1881), ed. by E. Dümmler, pp. 607–19.

¹¹ PL, CXX; Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo, I–IV, V–VIII, IX–XII*, ed. by Beda Paulus, CCCM, 56, 56A–B (1977–85); MGH Poetae, III, 45–53. See further the study by Alexander Andrée in the present volume.

¹² PL, CXIX, cols 427–700.

¹³ PL, CIII, cols 9–352; MGH Poetae, III, 154–236; Sedulius Scottus, *Grammatici Hibernici Carolini aevi III and IV*, ed. by Bengt Löfstedt, CCCM, 40B–C (1977); Sedulius Scottus, *Collectaneum miscellaneum*, ed. by D. Simpson and François Dolbeau, CCCM, 67 (1988).

¹⁴ MGH Poetae, III, 421–517.

know by name, represent an intellectual way of life framed in a monastic milieu and lived through the Psalter, but also formed by the study of classical Latin and even the Greek authors. Since the days of Ludwig Traube, studies of Carolingian and post-Carolingian poetry have generally been limited to festive hymns and poems celebrating the king written by identified authors such as these.¹⁵ Despite this formidable roll call, possibly the most innovative poetry of the ninth century is found elsewhere than in these metrical verses written for festive occasions. Many important sources for new types of poetry in this period are found instead in books for use in the liturgy and in a monastic context. It is not enough to state, with Peter Godman, that 'the first and the greatest continuity between Latin poetry under Louis the Pious and Latin poetry under Charles the Bald lay in the pre-eminence of the hagiographical and moral-didactic genres';¹⁶ to these genres we need to add liturgical poetry, and especially the new poetic genres related to the singing of the Psalms and of the Alleluia.

The singing of psalmody naturally formed the core of monastic life in this period. What needs investigation in more detail are the ways in which the daily *cursus* of psalmodic singing was paired with the continued study of classical grammar, and how this influenced the new poetry created by authors with this dual background. The new liturgical poetry is evidently influenced by the fact that its authors lived in a fruitful tension between two parallel — and opposite — literary traditions, one based on classical Latin literature and another, the new Christian tradition, on Hebrew and Greek texts.

Thus, in investigating the literary history of the ninth to eleventh centuries, we must include the literary and musical genres that came to be cultivated for liturgical use, such as *versus ad sequentias*, prosas, and tropes, and those representational texts subsumed under the modern category of liturgical drama, genres that will be the subject of our studies in the present volume. These are poetic genres performed in singing within the framework of a liturgical celebration. The relation between music and text, between melody and words, is developed in new ways in each of these genres and colours the verbal form of the texts.¹⁷ The forms

¹⁵ See, for instance, Peter Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* (London: Duckworth, 1985).

¹⁶ Godman, 'Latin Poetry', p. 301.

¹⁷ See, for instance, Gunilla Iversen, 'Verba canendi in Tropes and Sequences', in *Latin Culture in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings from the Third International Conference on Medieval Latin Studies, Cambridge, 9–12 September 1998*, ed. by Michael W. Herren, C. J. McDonough, and Ross G. Arthur, *Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin*, 5, 2 vols (Turnhout: Brepols,

of versification and metres change; the sound of each syllable becomes important; each syllable is pronounced, effacing the use of elision so important in classical poetry; and the need to obtain a specific final vowel often makes the author break the grammatical rules, for instance by treating a neuter plural as a singular feminine in order to end the line in a final *-a*.¹⁸

The medieval authors evidently never talked about these texts as ‘poetry’. Using terms drawn from the traditional authorities on grammar and rhetoric, they preferred to name their new compositions after their placement and liturgical function, as *prosa*, *sequentia*, *tropus*, *versus*, *antiphona*, *hymnus*, and the like.

In the middle of the ninth century Smaragdus of Mihiel explains the ideal form of monastic singing as an attentive contemplation and rumination of the sacred words, as a physical as much as a mental activity. ‘When we sing the Psalms’, he says, ‘we should not seek the sounds for the ears but the light to the heart’ (non queramus sonum auris sed lumen cordis). Smaragdus explains in his exposition on Psalm 46:

Psallite sapienter id est, non quaeramus sonum auris, sed lumen cordis: et quod lingua cantamus, opere compleamus [...]. Cantat et sapienter, qui quod psallit intellegit. Nemo enim sapienter agit, qui quod operatur non intelligit [...]. Bonum est corde semper orare, bonum etiam sono vocis, Deum spiritualibus hymnis glorificare. Nihil est sola voce canere, sine cordis intentione. Sed sicut ait Apost.: *Commonentes vosmetipsos psalmis, hymnis et canticis spiritualibus, in gratia cantantes in cordibus vestris Deo* [Col. 3. 16]. Hoc est non solum voce sed corde psallentes [...]. Psallendi enim utilitas tristitia corda consolatur, gratiores mentes facit, fastidiosos delectat, inertes exsuscitat, peccatores ad lamenta invitat. Nam quamvis dura sint carnalium corda, statim ut psalmi dulcedo intonuerit, ad affectum pietatis animam eorum inflectit. Dum enim Christianum non vocis modulatio, sed tantum verba divina quae ibi dicuntur, debeant commovere, nescio quo tamen pacto quam modulatione canentis maior nascitur compunctio cordis [...]. Vox enim psalmodiae cum per intentionem cordis agitur, per hanc omnipotenti Deo ad cor iter paratur, ut intentae menti, vel prophetiae mysteria, vel compunctionis gratiam infundat.¹⁹

(*Sing the Psalms with wisdom*, that is, we should not seek the sound heard by the ear but the light of the heart; and what we sing with our tongue we must complete with our deeds. The one who sings wisely understands what he sings. For nobody acts wisely who does not understand what is going on [...]. It is good always to pray from the heart. It is

2001), I, 444–73; also Gunilla Iversen, *Chanter avec les anges: poésie dans la messe médiévale* (Paris: Cerf, 2001).

¹⁸ See Gunilla Iversen, ‘Early Sanctus Tropes: Stylistic and Linguistic Observations’, *Mittel-lateinisches Jahrbuch*, 24 (1989), 185–202.

¹⁹ PL, CII, cols 596C–597A.

also good to glorify God with the sound of the voice in spiritual hymns. To sing with only the voice without the intention of the heart is nothing. But as the apostle says, *Instruct and admonish each other with the utmost wisdom. Sing thankfully in your hearts to God, with psalms and hymns and spiritual songs*. This is to sing not only with the voice but also with the heart [...]. Singing is useful in that it consoles the sorrows of the heart, makes the soul more grateful, brings simple joy to haughty minds, alerts idle minds, and inspires sinners to lament. For however hard the heart of physical persons, as soon as the sweetness of the Psalm begins to sound out, it brings the mind to pious emotion. It is not only the modulation of the voice of Christian singers, but also divine words that are pronounced in singing that should move. In a way, I know not how, the melodic modulation of the singer brings forth a deeper compunction of the heart [...]. For when the voice singing the Psalm is driven by the intention of the heart, a way is opened through this to almighty God, so that he fills the opened soul with the mysteries of prophecy and the grace of compunction.)

Singing is the mental instrument, the organ used to prepare the mind. An absolutely essential trait in this ninth- and tenth-century poetry is that it is performed in singing 'in one voice', *una voce*. The singers in this period would never have perceived the words separated from their melody. A central and paradoxical function of these texts was to express the inexpressible, to pronounce in words what no word can describe. Since the ineffable God can never be described by means of words, the wordless melisma of jubilation, the *iubilus*, had the important function of expressing joy in God. In singing, a concordance between heart and mouth could lead the participants to a deeper, divine experience. The humble heart prepared through compunction sings in harmony with the voice. The wordless melisma and the act of singing now became a most inspiring incitement to compose new texts. This concept constitutes an essential motif in a great deal of the new liturgical poetry, such as tropes and sequences. Singing became a way of lifting up the mind, a way for human singers to join the celestial choirs and sing together with the angels.²⁰

²⁰ See Gunilla Iversen, 'Verba canendi'; *Chanter avec les anges*; 'Fictiones or figurate ornamenta? On the Concept of "Poetry" in the Period of Transition from a Monastic to a Scholastic Culture', in *Signs of Change: Transformations of Christian Traditions and their Representation in the Arts, 1000–2000*, ed. by Nils Holger Petersen, Claus Clüver, and Nicolas Bell (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), pp. 341–61, and Gunilla Iversen, 'Liturgisk poesi på 1100-talet: mellan monasticism och skolastik', in *Lund: Medeltida kyrkometropol*, ed. by Per-Olov Ahrén and Anders Jahlert (Lund: Arcus, 2004), pp. 69–103. For a good bibliographical overview of the field, see Lori Kruckenberg, 'Neumatizing the Sequence: Special Performances of Sequences in the Central Middle Ages', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 59 (2006), 243–318.

John Scottus and Sedulius Scottus

The tension between the two poetic spheres, that of the Psalter and that of the classical Latin poets, is illustrated by the Easter poem *De Christo crucifixo* of John Scottus, generally known as *Hellinas Troiasque*. In this famous poem, placed as the introductory verse in a collection of royal poems, the poet praises the triumph of Christ over death in the Resurrection, at the same time celebrating the triumphal return of Charles the Bald from the exile forced on him by Louis the German in 869. As Paul Edward Dutton suggests, it might then have been performed in presence of the King wherever he spent Easter.²¹ In the opening lines of the poem, John Scottus describes the different literary programmes of the classical and the Christian poets:

Hellinas Troiasque suos cantarat Homerus
 Romuleam prolem finxerat ipse Maro;
 At nos caeligenum regis pia facta canamus,
 Continuo cursu quem canit orbis ovans.
 Illis Iliacas flammās subitasque ruinas
 Eroumque MAXAC dicere ludus erat,
 Ast nobis Christum devicto principe mundi
 Sanguine perfusum psallere dulce sonat.
 Illi composito falso sub imagine veri
 Fallere conductis versibus Arcadicis;
 Nobis virtutem patris veramque Sophiam
 Ymnizare licet laudibus eximiis.
 Moysarum cantus, ludos satyrasque loquaques
 Ipsi usus erat plaudere per populos;
 Dicta prophetarum nobis modulamine pulchro
 Consona procedunt cordibus ore fide.
 Nunc igitur Christi videamus summa tropea
 Ac nostrae mentis sidera perspicua.²²

(Homer made songs of his Greeks and of Ilion; Maro himself invented his fictitious song on the son of Romulus. But we will sing the holy facts of the king of heaven, whom the world praises in continuous course [of the Divine Office]. To them it was a play to tell

²¹ See Paul Edward Dutton, 'Eriugena, the Royal Poet', in *Jean Scot écrivain: actes du colloque international, Montréal, 28 août–2 septembre 1983*, ed. by G.-H. Allard, Cahiers d'études médiévales, cahier spécial 1 (Montreal: Bellarmin, 1986), pp. 51–80 (pp. 63–67).

²² PL, CXXX, cols 1221–23; MGH Poetae, III, 527–29.

about the flames and sudden ruins of Ilion and the fights of the heroes. But for us it is to make sweet psalms resound praising Christ wet with blood when the prince of the world was conquered. In feigned composition they lied and deceived by means of learned Arcadian verses under the image of truth. To us it is given to praise in hymns the virtue of the father and the true Wisdom. It was their custom to applaud the songs of the Muses and the playful chatter for the people. Through us, the words of the prophets resound in beautiful unison modulation. Now let us perceive Christ's glorious victory and the clear stars in our soul.)

With the verbs *figere* and *fallere*, John Scottus describes how the classical poets by means of learned artful verses presented false inventions under the cover of truth ('conductis versibus composito falso sub imagine veri'). To describe the works of the Christian poets he uses such terms as *psallere*, *ovans canere*, *dulce sonare*, *ymnizare*, and *laudibus eximiis*, all expressing a continuous sweet singing of praises to God.²³

In a similar way, his contemporary Sedulius Scottus combines a learned Virgilian poetic vocabulary with the musical vocabulary of the commentaries of the Psalter and of prayers in a poem in Sapphic metre on a triumph over the Norman invaders:

Ostriger Iesus super omne regnat
 Quidquid excelsus genitor creavit,
 Stirpe Davidis benedicta proles,
 Gloria nostra,
 Cui rependatur tymiama voti
 Quem celebremus pietatis acta
 Cui melos promat super astra regi
 Fistula laudis.
 Gloriam plausus, modulans 'Osanna',
 Personet patrem genitumque Christum
 Spiritum sanctum: polus, unda, tellus,
 Glorificate.²⁴

(Clothed in purple, Jesus reigns over all, whatever the Father in the highest created. He is the blessed fruit from the stem of David; he is our Glory. To him is due the incense of prayers; him we celebrate through acts of piety; to him, the king over the stars, the flute of praise makes melody resound. The resounding songs of glory, in modulating *Osanna*, praise the Father, Christ the Son, and the Holy Spirit; heaven, sea, and earth sing his glory.)

²³ Peter Dronke has pointed to the possible influence of John Scottus on the vocabulary used in proses, in 'Theologia velut quadam poetria', pp. 243–52.

²⁴ MGH Poetae, III, 209.

The poet here describes Christ as the one who, dressed in purple, reigns over all. To him should ascend 'the incense of prayer', to him 'the flute of praise' should bring forth the song of praise. At the same time, Christ is addressed as *Gloria nostra*, the one who comes from the root of David, here with a learned reflected form of the Hebrew name David. It is notable that Sedulius in this poem for a festive occasion evokes the singing of the liturgical chants, of *Gloria* in triumph and of *Osanna* in sweet modulation, and paraphrases the Psalms in exhorting heaven, sea, and earth to glorify and sing a new song to the Lord.

In another poem written for the reception of Bishop Franco, Sedulius uses a similar vocabulary, mixing the inspiration of the classical muses with the Psalms of David:

Fistula nostra sonet, melicis et concinat odis,
 Musis organizans fistula nostra sonet.
 Dulce sonate melos, sollemnica ducite festa:
 Dulcis adest pastor: dulce sonate melos
 [...]
 Cunctus ovans populus nunc 'Alleluia' canat
 Promit 'Osanna novum' cunctus ovans populus.²⁵

(Let our voice resound and let it sing in melodious songs; singing with help of the muses, let our voice resound. Sing the sweet melody; celebrate the feast. The sweet shepherd is here; sing the sweet melody [...]. Now let all the rejoicing people sing Alleluia! Let a new Osanna resound, all the rejoicing people!)

Thus, by the mixture of the biblical vocabulary of the liturgical chants and prayers with the vocabulary of classical poetry, the authors create a new poetry bringing two literary worlds together with a new sense.

Alleluia Sequences in the Antiphoner of Charles the Bald

What was the meaning and function of this singing of the Alleluia? What effects did the double textual training in the Psalter and in classical Homeric poetry in the monastic educational system have on the new liturgical poetry in the ninth century? Did the specific importance given to the melismatic singing of the Alleluia affect the words and syllables that were to carry the notes of the melismas? In our attempts to find some answers to these questions we will use as a basis for

²⁵ Sedulius Scottus, *De adventu Franconis Episcopi*, MGH Poetae, III, 185.

our investigation one of the finest liturgical books and Bibles produced for King Charles the Bald in the 870s, namely the so-called Antiphoner of Charles the Bald (BnF lat. 17436).²⁶ Among all other interesting material for the Divine Office and Mass, this well-known manuscript also contains a series of intriguing examples of new liturgical poetry provided with musical notation that has not earlier been examined in detail.²⁷

Let us first place the manuscript in its time and place. It seems clear that it was produced in the 870s and that it is connected with the solemn dedication of the Royal Abbey Church of the Virgin Mary in Compiègne that was celebrated in presence of the King on 5 May 877. In this precious chapel Charles the Bald evidently desired to create a parallel to the church dedicated to the Virgin Mary in Aachen by his grandfather Charlemagne.²⁸ According to the royal acts, Charles the Bald had provided this new royal abbey church with rich treasures and the means for one hundred clerics ('clericos inibi numero centum') to celebrate the daily liturgy:

Proinde quia divae recordationis imperator, avus scilicet Karolus, cui divina providentia monarchiam totius hujus imperii conferre dignata est, in palatio Aquensi cappellam in honore beate Dei genitricis et virginis Mariae construxisse ac clericos inibi Domino ob sue anime remedium atque peccaminum absolutionem pariterque ob dignitatem apices imperialis deservire constituisse ac congerie quamplurima reliquiarum eundem locum sacrasse multiplicibusque ornamentis excoluisse dinoscitur, nos quoque morem illius imitari ceterorumque regum et imperatorum, decessorum scilicet nostrorum, cupientes, cum pars illa regni nobis sorte divisionis nondum contigerit infra tamen potestate nostre dicionem in palatio videlicet Compendio, in honore gloriose Dei genitricis ac

²⁶ See CAO and AMS; also Michel Huglo, 'Observations codicologiques sur l'antiphonaire de Compiègne (Paris, B.N. lat. 17436)', in *De musica et cantu: Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper, Helmut Huckle zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Peter Cahn and Ann-Katrin Heimer, Schriftenreihe der Frankfurter Musikhochschule, 1 (Hildesheim: Olms, 1993), pp. 117–30 (repr. in Michel Huglo, *Les Sources du plain-chant et de la musique médiévale*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 800 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), art. XII, and Eric Palazzo, *Le Moyen Âge: des origines au XIII^e siècle*, Histoire des livres liturgiques (Paris: Beauchesne, 1993), pp. 90, 101.

²⁷ I am deeply grateful to Marie-Noël Colette, who first invited me to join her in studying the music of this manuscript. Some first fruits were published in Marie-Noël Colette, 'Séquences et *versus ad sequentias* dans l'Antiphonaire de Charles le Chauve (Paris, BnF lat. 17436)', *Revue de musicologie*, 89 (2003), 5–29, and Gunilla Iversen, 'Rex in hac aula: réflexions sur les séquences de l'Antiphonaire de Charles le Chauve (Paris, BnF lat. 17436)', *Revue de musicologie*, 89 (2003), 31–45.

²⁸ The collegiate church was only later dedicated to Sts Cornelius and Cyprian (see BnF lat. 18297, fols 7^r–14^r); this explains their absence from the manuscript (see CAO, I, p. xix).

perpetue semper virginis Marie monasterium cui regium vocabulum dedimus fundotenus extruximus et donariis quamplurimis Domino juvante ditavimus, atque clericos inibi numero centum, pro statu sanctae Dei Ecclesie, pro genitoribus ac progenitoribus nostris, pro nobis, conjuge et prole proque totius regni stabilitate jugiter Domini misericordiam implorare decrevimus.²⁹

(Further, since it known that the emperor in divine commemoration, that is my grandfather Charles, to whom the divine providence deigned to give the sole power of this entire kingdom, in the palace of Aachen had built a chapel in honour of the Virgin Mary, the blessed mother of God, and that he, for the salvation of his soul and absolution from sins and for the dignity of the imperial crown had instituted clerics to serve the Lord there, and that he consecrated the place with a large amount of relics and provided it with manifold ornaments. Since also we wish to imitate his example and that of our other late kings and emperors, now that this part of the kingdom is no longer in our dominion, we have built a new Chapel that we call royal, in the palace of Compiègne in honour of the the glorious mother of God, perpetual virgin Mary, and with God's help enriched it with a great number of donations, as well as a hundred clerics to pray therein for the mercy of the Lord for the dignity of the Church, for our parents and ancestors, for us with wife and sons, and for the stability of our entire kingdom.)

Three different abbeys under the personal protection of the King have been suggested as places of origin for the manuscript: Compiègne, St Médard of Soissons, or St Denis.³⁰ It seems more plausible that it was written in the scriptorium

²⁹ Charles the Bald, *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, Roi de France*, ed. by Georges Tessier, 2 vols (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1943–52), II, 447–54 (p. 451). In the slightly later Annals of St Bertin we read: 'Suis fundavit stipendiis capellam in Compendio monasterio cohaerentem templo sanctae Mariae semper virginis, sanctorumque martyrum Cornelii et Cipriani' (*Les Annales de Saint-Bertin*, ed. by F. Grat and others (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 1964)). See also Janet L. Nelson, 'The Annals of St Bertin', in *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom* (see n. 4, above), pp. 15–36. The annals of St Vaast also report that the chapel was prepared for a royal cult (*cultu regio*). See further May Viellard-Troiekouroff, 'La Chapelle du palais de Charles le Chauve à Compiègne', *Cahiers archéologiques*, 21 (1971), 89–108 (p. 92).

³⁰ Jean Vezin, 'Les Relations entre Saint-Denis et d'autres scriptoria', in *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture*, ed. by Peter Ganz, *Bibliologia*, 3–4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), pp. 17–40, and Jean Vezin, 'Les Manuscrits copiés à Saint-Denis en France pendant l'époque carolingienne', in *Paris et Île-de-France: mémoires*, 32 (Paris: Fédération des sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Paris et de l'Île-de-France, 1981), pp. 273–87. See also Ritva Jacobsson, 'The Antiphoner of Compiègne, Paris, BNF lat. 17436', in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages*, ed. by Margot Fassler and Rebecca Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 147–78. Referring to Huglo, Jacobsson suggests (p. 151) that 'perhaps the book had to be finished in order to be presented on a certain day: the solemn dedication of the octagonal chapel of the Royal Abbey of St Médard in Soissons, on 5 May in the year 877'; however, Michel Huglo had written: 'De quelle église s'agit-il sinon de la chapelle octogonale du Palais impérial de Compiègne, dédicacée le

of the chancellery following the King from place to place, and that it might therefore have been completed in Compiègne, the abbey where the King spent most of his time in the last years of his life.³¹ The style of the initials and the borders with their golden acanthus decorations firmly link the manuscript with the royal scriptoria connected with the palace school of Charles the Bald. If not actually donated to the church in connection with the dedication, the manuscript evidently belonged to the books in the private treasury of the King for which he made predispositions before his departure from Compiègne to Italy at the beginning of the summer of 877, providing for them to be divided between St Denis, Notre Dame in Compiègne, and his son Louis.³²

The Antiphoner contains a complete Office for the reception of a king (*de susceptione regum*), and antiphons *de receptione regis* are also found in the gradual section of the manuscript, as we shall see below. The first part of the manuscript, the gradual, contains a number of verses and chants that were not earlier part of the traditional liturgical repertory. As has often been pointed out, it is characterized by a certain eclecticism and was clearly destined for a royal person.³³ In this, it seems similar to other manuscripts produced in connection with the palace school. Rosamond McKitterick has pointed out how 'the texts of the prayers and canticles appear to have been chosen, or composed, specifically for inclusion in the

dimanche 5 mai 877?' ('Observations codicologiques', p. 128). See further Riché, 'Charles le Chauve', pp. 37–46; Percy Ernst Schramm and Florentine Mutherich, *Denkmale der Deutschen Könige und Kaiser* (Munich: Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte in München, 1962), pp. 131, 252; and Andrei N. Grabar and Carl Nordenfalk, *Le Haut Moyen Âge du 4^e au 11^e siècle* (Lausanne: Skira, 1957), p. 154, translated as *Early Medieval Painting from the Fourth to the Eleventh Century* (Lausanne: Skira, 1957), p. 154: 'If [St Denis] is not accepted, an alternative would be the court monastery at Compiègne which Charles the Bald patronized with the same enthusiasm that half a century before his grandfather Charlemagne had shown towards the Palace Chapel at Aachen.'

³¹ This is also the conclusion reached by Rosamond McKitterick: 'The Hofschule atelier was active from, at the very earliest, the mid 860s and the 870s. Compiègne itself was the palace most favoured by Charles the Bald, particularly from the 860s and onward. I should like therefore to revive Nordenfalk's suggestion with regard to the manuscripts and locate the "Hofschule" atelier, as well as the palace school, at Compiègne' ('The Palace School', p. 394). On the chancellery, see McKitterick, *The Carolingians*, pp. 58–59, 115–20, 142.

³² 'Et libri nostri qui in thesauro nostro sunt ab illis sicut dispositum habemus, inter sanctum Dionysium et sanctam Mariam in Compendio et filium nostrum disperiantur': Riché, 'Charles le Chauve', p. 45. See also Rosamond McKitterick, 'Charles the Bald (823–877) and his Library: The Patronage of Learning', *English Historical Review*, 95 (1980), 28–47.

³³ CAO, I, p. xviii.

royal codices'.³⁴ Evidently this open attitude, this freedom not only in the choice of feasts and texts but also in the choice of motifs for the illuminations in the codices made for the King — in short, this eclecticism, seems to be, as McKitterick puts it in another study, 'the distinguishing feature, if one can call it that, of the "Hofschule" group as a whole'.³⁵ In this case, it might be explained as reflecting the needs of the royal court travelling from one abbey to the other. It also reflects a willingness to include pieces that were not generally part of a gradual, such as *titulus* verses, *versus ad sequentias*, processional antiphons, partly formed as dialogues, sequences, proses, and occasional verses, the kinds of text that we will study below. Our attention will be drawn in particular to the five Alleluia sequences inscribed shortly after the completion of the manuscript, apparently in connection with the dedication of the church in Compiègne in 877. Being placed in a prestigious liturgical source from a cultural milieu with deep literary and intellectual interests, these texts might serve as useful examples of sequences tied to the singing of the Alleluia. We will in the following use these items as our point of departure, trying to read them within the literary context of the time. Let us begin, though, with the *titulus* verse that introduces the gradual.

'Gregorius presul'

The gradual opens with a *titulus* verse, *Gregorius presul*, sumptuously framed within a border of acanthus leaves in the manner of other books made for the King, such as the Psalter and the Sacramentary (see Plate 1).³⁶

Gregorius presul
 meritis et nomine dignus
 summum conscendens honorem
 renovavit monumenta patrum priorum
 et composuit hunc libellum
 musice artis scolae cantorum
 per anni circulum.

(Gregory, church leader by merits and dignified by name, ascending to the highest honour, renewed the monuments of earlier Fathers and composed this little book of musical art for the school of singers for the cycle of the year.)

³⁴ McKitterick, *The Carolingians*, p. 268.

³⁵ McKitterick, 'The Palace School', p. 392.

³⁶ See McKitterick, 'Charles the Bald and his Library', pp. 28–47.

The words are taken from a long poem written in hexameters.³⁷ Still, the text as it is presented here is better described as being composed of mainly paroxytone phrases of irregular length dominated by final *-o* or *-u* sounds. This is one of the oldest known liturgical manuscripts to use *Gregorius presul* as a *titulus* verse. But from now on, as we know, this verse came to be used in innumerable books containing liturgical chants, tropes, and sequences, either functioning as an independent verse introducing the entire gradual, as here, or as an introductory trope sung before the first introit antiphon of the liturgical year, *Ad te levavi*.³⁸ The verse attributes to a Pope Gregory the composition of the chants for the feasts of the liturgical year and seems to reflect the particular importance given in the ninth century in Anglo-Saxon and Frankish monastic centres to Gregory the Great.³⁹ The Feast of St Gregory is present in four ninth-century manuscripts edited in Hesbert's *Antiphonale missarum septuplex*, all from West-Frankish regions (Mont Blandin, Compiègne, Corbie, and Senlis), and the feast was well established at St Denis, whereas it is missing in the earliest East-Frankish and Italian sources.⁴⁰

The illumination depicting St Gregory inspired by the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove singing into his ear is central to the spread of the myth that connects Gregory the Great with the composition of liturgical chants. The motif came to be expressed in a large number of manuscripts, for instance the well-known illumination in the Hartker Antiphoner from St Gall a century later.⁴¹ It is, however, noteworthy that this motif is present already in another book produced for Charles the Bald, namely the Sacramentary (BnF lat. 1141) destined to mark the coronation of Charles as King of Lotharingia in 869 but

³⁷ MGH Poetae, IV, 1069–71; for a facsimile of one version of the long text, see PM, II, pl. 3.

³⁸ AH, XLIX, 19–23; CT, I, 102; Iversen, *Chanter avec les anges*, pp. 23–24; David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 510–11.

³⁹ On the central place of the works of Gregory the Great in Anglo-Saxon and Frankish libraries in the ninth century, see, for instance, McKitterick, *The Carolingians*, p. 180 n. 50. See also Bruno Stäblein, “Gregorius Praesul”: der Prolog zum römischen Antiphonale, in *Musik und Verlag: Karl Vötterle zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Richard Baum and Wolfgang Rehm (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1968), pp. 537–61, and James McKinnon, ‘Gregorius presul composuit hunc libellum musice artis’, in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, ed. by Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001), pp. 673–94 (here McKinnon proposes Gregorius presul to be Gregory II in the early eighth century).

⁴⁰ Emma Hornby, ‘The Transmission of the Proper Chant for St Gregory: The Eighth-Mode Tract *Beatus vir*’, *Plain song and Medieval Music*, 12 (2003), 97–127.

⁴¹ St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 390/391, the ‘Hartker Antiphoner’, fol. 13^r.

never fully accomplished.⁴² In an illumination on folio 3^r, Gregory is depicted sitting on his throne with the dove transmitting into his ear the inspiration of the Holy Spirit and with a scribe and a dancing singer below him. The illumination is framed with acanthus leaves very similar to those surrounding the verse *Gregorius presul* in the Antiphoner (see Plate 2).

The special importance given to Gregory the Great in these two books can be observed also in other liturgical books made for the King. The prayer book in particular, the earliest of the *Hofschule* manuscripts and written around 860, incorporates among its supplicatory prayers at the beginning of the volume the *Confessio* that Alcuin wrote for Charlemagne. The *Confessio* is here preceded by the prayer of Gregory the Great to be said before confession, and, as McKitterick has noted, this prayer book also contains ‘prayers against visible and invisible enemies (how heartfelt these were, no doubt, in the 860s!)’.⁴³

‘*Summa pia gratia*’

In the Antiphoner we find a similar prayer for help against enemies, but here it is in the form of a sequence fully provided with musical notation, using the type of neumes associated with Metz.⁴⁴ *Summa pia gratia* is a prayer to be saved from the raids of the Vikings (‘de gente fera Normannica’):

<p>1 Summa pia gratia nostra conservando corpora custodita.</p>			
<p>2a De gente fera Normannica nos libera, que nostra vastat Dei regna.</p>	<p>2b Senum iugulat et iuvenum ac virginum puerorum quoque catervam.</p>		

⁴² McKitterick, ‘The Palace School of Charles the Bald’, pp. 389–91; see Palazzo, *Le Moyen Âge*, p. 80.

⁴³ McKitterick, *The Carolingians*, p. 268. See also Robert Deshman, ‘The Exalted Servant: The Ruler Theology of the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald’, *Viator*, 11 (1980), 385–417; David Ganz, ‘The Debate on Predestination’, in *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom* (see n. 4, above), pp. 353–66; and Wilhelm Koehler and Florentine Mûtherich, *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen*, v, 1–2: *Die Hochschule Karls des Kahlen* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1982), pp. 127–31.

⁴⁴ See Colette, ‘Séquences et *versus ad sequentias*’, pp. 6–7.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 3a Repelle, precamur,
cuncta a nobis mala.
Converte, rogamus, Domine,
supplices nos ad te,
Rex glorie, es qui vera
pax, salus, spes et firma. | 3b Dona nobis pacem
atque concordiam.
Largire nobis spem integram,
fidem simul veram.
Karitatem continuam
concede nobis et perfectam. |
| 4a Sanctorum precibus
nos adiuvemur
ad hec impetranda. | 4b De quorum passione
gratulamur
nos gloriosa. |
- 5 Sit laus, pax et gloria
 Trinitati quam maxima
 cuncta per secula.
 Amen.

(Protect our lives with your high pious grace. Liberate us from the fearful Normans who are ravaging our land of God, killing old men and young and virgins and children too. Repel, we pray you, all evil from us. Convert us suppliants, Lord we beg you, all towards you, O king of glory, who is the true peace, salvation, and firm hope. Give us peace and harmony. Bestow on us undiminished hope and true faith. Let us be assisted by the prayers of the saints to obtain this. Let us rejoice over their glorious passion. Be honour, peace, and greatest glory for ever to the Trinity. Amen.)

The general parallel structure, recalling the *parallelismus membrorum* in the poetic of the Psalms, is realized in the format of a- and b-strophes. As with the sequences — or proses — tied to the Alleluia that we will study below, all the strophes end in the final vowel *-a*. The prayer is addressed to the Lord as the king of glory, true peace, salvation, and firm hope, giving praise, peace, and glory, in the same vocabulary as that used in the Alleluia proses that we will meet below. Keeping to the character of a prayer, the author accumulates verbs in imperative form, as in the phrases ‘repelle, precamur’, ‘converte, rogamus’, and ‘dona nobis pacem’. The prayer for peace, hope, faith, and love, using words from I Corinthians 13 — *pacem, concordiam, spem, karitatem* — ends with a doxology and *Amen* in terms of the Sacramentary in general.⁴⁵ At the same time the text recalls the vocabulary used in similar poems deploring the raids of the Vikings, such as Sedulius Scottus’s prayer for help against the vastations of the Normans,⁴⁶

⁴⁵ See *Das Sacramentarium Hadrianum nach dem Aachenener Ur exemplar*, ed. by D. Hans Lietzmann, Liturgiewissenschaftlichen Quellen und Forschungen, 3–4 (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlag, 1921).

⁴⁶ See Sedulius Scottus, *De strage normannorum*, MGH Poetae, III, 208–09. On the raids, see, for instance, Paschasius Radbertus, *Chronicon*, PL, CXXXII, cols 106–10.

but unlike Sedulius's text, *Summa pia gratia* is inscribed in a book of liturgical chants.

If we consider the Antiphoner as originally having belonged to the King's own collection and as being made for liturgical use in the different monastic situations where he stayed, we might better explain the freedom exercised in inserting new pieces like this into the book. This might also explain the series of special processional antiphons inscribed at the end of the gradual, not for the entire liturgical year but for a few particular occasions, such as the antiphons for the reception of a king, for the translation of relics ('Antiphonas ad reliquias deducendas'), and for Easter.⁴⁷ Particularly remarkable in this respect are the unique processional antiphons in dialogue form for Easter.⁴⁸ Recalling phrases from the relevant biblical passages (Matt. 28, Mark 16, Luke 24, and John 20), these texts articulate the dramatic dialogue on Easter morning between the angel (or angels) and the women at the sepulchre:

ANTIPHONAS DE RESURRECTIONE

ANTIPHONA

Stans angelus ad sepulchrum Domini stola claritatis coopertus.

Videntes eum mulieres nimio terrore perterritae adsisterunt.

A longe tunc locutus est angelus.

Dixit eis:

— Nolite metueret.

Dico vobis quia illum, quem queritis mortuum, iam vivit,
et vita omnium cum eo surrexit.

Alleluia. [cf. Mark 16. 5–6]

ANTIPHONA

Maria vidit angelum amictum splendore.

Quem cum lacrimis interrogavit de Christo salvatore:

— Ubi est meus Dominus et Filius Excelsi?

Quid lapis revolutus est ab ore monumento?

— Quem Iudas per osculum ut agnum crucifixit,

Alleluia

Illum quem queris Dominum, surrexit sicut dixit

Alleluia alleluia alleluia. [cf. John 20. 11–12]

⁴⁷ Such a particular demand might also explain the presence in the Antiphoner of the Office of St Médard of Soissons, since the King spent much time in this abbey in the 860s and 870s.

⁴⁸ CAO, I, 223.

ANTIPHONA

Maria et Maria dum venissent ad monumentum,
angeli splendentes apparuerunt dicentes:

— Quid queritis viventem cum mortuis?

Non est hic.

Venite et videte locum ubi iacuit.

Cito euntes dicite discipulis:

Surrexit Christus, qui creavit omnia,

et misertus est nobis humano generi.

Alleluia [cf. Luke 24. 4–5; Mark 28. 5–7]

ANTIPHONA

Longo contrito carcere

Filius Dei, Dominus noster,

resurgens a mortuis

Alleluia Alleluia,

Ostendit apostolis

dura clavorum signa

in membris suis

dicens: Pax vobis,

Alleluia Alleluia,

Quia ego vici mortem et surrexi.

Alleluia Alleluia

Et vos testificate mundo

resurrectionem meam.

Alleluia Alleluia

Et cum dixisset hec verba

illis intuentibus apertis sibi celis

ferebatur in nube

et sedit in throno regni.

Alleluia Alleluia Alleluia.

[cf. Mark 16. 19; Luke 24. 37, 40, and 51; John 20. 19–22]

(An angel stands by the sepulchre clothed in the stole of clarity. When the women perceive him they stand still terrified and filled with fear. Then, from a distance the angel speaks, and says to them: ‘Do not be afraid; I tell you that the dead one whom you are seeking is now alive, and with him the life of everyone has been raised.’)

Mary saw the angel dressed in splendour. In tears she asks him about Christ, the Saviour: ‘Where is my Lord and the Son of the Highest? Why is the stone taken away from sepulchre?’

The one whom Judas through his kiss made to be crucified like a lamb, Alleluia, he, the Lord whom you are seeking has risen, as he foretold. Alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.

When the two Marys had come to the grave, shining angels appeared to them and said: 'Why do you seek the living among the dead? He is not here. Come and see the place where he was lying. Go quickly, and tell the disciples: "Christ is risen! He who has created all and who has compassion for us, for mankind."'

Destroying the mighty prison of death, the son of God, our Lord, has risen from the dead. Alleluia, alleluia. Showing the apostles the fearful signs of the clues in his limbs he said: 'Peace be with you, alleluia, alleluia. For I have conquered death and risen, alleluia, alleluia. You too, bear witness to the world about my resurrection, alleluia, alleluia.' And when he said these words, heaven opened in front of their eyes and he was carried on a cloud and seated on the throne of the Kingdom. Alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.)

In their varied forms, these processional antiphons in the royal Antiphoner serve to re-enact the scene at the sepulchre and the ascension of Christ to the throne of the heavenly kingdom. The first, third, and fourth dialogues are written in structured prose, while the second is in verses of 7pp + 6p.⁴⁹ The dialogues personify different constellations of persons, one angel and the women, Mary and an angel, two Marys and angels, and finally the choir recalling the words of the risen Christ speaking to the apostles. How were these texts performed? Presumably they were enacted within the solemn celebration of Easter by the clerics of the Abbey of the Virgin Mary in Compiègne in the presence of the King in the year 877 (and possibly even in Soissons and St Denis when the King and the royal court celebrated Easter there). As they are presented here they reflect the same ambitions as were expressed in the numerous versions of the famous Easter dialogue *Quem queritis in sepulchro* that in ever varying forms would become a constant part of the Easter liturgy in centuries to come and was developed in the different forms of dramatic representation that will be treated later in the present volume.⁵⁰

Although the scene at the sepulchre is frequently described in liturgical texts for Easter, the precise wording of these early dialogue antiphons seems to be unique to this manuscript.⁵¹ It is noteworthy, though, that the scene with the

⁴⁹ I here follow Dag Norberg's system for denoting the number of syllables in lines of verse; p = paroxytone, pp = propoxytone.

⁵⁰ See CT, III, 217–23; Gunilla Iversen, 'Aspects of the Transmission of the *Quem quaeritis*', *Text: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship*, 3 (1987), 155–82; and Nils Holger Petersen's contribution to the present volume.

⁵¹ Similar but not identical readings are found in the Easter Vespers in the manuscript. See CAO, I, 180–84. Comparable texts from the Office material in the Antiphoner are cited by O. B. Hardison in his study 'Gregorian Easter Vespers and Early Liturgical Drama', in *The Medieval Drama and its Claudelian Revival* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1970), pp. 27–40 (pp. 38–39). Hardison calls the Antiphoner of Compiègne 'Liber Responsorialis'

women and the angel by the open sepulchre is found in another book from around 850 made in the circle of Charles the Bald, namely in the initial *D* in the Sacramentary made for his uncle Bishop Drogo of Metz (see Plate 3).⁵²

Singing 'Alleluia'

Immediately after these antiphons, on the last folios of the gradual part of the Antiphoner (fols 29^r–30^v), five melismatic Alleluia sequences have been written (see Plates 4, 5, and 6). It seems probable, as Marie-Noël Colette has observed, that the scribe began to write on the blank recto side of folio 30, and that he continued to fill in the following sequences on the space left over after the preceding Easter antiphons. They are written by the same hand as one another, possibly by someone tied to the chancellery of the King.⁵³

Four of these sequences are provided with titles of melodies; two are also provided with verses adapted to the melismas, while one has neither title nor verse. As Colette has observed, the verses remind us of the compositions mentioned a few years later by Notker of St Gall.⁵⁴ We recall how, in the preface of his *Liber hymnorum*, from the end of the ninth century, Notker mentions that he had been taught to imitate this kind of composition by the monk who escaped from Jumièges and the raids of the Vikings⁵⁵ — raids like those described in the verse *Summa pia gratia* above.

As may be seen in Plate 6, there is on folio 30^r an Alleluia sequence provided with the verse *Rex in eternum* and melody title 'Fulgens p.', a cue for the Easter

and mistakenly gives it a false number (p. 38). For references to *Maria vidit angelum* and *Maria et Maria*, see Michel Huglo, *Les Manuscrits du processional*, 2 vols, Répertoire international des sources musicales, ser. B, 14 (Munich: Henle, 1999–2004).

⁵² The 'Drogo Sacramentary', BnF lat. 9428, fol. 58^r. See Aina Trotzic, 'L'Apparition du Christ ressuscité à Marie Madeleine et le drame liturgique: étude iconographique', *Revue de musicologie*, 86 (2000), 83–104.

⁵³ Rosamond McKitterick in discussion with the members of the Sapientia project at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, July 2004.

⁵⁴ See Colette, 'Séquences et *versus ad sequentias*', pp. 5–6, 13.

⁵⁵ Wolfram von den Steinen, *Notker der Dichter und seine geistige Welt*, 2 vols (Bern: Francke, 1948); Susan Rankin, 'The Earliest Sources of Notker's Sequences: St Gallen, Vadiana 317, and Paris, BN lat 10587', *Early Music History*, 10 (1991), 201–33; Susan Rankin, 'Ego itaque Notker scripsi', *Revue Bénédictine*, 101 (1991), 267–98; Richard Crocker, *The Early Medieval Sequence* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 1–8.

prose *Fulgens preclara*. This is followed by an Alleluia sequence without verse but with the melody title 'Gloriosa', indicating the prose *Gloriosa dies* for St Stephen. Then follows the Alleluia sequence without verse but with the melody title 'Eia recolamus', which Colette shows below to be the Marian prose *Claris vocibus*. After having filled the recto side, the scribe (perhaps cantor, armarius, trained in the chancellery) seems to have turned back to folio 29^r and used the empty space after the processional antiphons to inscribe an Alleluia sequence with neither verse nor title to help identify it; it will therefore be left to one side at present. Below this, there is an Alleluia sequence with the verse *Suscipe laus angelorum* and a melody with the title 'Adorabo minor' indicating a prose for the dedication of a church, most probably *Letetur et concrepet*, for reasons given below.

The short indications of melody titles must obviously refer to proses known to the singers in the royal abbey choir. This was evidently perfectly clear to the singer in Compiègne at the time, though we distant readers are not able to recover so immediately the precise significance of the indications. The titles may be associated with several sequence melodies and the verses could be part of different proses. For us, the most urgent challenge is to try to detect precisely which proses were intended by the Alleluia melismas with and without *versus ad sequentias*. We must identify proses that follow the same verse-pattern, and that are appropriate to the titles, by comparing the available candidates note by note, syllable by syllable.

The first step in our search to identify the intended proses consists in a musical analysis comparing the melismas with melodies of proses in contemporary and near-contemporary sources that are geographically close, such as manuscripts from Toul, Mainz, Autun, and St Martial in Limoges, all places related to the circle of Charles the Bald, but also in later sources related to these, such as the eleventh-century troper-proser of Moissac, a source in which both music and text are closely related.⁵⁶ We should also make use of other manuscripts from centres further afield but related to the circle of Charles the Bald, such as the contemporaneous manuscript BnF lat. 2373, as well as poetic texts in non-liturgical manuscripts made for the King, and even the poetic texts related to these in eleventh-century manuscripts from St Emmeran in Regensburg, all of which have been used as reference material for the musical and textual analysis.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ In St Martial, the repertory might have also been influenced by the circle around Charles the Bald through Wulfad, who was closely related to John Scottus and from 866 was made Bishop of Bourges through the intervention of the King. See Marenbon, 'Wulfad', pp. 375–80.

⁵⁷ On BnF lat. 2373, which was brought to my attention by Marie-Noël Colette, see further her study in the present volume, pp. 84–89.

As will become apparent, it seems possible to state that the proses in question here are *Fulgens preclara*, *Gloriosa dies adest*, *Claris vocibus*, the unidentified sequence written with neither title nor verses, and finally the sequence *Rex celice* or, more probably, *Letetur et concrepet*.⁵⁸ These early proses, all of them more or less centred on the three-letter-words *rex*, *lux*, *pax*, and *vox*, came to be an established part of the earliest West-Frankish repertoires. A close reading of these early West-Frankish sequences, analysing textual form and vocabulary, identifying central themes and stylistic preferences here and in comparison with related proses, might enable a wider understanding of these texts in a literary and cultural context.

'*Fulgens preclara*', a Sequence for Easter⁵⁹

On folio 30^r, an Alleluia sequence is provided with the verse 'Rex in eternum' belonging to the Easter prose *Fulgens preclara* that is indicated by the title of its melody in the margin.⁶⁰ These are the words of the prose as given in the manuscript:

FULGENS P.

Alleluia

[*melisma*]

Rex in eternum
suscipe benignus
preconia nostra,
[*melisma*]

Victor ubique
morte superata
atque triumphata,
[*melisma*]

⁵⁸ See Colette, 'Séquences et *versus ad sequentias*' and Iversen, 'Rex in hac aula'; also Gunilla Iversen, 'L'Espace sacré et poésie liturgique: proses pour la Dédicace d'une église', in *Cinquante années d'études médiévales: à la confluence de nos disciplines; actes du colloque organisé à l'occasion du cinquantenaire du CESC, Poitiers, 1^{er}–4 septembre 2003*, ed. by Claude Arrignon and others (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 409–22; Gunilla Iversen, 'Poésie liturgique et célébration eucharistique dans des répertoires du neuvième aux treizième siècles', in *Pratiques de l'Eucharistie dans les églises d'Orient et d'Occident (antiquité et moyen âge)*, ed. by Nicole Bériou, Études Augustiniennes (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming), pp. 73–94; and Gunilla Iversen, 'À la recherche d'une poétique de la poésie liturgique: aux alentours de Charles le Chauve', in *Poesia latina medieval (siglos V–XV): actas del IV Congreso del 'Internationale Mittellateinerkomitee', Santiago de Compostela, 12–15 de septiembre de 2002*, ed. by Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz and José M. Díaz de Bustamante (Florence: Sismel/Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2005), pp. 891–903.

⁵⁹ For text, music, and translation, see the anthology in the present volume, no. I.

⁶⁰ See also CAO, I, p. xx.

Ortus de tribu Iuda, leo potens, surrexisti in gloria [melisma]	Regna petens supera, iustis reddens premia in secula. [melisma]
Ergo, pie Christe, nobis dans peccamina, [melisma]	Fac tecum resurgere ad beatam gloriam. [melisma]. ⁶¹

(King in eternity, mildly receive our words, victor who conquered death and triumphed. Coming from the tribe of Judah, mighty lion, you are risen in glory. Returning to the heavenly kingdom, you bring rewards to the righteous in the world. Therefore forgive our sins, let us raise with you to the blessed glory.)

In their form, the short phrases of these verses are similar to the units that constitute the main part of the prose against the Normans, *Summa pia gratia*, discussed above. The phrases are characterized by the formal structure of a traditional prayer: invocation, motivation, and a final supplication.⁶² The opening invocation implores the eternal celestial king and the victorious conqueror of death to listen benevolently to the words of the faithful. Likewise the final supplication to Christ to forgive our sins and let us ascend together to the heavenly glory recalls the form normally used in prayer. The basic rhythm is that of many prayers, a rhythmic adonius, as found in phrases such as ‘nunc et in aevum’, a paroxytone verse of five syllables (5p), or ‘ad beatam gloriam’, a proparoxytone verse of seven syllables (7pp).

All through the text of *Fulgens preclara* the themes of the verse are further expanded. In the anthology of the present volume we give the version as presented with musical notation in Moissac. The prose soon became widespread and is found in ninth-century repertories in a manuscript probably written in Corbie for Mont Renaud, Noyon,⁶³ as well as in the earliest sources from Limoges, Autun, Winchester, and Nevers, but it also soon found its way to Benevento in Italy and Vic in Catalonia.⁶⁴ The text begins in a language underlining the day of resurrection as the day of the risen light:

⁶¹ AH, XLIX, 516.

⁶² See Paul De Clerc, *La Prière universelle*, Liturgiewissenschaftlichen Quellen und Forschungen, 62 (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlag, 1977).

⁶³ See Colette, p. 68, below.

⁶⁴ See AH, VII, 44; AH, LIII, 64, 401; see also Colette, pp. 71–72, below.

1 *Fulgens preclara*

2a	Rutilat per orbem hodie dies, in qua Christi lucida narrantur ovanter prelia	2b	De hoste superbo, quo Iesus triumphavit pulchre castra illius perimens teterrima.
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The words of the paired strophes follow the flow of the melismas. Just as in the *versus*, they all end in the vowel *-a*. This is the format we regard as the usual form of an early West-Frankish sequence.⁶⁵ The form of the phrases is evidently determined by an ambition to make the words carry the notes of the floating Alleluia melisma, and not by a desire to write in a classical metre.

The presence of the prose *Fulgens preclara* in the Antiphoner of Charles the Bald might be related to the royal presence at the celebration of Easter in the new royal chapel of Notre Dame in Compiègne in 877.⁶⁶ The royal theme from the *versus* is now, however, expanded to the Virgin Mary as the heavenly queen, ‘celsa regina illa’ (4a), and the one who gave birth to a king, ‘generans regem’ (4b), while Christ is addressed as ‘felix proles Marie’ (3b), all of which is entirely fitting for a celebration in the royal chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

The paired strophes seem again to reflect the influence of *parallelismus membrorum*, but also the use of contrasts and paradoxes as found in the Hebrew poetics of the Psalms. Eve is opposed to Mary — ‘infelix culpa Eve’, ‘felix proles Marie’ (3a–b) — and the incredulous Jew to the followers of Christ — ‘Iudea incredula’, ‘christicola’ (12a–b). Death is conquered by death, ‘ut mors mortem sic superaret’ (11b), and the fraud of the devil is opposed to the victory of Christ: ‘Zabule, fraus tua’ against ‘Christi victoria’ (10a–b). There are parallisms between ‘talia mysteria’ (11a) and ‘talem gratiam’ (11b), between ‘iudea incredula’ (12a) and ‘christicola’ (12b), ‘consolationem piam’ (14a) and ‘promissionem tuam’ (14b). Finally, there are the contrasting movements, in Christ’s ascension from earth and regression to heaven, ‘ascensionis tue’ (15a) and ‘regressus in celum’ (14b).

This prose has a double liturgical function: it sings the glory of the risen Christ, and it is an intense prayer. The typological figure of the powerful lion from the Old Testament, *Leo potens surrexit*, is of central importance, and the

⁶⁵ See, for instance, Lori A. Kruckenberg-Goldenstein, ‘The Sequence from 1050 to 1150: Study of a Genre in Change’ (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Iowa, 1997); Margot Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

⁶⁶ Charles the Bald celebrated Easter in Compiègne at least in 864, 870, and 877, and Christmas at least in 866, 868, 871, and 874; see Dutton, ‘Eriugena, the Royal Poet’, p. 67 nn. 67 and 68.

prayer is primarily directed to the heavenly king enthroned in heaven, *Rex in aeternum*. Christ is addressed as being the one who comes from the tribe of Judah and as the powerful lion prefigured in Genesis and expressed in the Book of Revelation: ‘catulus leonis Iuda a praeda fili mi ascendisti; requiescens accubuisti ut leo et quasi leaena, quis suscitabit eum’ (Gen. 49. 9); ‘Et unus de senioribus dixit mihi, Ne fleveris, Ecce vicit leo de tribu Iuda radix David’ (Apoc. 5. 5).

The prose expands the image of Christ as the powerful lion to include its contrast, the lamb: he is both *leo* and *agnus*:

9a	Stirpe Davitica Ortus de tribu Iuda, leo potens, surrexisti in gloria Agnus visus est in terra,	9b	Fundens olim arva, Regna petens supera, iustis reddens premia in secula. dignanter ovancia.
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This constellation is already found in an Easter sermon of St Augustine, in the following paradoxical formulation:

Quis est iste agnus et leo? Mitis et fortis, amabilis et terribilis, innocens et potens, tacens iudicatus, fremens iudicaturus.⁶⁷

(Who is this lamb and lion? He is mild and powerful, lovable and terrible, innocent and fierce, silent when he is being judged, roaring when he is judging.)

It seems, however, that the contrast of *leo* and *agnus* is not expressed in liturgical poetry until the time of Charles the Bald. Now it is further developed by such authors as John Scottus in his exposition on the celestial hierarchies, where he explains that the rational power of Christ is expressed in the form of the lion:

Ipsa est leo de tribu Iuda qui vicit mundum ipsiusque principem. In forma quippe leonis fortitudo Christi exprimitur, et furor rationabilis, quo adversantes nobis iniquas potestates, omniaque vitia virtutibus opposita penitusque interimit.⁶⁸

(He is himself the lion from the tribe of Judah who conquered the world and its prince. By the form of the lion the force of Christ is expressed, and his rational power by which he utterly destroys the powerful enemies put up against us and all the vices that oppose the virtues.)

Likewise Sedulius Scottus, in one of his Easter poems, combines the images of Christ as the lion of Judah, as king, and as the risen light:

⁶⁷ Augustine, *Sermo IV de Pascha*, PL, XCIV, col. 829.

⁶⁸ John Scottus Eriugena, *Expositiones in Hierarchiam caelestem*, ed. by J. Barbet, CCCM, 31 (1975), p. 48.

Tu, leo de Iuda, tu, rex, tu splendide Christe,
Vince latebrosas luce nitente strophas.⁶⁹

(You lion of Judah, you king, you splendid Christ, conquer the tricks of darkness with your shining light.)

The Old Testament figure of the lion of Judah, of course, later comes most frequently to be used to describe the risen Christ in tropes and proses for the Easter liturgy.⁷⁰ From the opening words, 'Fulgens preclara rutilans per orbem', the splendour of the feast and of the church is repeatedly underlined: brilliant and filled with glowing light, glowing red like the rising sun, filled with flowers and shining with brilliant gifts: 'fulgens preclara' (1), 'rutilans', 'lucida' (2a), 'florida coruscat hec aula' (or 'florida micat hec aula', 7a), and 'dona fulgida' (7b). There is also the word 'luciflua' (6a) describing Christ's mild clemency as flowing of light. The words used to describe the risen Christ as the risen sun spreading its golden light, well grounded in a tradition from the Ambrosian morning hymns, remind us of the language cultivated by the early Carolingian poets, with such words as *fulget*, *refulget*, *fulgescit*, *micat*, *emicat*, *rutilat*, *rubescit*, *fulgens*, *micans*, and *luce aurea*. We recall, for instance, the Resurrection hymn attributed to Paulinus of Aquileia describing the entire world as shining with a golden light: 'Refulgit omnis luce mundus aurea.'⁷¹ Similar phrases are found in his other hymns, such as the following, all written in verses of 5p + 7pp:⁷²

Refulsit almae dies lucis candidus
partum puellae virginis post aureum
quando supernis filius de sedibus
a patre missus homo nasci voluit,
permansit idem proles alti numinis.⁷³

(This splendid day is shining with blessed light after the golden birth of the Virgin maid, when from the heavenly dwellings the Son sent by the Father was willing to be born in human form, remaining the same son of the high Divinity.)

⁶⁹ AH, I, 175.

⁷⁰ CT, III, 133–35, 219. See Ritva Jacobsson and Leo Treitler, 'Sketching Liturgical Archetypes: *Hodie surrexit leo fortis*', in *De musica et cantu* (see n. 26, above), pp. 157–202.

⁷¹ MGH Poetae, I, 137.

⁷² Dag Norberg, *Introduction à la versification latine médiévale* (Stockholm: University of Stockholm, 1958), pp. 154–55; English edition: *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification*, trans. by Grant C. Roti and Jacqueline de La Chapelle Skubly, ed. and intro. by Jan Ziolkowski (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2004), pp. 105–06.

⁷³ MGH Poetae, I, 138.

Iam nunc per omne lux refulget saeculum,
 Lux illa patris, quae lucet de solio,
 Que fons, origo, splendor lucis aureae
 habensque semper lumen indeficiens
 caelum serenat arcens mundi tenebras.⁷⁴

(Now the light shines forth over the whole world, this light of the Father, the light that shines from the throne; the light that is the fountain and beginning, the splendour of the golden light that shines forth for ever with unfailing light, makes the heaven bright and keeps away the darkness of the world.)

Of particular interest are these lines of the same poet:

Clara refulgent huius templi culmina
 perfusa luce septiformis spiritus,
 Christi rubescunt purpurata sanguine.⁷⁵

(The vaults of this church are filled with the bright, refulgent light of the sevenfold Spirit, glowing red by Christ's purple blood.)

Among the poets tied to the palace school of Charles the Bald, Sedulius Scottus, again, in his Easter poems *Emicat ecce dies* and *Hec est alma dies*, develops the theme of the risen light in a similar way, but this time in elegiac distichs. Following the pattern of Venantius Fortunatus's *Salve festa dies*, he combines the themes of awakening nature in springtime, Christ risen from the dead, and the sun risen from darkness. To these he adds a new theme by ending both poems with reference to the joyful singing of the Alleluia and Hosanna: 'Now let the choir of the Church in the songs of Sion sing "Alleluia", making "Alleluia" resound in their hundredfold tones!':

Surrexit Christus, sol verus, vespere noctis
 Surgit et hinc Domini mystica messis agri
 [...]
 Nunc chorus ecclesiae cantat per cantica Sion
 Alleluia suis centuplicatque tonis.⁷⁶

(Christ has arisen, the true sun from the darkness of the night, and hence rises the Lord's mystic harvest from the earth [...]. Now the singers of the Church in the songs of Sion sing 'Alleluia' and make it hundredfold through their voices.)

⁷⁴ MGH Poetae, I, 140.

⁷⁵ MGH Poetae, I, 141.

⁷⁶ AH, I, 178.

Titan gemmigeri centrum conscendit Olympi,
 Ardens flammivomis emicat, ecce, rotis.
 Victorem celebrat Christum rota fulgida solis,
 Dum fit nocte nitens maior in orbe dies
 [...]

Exsultant celi, letatur terreus orbis,
 Nunc 'Alleluia' centuplicatque tonos.
 Nunc chorus ecclesie hymnizans cantica Sion
 Ad celi superos tollit 'Osanna' polos.⁷⁷

(Titan ascends to the centre of brilliant Olympus and shines forth burning. Behold, of the fiery wheel, the gleaming wheel of the sun celebrates Christ the victor, when from the night the greater daylight comes [...]. The heavens exult, the orb of the earth rejoices and sings 'Alleluia' in hundredfold melodies. Now the choir of the church makes the songs of Sion resound and lifts up 'Hosanna' to the heights of heaven.)

This text evokes the image of the splendour of the Lord spreading over the church radiant with gold and candlelight, the light spreading over the King enthroned in the church as a shining star while the choir of the hundred monks sings. The image is retained in documents describing the event of the dedication of St Mary of Compiègne, where the King, 'pius pater Carolus', is described as spreading his brilliance like a shining star:

Huius ecclesiae fabrica miro lapideo contabulatu constructa [...] pius pater Carolus qui instar coelestis sideris mundo splendebat conspicuus, ubi regia fulvis emicans aula tholis evecta est supremi ad arcem usque culminis, centenisque clericorum satis opinate ornata numeris ac plurimis variarum possessionum dicata de donariis.⁷⁸

(In the artful building of this church constructed of beautiful stones [...] was the pious father Charles who was shining in the world, conspicuous like a heavenly star, where the royal sacred hall was erected with golden cupolas reaching to the arch of the highest summit, richly ornamented with a hundred clerics and provided with multiple donations of various possessions.)

Charles the Bald is depicted in a similar way in other books made for him: as a figure of King David he is enthroned in his church in the presence of the joyfully singing choir. For instance, we read in the *titulus* verses attributed to John Scottus and inscribed in the 'Vivian Bible', presented in 850 by the King to Count Vivian, lay abbot in Tours:

⁷⁷ AH, I, 172.

⁷⁸ PL, CXXIX, col. 1376. See Viellard-Troïekouff, 'La Chapelle du palais', p. 99.

Exulta, letare satis, rex inclite David,
 Egregii, voti compos ubique tui.
 Carle, decus regni, fax cosmi, gloria cleri,
 Ecclesie fautor militieque decor
 [...]
 Rex bone, rex sapiens, rex prudens, rex venerande,
 Rex Carole, alme, vale cum pietatis ope.
 Det tibi sceptrum patris, Iesus, confirmet, adunet,
 Premia sanctorum ut merearis. Amen
 [...]
 O decus, o veneranda salus, o splendide David,
 Rex Carole alme, vige cunctipotentis ope.
 Gloria, laus, honor, omne decens, miseratio clemens,
 Pictus es hic studio artis ab eximio
 [...]
 Fulget ubique locus letitia nimius.⁷⁹

(Exult, rejoice, O fair King David, you creator of excellent songs of praise! Charles, honour of the kingdom, master of the world, glory of the clerics, promoter of the Church and ornament of the army [...]. Good king, wise king, prudent king, venerable king, mild King Charles, be greeted with works of piety. May Jesus give you the sceptre of the Father, confirm you, join you, so that you merit the distinction of the saints. Amen. [...] O pride, venerable salvation, splendid David, mild King Charles, may you flourish with help of the Almighty. Glory, praise, honour, altogether decent, your mild clemency, here you are most artfully depicted [...]. The entire place is shining with the greatest joy.)

When the author of the prose uses the verb *epulamur* in describing the Lamb as the living bread by which the church is nurtured, 'qua epulamur omnes una' (3b), he naturally refers to the biblical sources (John 6. 35, 55–56). He also thereby connects the prose with the communion antiphon of the feast, *Pascha nostrum* (1 Cor. 5. 7–8) and to the Alleluia verses for Easter.⁸⁰ At the same time, though, the phrases combining the image of the King enthroned with that of the Lamb of God as the living bread on which the church is nurtured brings to mind the words on the perpetual bread on which the heavenly hall is nurtured in another influential poem of John Scottus, *Aulae sidereae*. We shall consider this poem in more detail later, but should now at least recall the following lines:

⁷⁹ MGH Poetae, III, 248–50; see Paul Edward Dutton and Eduard Jeunneau, 'The Verses of the "Codex Aureus" of Saint-Emmeram', *Studi medievali*, 3rd ser., 24 (1983), 75–120.

⁸⁰ AMS, 080, 13–15.

Salve sancta domus, panis ditissima patrum,
 Aurea, caelestis, divina fruge referta,
 In qua natus erat, qui sustinet omnia, panis,
 Panis perpetuus, quo vescitur aula superna.⁸¹

(Be greeted, O holy house, the most rich bread of the fathers, golden, celestial, filled with divine virtue, in which is found him who sustains all, who is the bread, the eternal bread on which the heavenly hall is nourished.)

In the prose *Fulgens preclara*, the image of the redeemed church glowing with the red blood of the Lamb, ‘Roseo cruore agni benignissimi empta coruscat haec aula’ (7a), recalls poems in another book made for Charles the Bald, namely the *tituli* verses written by John Scottus to accompany the illuminations in the famous *Codex aureus* in the double illumination showing the King enthroned as Solomon in the splendid hall gazing up to the Lamb (see Plates 7 and 8).

The King seems to be used in this imagery as a visible figure of the invisible, functioning in an impressive enactment of a theological truth that cannot be perceived by the human intellect.⁸² This sacramental perception of the King in the image and poetic creation surrounding it can function as a means for the limited human mind to arrive at a vision of the invisible through visible manifestations.⁸³ Such is the idea formulated by John Scottus in his commentary on the Pseudo-Dionysian treatise on the celestial hierarchies, as in the following passage, for example:

Theologia [...] factitiis, hoc est fictis sanctis imaginationibus, ad significandos divinos intellectus, qui omni figura et forma circumscripta et sensibili carent, usa est; tali namque arte fictarum imaginum animum nostrum revelans vel, ut expressius transferri potest, animo nostro consulens, ipsique animo propria et connaturali reductione, que videlicet ingeniose in imaginibus rerum sensibilibus formatur, que nobis adhuc in carne constitutis connaturales propter delicta nostra sunt providens, ad ipsum, hoc est ad ipsius animi reductionem, sanctas scripturas anagogicas, sursum scilicet animum ducentes, conformavit. Ac si aperte diceret: quemadmodum ars poetica, per fictas fabulas allegoricasque similitudines, moralem doctrinam seu physicam componunt ad humanorum animorum exercitationem — hoc enim proprium est heroïcorum poetarum, qui virorum fortium facta et mores figurate

⁸¹ MGH Poetae, IV, 550–52; see further Michael Herren, ‘Eriugena’s “Aulae Sidereae” in the “Codex Aureus”, and the Palatine School of St Mary at Compiègne’, *Studi medievali*, 3rd ser., 28 (1987), 593–608.

⁸² See also the contributions of Nils Holger Petersen and Marcia Sá Cavalcante Schuback to the present volume.

⁸³ See, for instance, Anne-Orange Poilpré, *Maiestas domini: une image de l’Église en Occident, V^e–IX^e siècle* (Paris: Cerf, 2005), pp. 229–71.

laudant — ita theologia veluti quedam poetria, sanctam scripturam fictis imaginationibus ad consultum nostri animi et reductionem a corporalibus sensibus exterioribus, veluti ex quadam imperfecta pueritia, in rerum intelligibilium perfectam cognitionem, tanquam in quadam interioris homini grandevitatem conformat.⁸⁴

(Theologia [...] uses invented, that is fictive, holy images to signify an understanding of the divine that has neither any figure nor a defined and sensible form. With such an art of fictive images she [Theologia] unveils our mind or, to put it in a more expressive way, takes care of our mind, adapted to the innate reduction of the mind, which is in its nature informed through images of sensible things that are natural to us who are bound in the physical constitution of the flesh for the sake of our sins. Theologia adapting to this reduction of the mind has conformed the holy anagogical scriptures to the mind, leading the mind to be lifted up. It is as if she should say that in the same way as the *ars poetica* composes by means of invented fables and allegorical similitudes the moral or physical instruction to the exitement of human minds — for this is the property of authors of heroic poems who figurately praise the deeds and manners of great men — in this same way Theologia, like a kind of Poetria [the poetic Muse], by means of fictive images conforms the holy scripture to take care of our mind, and reduces from it external, corporeal sensations. It is as though she shapes it from an imperfect puerility into a perfect knowledge of understandable things, as if leading it to a kind of maturity of the inner person.)

We shall return later to this central idea, seemingly so important for the artists connected with the palace school of Charles the Bald, in connection with our reading of the dedication prose in the Antiphoner.

Another trait in the prose *Fulgens preclara* is the expressive use of dialogue, between the singers, soloist, and choir, but above all a dialogue in the same formulations as were found in the Easter antiphons immediately preceding the proses in the manuscript. This may be seen in the rhetorical address in the first-person singular, used in the dramatic phrase ‘Stupens valde in memet iam miror’ (8a). Direct speech in the first and second person recalls that used by Gottschalk of Orbais, another poet in the circle of Charles the Bald, for instance in his poem *Ut quid iubes*.⁸⁵ Furthermore, there are exhortations, as in the imperative form ‘admiramini!’ in the strophe ‘Tribus, linge, admiramini!’ (11), referring to the Ascension and to its introit and offertory antiphon *Viri Galilei, quid admiramini aspicientes in celum* (Acts 1. 11). Other instances are seen in the direct exhortation ‘dic’ followed by a rhetorical question when the faithful triumphantly pronounce, ‘Dic, impie Zabule, quid valet nunc fraus tua?’ (10b); and there are questions: ‘Quis

⁸⁴ John Scottus, *Expositiones*, pp. 23–24; see Dronke, ‘Theologia velut quadam poetria’; Iversen, ‘À la recherche d’une poétique de la poésie liturgique’.

⁸⁵ Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*, pp. 228–32.

audivit talia mysteria?’ (11a), and ‘Iudea incredula, cur manes adhuc inverecunda?’ (12a). Notable in this context is the word ‘christicola’ (12b), already used by early Carolingian writers including Alcuin, but firmly established through the Easter dialogue *Quem queritis in sepulchro, o christicolae*. Again, the final part addressing Christ ascending to heaven covered by a bright shining cloud, ‘nube tectus clara’ (14a–16), recalls the last of the preceding dramatic Easter antiphons: ‘apertis sibi celis ferebatur in nube et sedit in throno regni’.

We have seen how the author of the prose *Fulgens preclara* makes use of parallel structure and paradoxes in the compositional form in the way of the poetic of the Psalms. At the same time the poetic language shows clear connections with that used in many poems of Carolingian poets, and especially those within the learned circle around Charles the Bald. Still, it is not versified in the manner of the classical poets cultivated by the poets of the time in poems glorifying the King as an image of a biblical persona, as found in Bibles and liturgical books as introductions and *tituli* accompanying the illuminations. On the contrary, the form of the phrases is influenced by the flow of the melismatic Alleluia.

*‘Gloriosa dies’, a Prose for St Stephen*⁸⁶

The next in the series of Alleluia sequences in the Antiphoner is the provided with the title ‘Gloriosa’. The title obviously refers to *Gloriosa dies*, a prose for the Feast of St Stephen that came to be widespread in West-Frankish and Italian repertories. *Gloriosa dies* is found, for instance, in early sources from Toul, close to Compiègne, a manuscript dating from the ninth century and the source closest in time to the Antiphoner.⁸⁷ This manuscript may have been brought to St Emmeram together with the *Codex aureus* in the time of King Arnulf.⁸⁸ It also

⁸⁶ For text, music, and translation, see the anthology below, no. II.

⁸⁷ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, c.l.m. 14843, fol. 95^v. This manuscript lacks musical notation, and the version with music in the Moissac manuscript, BnF lat. 1871, fol. 105^{r-v}, includes two further strophes. See Colette’s study in the present volume, p. 70, her facsimile edition, *Tropaire-séquentiaire prosaire prosulaire de Moissac (troisième quart du XI^e siècle): manuscrit Paris, BnF, n.a.lat.1871*, Publications de la Société française de musicologie, 1st ser., 27 (Paris: SFM, 2006), and her recent article, ‘Le Prosulaire de Moissac: Paris, BnF, n.a.lat. 1871, 3^e quart du XI^e siècle’, in *Hortus troporum: florilegium in honorem Gunillae Iversen*, ed. by Alexander Andrée and Erika Kihlman, SLS, 54 (2008), pp. 57–84.

⁸⁸ Roman Hankeln, *Historiae Sancti Dionysii Areopagitae*, Musicological Studies, 65.3 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1998), pp. xxiii–xxiv. See Bernhard Bischoff, ‘Literarisches

belonged to the early repertories of St Alban in Mainz, and of Autun, but also of St Vaast, Limoges, Auch, Nevers, and Moissac.⁸⁹

One reason for the presence of *Gloriosa dies* in the Antiphoner might be that the Feast of the Translation of St Stephen, celebrated on 7 May, could have been celebrated in Compiègne in the presence of the King in May 877.⁹⁰ Relics of St Stephen were kept in Aachen, and Charles may have insisted on creating another parallel to his grandfather's church. Perhaps the presence of the antiphons *De reliquiis deducendis* among the processional antiphons in the Antiphoner is of relevance in connection with this prose for St Stephen. From the opening word, 'Gloriosa', all strophes persistently end in the final vowel *-a*, as we may see in the opening couplets:

1 <i>Gloriosa</i>			
2a	Dies adest hec, qua processit prepotens ex virginis aula.	2b	Idem Deus, conditor hominum, factus est homo die ista.
3a	Iam 'Gloria in excelsis' cantant sancta agmina.	3b	Regi nato hoc quoque personet simul vox nostra.

(This is the glorious day when the most mighty proceeded from the Virgin's palace. He who is God and Creator of mankind was himself made man on this day. Now the holy hosts sing 'Glory in the highest'; to the king who is born let our voice sing out at once.)

The pairs of strophes are all of differing lengths, creating a constant variation in the flow of the melodic phrases of the Alleluia. The text underlines the reciprocal relation between heaven and earth, between the singing voice of the angels and our voice, 'sancta agmina' (2a) and 'vox nostra' (2b). The singers are verbally present in the text, from strophes 3a–b down to the final exhortation to sing 'Amen' ('personet vox nostra', 'feramus preconia', 'quesumus', 'ut possimus sumere vite pascua', 'satiati adeamus', 'leti videamus').

The theme of the protomartyr is connected to the Nativity and in particular to the Virgin Mother. St Stephen is not mentioned until towards the end (7a–b),

und künstlerisches Leben in St. Emmeram (Regensburg) während des frühen und hohen Mittelalters', in *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 3 vols (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1966–81), II, 77–115 (pp. 79–80); Rudolf Hiestand, 'Arnulf von Kärnten, der Basileus Leon VI., der hl. Dionysios und St. Emmeram in Regensburg', *Verhandlungen des historischen Vereins für Oberpfalz und Regensburg*, 133 (1993), 7–15 (p. 11); and the *Libri II de miraculis et memoria beati Emmerammi*, PL, CXXI, cols 989–1090 (col. 1004).

⁸⁹ AH, VII, 193; AH, LIII, 219.

⁹⁰ See further Colette, pp. 72–74, below.

and the role of the Protomartyr is here to fill the singers with faith and to help those who are nourished by the bread of life to behold the heavenly king born of the Virgin. The central place given to Mary in *Gloriosa dies* is of course not surprising in a prose chosen to be performed in the new church of the Blessed Virgin in Compiègne.

Through the words sung by the angels announcing the birth of Christ, the phrase 'Gloria in excelsis' (3a), the theme of the Nativity is placed in the foreground. Christ is addressed as the powerful king who proceeds from the Virgin's sacred place, 'ex virginis aula' (2a). Through the attribute 'prepotens' (2a) the author creates an allusion to the risen Christ as 'leo potens', as in the Easter prose *Fulgens preclara* above. The connection between Nativity and Easter is present again in the reference to Christ as 'panis vivus' (4b).

Again we observe the importance given to musical performance. The act of singing praises is a spiritual instrument for the participants; they are exhorted to perform songs of praise, 'laudum preconia', in a phrase recalling the 'preconia nostra' of *Fulgens preclara*. From John Scottus's poem *Hellinas Troiasque*, cited above, we recognize the crucial expressions for 'our voice' and 'songs of praises', 'vox nostra' and 'laudum preconia'. The prose contains the traditional words used in prayers, such as 'te quesumus ut possimus' (6b) and 'honor et potestas in eterna secula' (8b), and ends in the singing of 'Amen', as in the proses *Summa pia gratia* and *Fulgens preclara*. The desire to sing from a pure soul and with a pure conscience, 'pura mens et conscientia' (6a), recalls the words of Smaragdus of Mihiel in his commentary on Psalm 46 cited above.

'*Claris vocibus*', a Prose for the Blessed Virgin⁹¹

The Virgin has a central place in *Claris vocibus*. The Alleluia sequence, which is not provided with a verse, is indicated in the margin by the title *Eia recolamus*, which we normally recognize as the name of a widespread sequence in East-Frankish sources.⁹² The melody in the Antiphoner covers two more pairs of strophes than the *Eia recolamus* we know from the opening sequence in Notker's *Liber hymnorum*. The melody, however, is that of the early West-Frankish prose *Claris vocibus*.⁹³ It seems, as Marie-Noël Colette has suggested, that the opening

⁹¹ For text, music, and translation, see the anthology below, no. III.

⁹² AH, LIII, 101; AH, VII, 104.

⁹³ See Colette's analysis in this volume, pp. 75–76. See also David Hiley, 'The Repertory of Sequences at Winchester', in *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes*, ed. by

words exhorting to sing, ‘eia recolamus’, might have been used as a title, as here, in the West-Frankish region even before Notker used the phrase as the opening words in one of his sequences.⁹⁴

As with the other proses, this one is also found in the related group of early manuscripts from Autun, Limoges, and Winchester, as well as in the manuscripts from Nevers and Moissac. The anthology, below, presents the version found in the troper-proser from Autun, which also contains *Eia recolamus*:

1 *Alleluia*

2a	Clarīs vocibus, inclita, cane, turma, sacra melodimata.	2b	Voci mens bene concina, sonent verbis neumata concordia.
3a	Divina robusto tetracorda plectro docta manus perite feriat.	3b	Resultet virtutum pie lyra Deo nunc dramata dulcissona.

(*Alleluia*. Sing holy songs in high-sounding voices, O glorious choir. Let the voice sound out in accordance with the soul, the notes in concord with the words. May the learned hand skilfully play the divine tetrachord with a forceful plectrum; may it faithfully play to God sweet-sounding songs on the lyre of the virtues.)

The prose text follows two main themes: one describes the act of singing from a pure heart, the other defines the Virgin in biblical images. The two themes are furthermore linked to each other in that the same adjective, *inclita*, is used to define both the choir (2a) and the Virgin (10a).

The Virgin Mary is described using imagery that recurs in innumerable prose texts. She is the mild salvation of the world, the queen of virgins, the door to heaven: ‘salus orbis alma’ (6a), ‘virginum o regina’ (7a), ‘celi porta’ (6b). Through her, the pure light came to illuminate the world, ‘per quam fulsere clara mundi lumina’ (6a). She brings together heaven and earth, divine and earthly: ‘celicis terrea’, ‘divinis humana’ (7a). In an original expression, the Virgin — or is it divine harmony? — is defined as a ‘mixed chastity’, ‘myxta castitas’ (4b):

4a	Est armonia hec divina sonore virtutum liquidissima.	4b	Myxta castitas est qua intrat hominum coniungans Deo federa.
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This mixture between corporeal and spiritual, divine and human, expressed also in the images of the lyre of the virtues, ‘virtutum lyra’ (2b), and the sweet-sounding acts, ‘dramata dulcissona’ (2b), can be seen too in the dedication prose, *Letetur et concrepet*.

Graeme M. Boone, *Isham Library Papers*, 4 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), pp. 153–93, and Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, pp. 173–75.

⁹⁴ Colette, ‘Séquences et *versus ad sequentias*’, pp. 24–25.

The musical vocabulary in *Claris vocibus* is elaborate. The glorious choir, 'inclita turma' (1a), sings with resounding voices, 'claris vocibus' (1a). As often happens in early prose, the word *vox* is used in its multifold senses: it indicates at the same time the voice singing, the sound of the voice, as well as the word itself, and the melody. It can be the voice of Christ, *vox Christi*, or as here, the voice of the singing church, *vox ecclesia*. In the first three pairs of strophes, the choir is exhorted to sing holy melodies in clear voices, 'claris vocibus', so that 'the soul resounds in concord with the voice', 'voci mens bene concina' (2b), with the neumes in concord with the words, 'verbis pneumata concordia' (2b). The author makes 'con-cina' refer to the soul (in concord with the voice), whereas 'concordia' refers to the sound of the neumes. Mental and musical conditions are melted together in the expression 'the lyre of the virtues', 'virtutum lyra' (2b).⁹⁵

The rich variety in the musical vocabulary clearly reflects the deep symbolic importance that is ascribed to the musical performance. The singing is expressed by the traditional verbs *canere*, *sonare*, and *exclamare*, but also in more poetic expressions, including 'voci mens bene concina' (1b), 'erbis neumata concordia' (1b), 'robusto plectro', 'docta manus', 'perite feriat' (2a), 'resultet virtutum pie lyra' (2b), and 'sonore virtutum liquidissima' (3a).

Like the other prose studied above, this is again a text characterized by its wealth of four-syllable, mostly proparoxytone words, such as 'omnigena', already used by Virgil and Martianus Capella, and in Sedulius's poems, or 'signiferus', 'stelligerus', 'gemmigerus', 'florigerus', 'sceptringerus', 'lucifluus', 'flammivomus', 'sidereus', and 'celsithronus'.⁹⁶ The author shows a preference for Greek words such as 'melodimata' (1a), 'neumata' (1b), 'tetracorda' (2a), 'dramata' (2b), 'armonia' (3a), and 'uranica' (10a), in the style cultivated by other writers in the circle of Charles the Bald.

The musical terminology of the prose *Claris vocibus* seems closely related to the words of Smaragdus of Mihiel cited at the beginning of this study, that in singing 'we should not seek the sounds for the ears but the light to the heart' (non queramus sonum auris sed lumen cordis). It is also close to the metric poem in trochaic metre (8p + 7pp) attributed to Smaragdus, on continuous singing, as in the following strophes:

⁹⁵ See Marcia Sá Cavalcante Schuback's essay '*Nunc et in aevum*' in the present volume, pp. 108–14.

⁹⁶ Compare Virgil, *Aeneid*, VIII. 698; Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologia*, IX. 912.

1. Sume plectrum, lingua, metri tange cordas trochei,
aureum deprome carmen aurea de patrea
est ubi beata vita et perhennis gloria
[...]
11. Cuius in platea semper dulciter melodians
hymnum dicit angelorum pacifer concordia,
hymnum semper et beata turba fratrum personat
[...]
13. Omnibus diebus, horis et momentis singulis,
mensibus cunctis et annis omnibusque saeculis
turba fratrum dicit hymnum mysticis in vocibus.⁹⁷

(Tongue, take the plectrum, move the chords of the trochaic metre, sing the golden song about the golden fatherland where there is blessed life and eternal glory [...]. In his palace the peace-bringing union of the angels sings praises without end in sweet modulation, and without end the blessed choir of brothers sings praises [...]. Every day and every hour and every single moment, every month and year and century, the choir of the brothers sings hymns in inspired voices.)

*Gloria 'Laudibus eximiis'*⁹⁸

The same notion of music as a spiritual instrument, a means of joining the heavenly choirs and singing with the angels, came frequently to be reflected in tropes added to the angelic hymns *Gloria in excelsis* and *Sanctus*. An example from among these is *Laudibus eximiis*, a trope found in eleventh-century sources from St Evroult and St Magloire:⁹⁹

Gloria in excelsis Deo
et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.
Laudibus eximiis, bone rex, te corde colentes
Laudamus te.
Oribus hymnidicis modulanti voce canentes
Benedicimus te.

The trope verses describe the Gloria chant as a song of exuberant praise, 'laudibus eximiis', in the same words as in the poem of John Scottus. Through the

⁹⁷ *Versus Zmaragdi*, MGH Poetae, I, 619.

⁹⁸ For text and translation, see the anthology below, no. IV.

⁹⁹ AH, XLVII, 199; BnF lat. 13252, fol. 30^r.

trope verses the entire Gloria chant is presented as a song performed by the faithful singers from the heart, ‘corde colentes’, with hymn-singing mouths, ‘oribus hymnidicis’, and with well-modulating voice, ‘modulante voce’, and so forth. As we have seen in the prose texts above, the singers ask that their prayers should rise like incense to the heavenly hall, ‘velut incensum conscendat ad caeli aulam’. Unlike the proses tied to Alleluia and marked by the flow of the melismas, these trope verses inserted between the phrases of the *Gloria in excelsis* are written in hexameters, rather in the style favoured by the poets in the circle of Charles the Bald in their hexameter poems, such as John Scottus’s *Hellinas Troiasque*. At the same time we recognize the poetic language used in the early proses.

*Gloria ‘Cui canit hymnilogum’*¹⁰⁰

A reflection of the musical vocabulary of the prose *Claris vocibus* can be seen, for example, in a Gloria trope in the repertory of St Emmeran, *Cui canit hymnilogum*.¹⁰¹ This text is found among the rich collections of tropes and sequences from Regensburg gathered for Arnulf, son of Carloman, who after being crowned in 886 made a new palace in Regensburg tied to the Abbey of St Emmeram, to which he brought the *Codex aureus* and the works John Scottus, as mentioned above.¹⁰²

Gloria in excelsis Deo,
Cui canit hymnilogum caelestis turba melodum,
Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis,
Caelicolas mundo quae iungit foedere digno.
Laudamus te,
Laudibus angelicus quem succinit ordo novenus.
Benedicimus te,
Aula cui supra resonat benedictio magna.
Adoramus te,
Quem cetus laudat bis et duodenus adorat.

¹⁰⁰ For text and translation, see the anthology below, no. v.

¹⁰¹ AH, XLVII, 206. Iversen, ‘Fictiones or figurata elementa’, pp. 349–50.

¹⁰² See, for instance, Heidrun Stein-Kecks, ‘Totus palatii ornatus: das Ziborium aus dem Schatz Arnolf von Kärnten’, in *Kaiser Arnulf: das ostfränkische Reich am Ende des 9. Jahrhunderts; Regensburger Kolloquium, 9–11/12 1999*, ed. by Franz Fuchs and Peter Schmid (Munich: Beck, 2002), pp. 389–415.

Glorificamus te,
Glorificat totis quem semper viribus orbis.

(*Glory to God in the highest*, to whom the celestial crowd of melodious hymn-singers sings praises. *And on earth peace to men of good will*, which joins the heavenly ones with the earth in a worthy alliance. *We praise You*, to whom the ninefold angelic order sings with praises. *We bless You*, to whom the blessing resounds in the great celestial hall. *We adore You*, to whom the choir of the twenty-four elders sings in praise and adoration. *We glorify You*, whom the world glorifies forever with all forces.)

In these first six trope verses, the songs of praise are presented by the celestial hosts, by the ninefold angelic hierarchy, by the twenty-four elders of Revelation, and by the whole world. To the singers are added the cherubim and seraphim. Finally, the celestial singers are joined by the singers on earth, and all together sing the conclusion. In the trope text eight different *verba canendi* are used to express the act of singing: besides the three verbs that take up the words of the chant itself, namely *laudare*, *adorare*, and *glorificare*, the verbs *canere*, *succinere*, *resonare*, *proclamare*, and *personare* all express a loud, resounding, solemn singing.¹⁰³

The sophisticated musical language, as well as the predilection in the trope text for four-syllable words such as *hymnilogum*, *celicola*, *articulis*, and *quadrifidum*, places these hexameter tropes in the same literary context as the proses in the Antiphoner of Charles the Bald. Textually, the hexameters of these tropes are paraphrasing and developing the words of the chant. Melodically, though, they are sung to their own melody, separate from that of the chant and adapted to the metric verses.

The author of the prose *Claris vocibus* conversely makes his text follow the melismas of the Alleluia sequence, making the singing of Alleluia the determining formal basis for his liturgical poem.

In the Antiphoner of Charles the Bald, one of the five Alleluias is neither provided with a melody title nor with a verse. All there is in the manuscript is the melismatic Alleluia sequence, a circumstance that makes identification difficult. According to Marie-Noël Colette, the melody might possibly be that of a dominical prose.¹⁰⁴ A dominical prose is present with another melody in another manuscript partly related to this antiphoner and to the palace school, namely *Laudemus in excelsis*, found in BnF lat. 2373 on a folio written by a scribe apparently associated with the chancellery of Charles the Bald and similar to the

¹⁰³ See Iversen, 'Verba canendi in Tropes and Sequences'.

¹⁰⁴ See Colette, p. 81, below.

hand found in the Antiphoner. On folio 2^v this manuscript records the prose for St Germain d'Auxerre, *Candida contio* (see Plate 9).¹⁰⁵

1 *Alleluia*

2a	Candida contio, melos concrepa	2b	Tinnula cantibus iungens organa.
3a	Germanum resultant castra liquido sonore symphonia	3b	Artifici plectro perita sillabatim stringere pneumata

(O shining white choir, let the melody resound and unite the singing voices in the chant. Let the large hall sing praises of Germain in fluid resounding symphony, well trained to make the neumes resound to the syllables with artful plectrum.)

Again worthy of note here is the musical vocabulary in the opening strophes exhorting the gleaming choir to sing, bringing together the sounding voices with their melodies, and trained in the artful use of the plectrum to adapt the sounding flow of consonant sounds to each syllable. Here the word *castra*, but also in other proses *aula*, is chosen to indicate the holy place, and we also recognize even the word *inclita*, in 'inclita servat in aula' (7a). As in the Easter prose *Fulgens preclara*, there is a direct address in the question 'care quid hesitas' (5a), and like the other proses it ends in the exhortation to sing the Hebrew final word *Amen*: 'Amen dicant omnia' (11).

The language is similar to that used in *Clariss vocibus*, above, and in John Scottus's text on the music of the celestial hierarchies. The author even uses the rare expression *celi convexa*, 'the vaulted heaven', used by John Scottus in his poem *Aulea sidereae*, a work connected with the dedication of the palace church in Compiègne, and to which we will return below.

The presence of the prose *Candida contio* in this manuscript can be seen as a witness to the King's engagement at the Abbey of St Germain in Auxerre. We recall that on the demand of the King, Heiric d'Auxerre, pupil of John Scottus and a member of the palace school, had written a versified life of St Germain d'Auxerre.¹⁰⁶ Further, we read in the acts of Charles the Bald that on 7 May 877 in Compiègne, again during the festive days of the dedication of the royal abbey's Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the King signed a document in which he restituted property to the Abbey of St Germain.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ AH, VII, 167. The text was transformed in Limoges into a prose for St Martial; see AH, LIII, 244.

¹⁰⁶ MGH Poetae, III, 421–517.

¹⁰⁷ *Recueil des actes de Charles le Chauve*, II, no. 427, pp. 454–56.

Next to *Candida contio* this folio has the proses *Fulgens preclara* and *Gloriosa*, that is, the same pieces as in the Antiphoner, and the dominical prose *Laudemus in excelsis*, all followed by texts for the translation of St Corneille in Compiègne.¹⁰⁸ Through the opening words ‘Laudemus in excelsis’ (Let us praise in the highest), referring to the angels’ song at the Nativity,¹⁰⁹ the prose opens with an allusion to the chant *Gloria in excelsis* in the exhortation to sing praises to the King, ‘to Christ, the king in the highest, with holy heart, and to sing praises with resounding voice all as much as we can to the one who for us deigned to come to the world’. Further, he includes the themes of both the Nativity and the Resurrection, of the Fall and Redemption, of joyful praise and supplicant prayer for eternal life:

- | | | | |
|----|--|---|---|
| | 1 | Laudemus in excelsis
Christum regem mente sancta | |
| 2a | Voce quoque
sicut valemus omnes canora. | | 2b Qui pro nobis,
est dignatus venire in terram. |

In his text, the author of the dominical prose *Laudemus in excelsis* combines the words from the *Gloria in excelsis* with those of the Alleluia prose. He uses similar expressions to those in *Fulgens preclara* in describing the son of the Virgin as coming from ‘virginis aula’ (3b).

In the lower margin on folio 3^v there is, in fact, also a version of the earliest Gloria trope, *Laus tua deus*, a trope also found in the manuscript from Toul that was later brought to St Emmeran. The royal theme is also here consistently underlined in addressing praise to God as king enthroned in glory: *rex, rex angelorum*, and *rex israhel*:

Laus tua, Deus, resonet coram te, rex,
Laudamus te.
 Qui venisti propter nos, rex angelorum, Deus,
Benedicimus te.
 In sede maiestatis tue
Adoramus te.
 Veneranda trinitas
Glorificamus te.

¹⁰⁸ BnF lat. 2373. I am most grateful to Marie-Noël Colette for encouraging me to study this manuscript.

¹⁰⁹ BnF lat. 2373, fol. 2^v. The prose is also found in BnF lat. 1118, fol. 162^r; see AH, VII, 246.

Gloriosus es, rex Israhel, in throno patris tui
*Gratias agimus.*¹¹⁰

(Songs in your praise, O God, resound in front of you, O king. *We praise you*, who came for our sake, king of the angels, God; *we bless you*, in the throne of your majesty; *we adore you*, venerable Trinity. *We glorify you*. You are glorious, king of Israel, on the throne of your father, *We give you thanks*.)

There is in these early examples a noteworthy connection between the two laudatory chants *Gloria in excelsis* and the Alleluia, which is reflected in the way the new additions to these chants are treated in contemporary acts. A passage condemning this kind of novelty is found in a copy of the acts from the Council in Meaux in 845:

Propter improbitatem quorundam omnino dampnabilem, qui novitates delectati puritatem antiquitatis suis adinventionibus interpolare non metuunt, statuimus, ut nullus clericorum nullusque monachorum in Ymno Angelico, id est *Gloria in excelsis deo* et in sequentiis, que in *Alleluia* sollemniter decantari solent, quaslibet compositiones, quas prosas vocant, vel ulla fictiones addere, interponere, recitare, submurmurare aut decantare presummat. Quod si fecerit, deponatur.¹¹¹

(Because of the utterly condemnable wickedness of certain persons who in their delight in novelties do not hesitate to interpolate the purity of antiquity with their own inventions, we have decided that no cleric and no monk may take the liberty to add, interpose, recite, murmur, or sing aloud any kind of the compositions that they call proses or any other fictions in the angelic hymn, that is *Gloria in excelsis deo* and in the sequences which they solemnly use to sing to the *Alleluia*. If anyone does so he should be brought down.)

A contrary prescription but similar connection is found in the copy of the *Liber Pontificalis* of Adémar de Chabannes (998–1034) describing how Pope Hadrian II (867–72) in the time of Charles the Bald should have initiated the use of tropes and sequences:

Hic constituit per monasteria ad Missam majorem in solemnitatibus praecipuis, non solum in hymno angelico *Gloria in excelsis Deo* canere hymnos interstinctos quos *laudes* appellant; verum etiam in Psalmis Daviticis quos *Introitus* dicunt interserta cantica decantare, quae Romani ‘festivas laudes’, Franci ‘tropos’ appellant; quod interpretatur

¹¹⁰ *Laus tua deus* is found in the earliest sources of tropes. An edition of the tropes to the *Gloria in excelsis* is under preparation by the present author.

¹¹¹ Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1062 Helmst., fol. 219^v. See *Die Konzilien der Karolingischen Teilreiche, 843–859*, ed. by Wilfried Hartmann, MGH Concilia, III (1984), 129.

'Figurata ornamenta in laudibus Domini'. Melodias quoque ante Evangelium concinendas tradidit, quas dicunt 'Sequentias', quia sequitur eas Evangelium.¹¹²

(He [Hadrian II] decided that in monasteries at the Mass of the most important feasts not only should they sing inserted hymns which they call praises [*laudes*], in the angelic hymn *Gloria in excelsis*, but also that they should sing songs inserted to the Psalms of David, which they call *Introitus*; the Romans call them 'festive praises' [*festivas laudes*] and the Franks call them 'tropes' [*tropos*], which means 'figured ornaments in praise of the Lord'. He also made melodies which they call 'sequences' [*sequentias*] because the Gospel follows them, to be sung before the Gospel.)

In the vocabulary from these proses and tropes, where Christ is defined as the celestial king, the king of kings, reigning over the hosts of angels, *angelorum agmina*, in the royal celestial *aula*, we recognize the language of the proses discussed above. Again we meet the same central vocabulary, deriving from the three-letter words ending in the symbolically loaded letter *x*: *rex*, *lux*, *pax*, and *vox*.

*'Letetur et concrepet', a Prose for the Dedication of a Church*¹¹³

Returning to the Antiphoner of Charles the Bald, the last of the proses in the series of Alleluia sequences is presented with the title *Adorabo minor* written in the margin and the verse *Suscipe laus angelorum*:

ADORABO MINOR

Alleluia
[*melisma*]

Suscipe, laus angelorum,
laudum carmina leta
[*melisma*]

Prece voto supplici
nostra que mittit caterva.
[*melisma*]

Te collaudant, adorant,
sancte rex, in hac aula
[*melisma*]

Et dona per secula
sancta tabernacula
[*melisma*]

(Accept, O glory of the angels, the joyous songs of praise that our devoted choir brings to you with supplicant prayer. They sing praises and adore you, holy king, in this sacred hall, and give holy temples in the world.)

¹¹² *Le Liber Pontificalis*, ed. by Louis Duchesne, 2nd edn, rev. by Cyrille Vogel, 3 vols (Paris: Boccard, 1955), I, p. clxxi n. 1. See William T. Flynn, *Medieval Music as Medieval Exegesis*, Studies in Medieval Musicology, 8 (Lanham: Scarecrow, 1999), p. 11.

¹¹³ For text, music, and translation, see the anthology below, no. VI.

Among the proses that include these *versus ad sequentias* are *Letetur et concrepet* and its contrafact in St Martial, *Observanda*, both of which are for the dedication of a church.¹¹⁴ There is another prose containing the same verse, namely *Rex celice*, found in sources from St Evroult and St Magloire. Although the title *Adorabo minor* in the Antiphoner indicates the dedication, *Rex celice* is a prose for a saint, not for the dedication; its sources are all later.¹¹⁵

In contrast, *Letetur et concrepet* is a poem entirely centred on the theme of the dedication of a church.¹¹⁶ It seems more likely that this is the prose intended in the Antiphoner, for reasons explained more thoroughly in a separate double study on the text and melody of this piece.¹¹⁷ The text opens with an exhortation to rejoice and sing together in a pure heart in this sacred hall, a theme that recurs throughout the text:

1. *Letetur*

2a	Et concrepet devota fidelium plebs carmina in hac aula	2b	Prebeatque cantica gratiarum nunc praeclara mente pura
	[...]		
5a	Sic mente pura — <i>suscipe, laus angelorum, laudum carmina leta,</i> — Poscimus	5b	Nos in hac aula — <i>Prece, voto suplici nostra que mittit caterva</i> — Rex, una.
	[...]		
7a	Tuam, Deus, lucem claram deposcimus omnes una voce celsa.	7b	Ideoque in hac aula persplendent clementer tua nempe iussa.
	[...]		

¹¹⁴ BnF lat. 1240, fols 55^v–56^r. See John E. Emerson, ‘Neglected Aspects of the Oldest Full Troper (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 1240)’, in *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, ed. by Wulf Arlt and Gunilla Björkvall, SLS, 36 (1993), pp. 193–217 (p. 202 and n. 40): ‘The calendar of the manuscript Pa 1240 contains the Dedicatio Sancti Petri (2 May) and is complemented by the Dedication sequence *Observanda habunde* [...]. The sequence for the Dedication of a church was undoubtedly written for the basilica of the Holy Saviour in the ninth century. The text was probably set to a contrafactum tune and contains several references to Martial, the patron of the monastery, and to the basilica.’ Might this have been a prose performed at the solemn celebration in 848 in presence of the King, when Charles the Bald transformed the chapter church into an abbey?

¹¹⁵ *Rex celice*, AH, IX, 396: ‘De quolibet sancto’. See BnF lat. 10508 and 13252.

¹¹⁶ BnF n.a.lat. 1871, fol. 134^r.

¹¹⁷ Colette, ‘Séquences et *versus ad sequentias*’, pp. 5–29, and Iversen, ‘*Rex in hac aula*’, pp. 31–45.

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|--|--|
| <p>9a Voce quo excelsa
 <i>te conlaudans adoret,</i>
 <i>sancte rex, in hac aula</i>
 hec vox nostra.</p> | <p>9b Supplex expostulat:
 <i>et dona per secula</i>
 <i>sancta tabernacula</i>
 et eterna.</p> |
| <p>10a Poscimus tuam et immensam,
 rex pie, clementiam omnes, hac aula.</p> | <p>[...]</p> |

The opening exhortation to rejoice and sing together, ‘Letetur et concrepet’, continues in a text of prayer and praise addressed to the King in this sacred place, ‘rex in hac aula’, where the word *aula* naturally refers to the words in the introit antiphon of the Feast of Dedication: ‘Terribilis est locus iste. Hic domus Dei est et porta caeli. Et vocabitur aula Dei’ (How awesome is this place. Here is the house of God and the door to heaven. And it shall be called the sacred hall of God).

The demonstrative form ‘hac aula’ in the verse underlines the importance of the place here and now, just as in the expressions ‘locus iste’ and ‘hic domus’ of the introit chant. At the same time, the words ‘in hac aula’ seem to have the double meaning of ‘in this heavenly place’ and ‘in this royal place’. In strophe 2a, the words ‘in hac aula’ correspond to the expression ‘mente pura’, ‘in a pure mind’, in 2b. Likewise, but in opposite positions, the expression ‘in hac aula’ is set against ‘mente pura’ (5a–b) and ‘Nos in hac aula’ in 5a corresponds to ‘Rex in hac aula’ (9a). Finally, ‘aula’ is taken up in the concluding address to the pious king in this sacred hall, in this holy place.

As in the prose *Claris vocibus*, great importance is given to the meaning and function of the musical performance, as in the central lines 7a–b: ‘we all together in one voice pray for your brilliant light in this sacred hall’. The act of singing is repeatedly underlined: ‘prebeat cantica gratiarum’ (2b), ‘collaudans adoret’ (9a), ‘laudes maximas promat’ (11a), ‘psallat cantica dulcia’ (11b). The singing voice is made present: ‘voce excelsa’, ‘hec vox nostra’ (9a), ‘celsa voce’ (11b). The singers address their praise and prayer to the one who is the glory of the angels, ‘laus angelorum’ (5a), who is the crown and light of all saints, ‘sanctorum omnium corona et lux eorum’ (6a), the way, the truth, and the life, ‘via, veritas et vita’ (6b). Above all they address the king, the holy king, the pious king, our king to whom belong eternal honour and glory: ‘rex’ (5b), ‘rex sancte’ (9a), ‘rex pie’ (10a); and finally in the doxology, ‘let there be eternal honour and glory for ever to our King’, ‘sit regi nostro perennis semper honor et gloria’ (12).

The entire prose is thus composed of corresponding expressions binding the text together in the themes of the presence of the king in the sacred hall and of singing together with a pure heart. The expression ‘per secula’ is repeated three

times (3a, 6b, and 9b), underlining the presence of the eternal in the temporal. The choir of the faithful, 'fidelium turma', sings from a pure soul, 'mente pia', but also from a 'vaulted heart', 'convexo corde' (11b).

This last expression, 'convexo corde', uses a word rarely found in liturgical poetry and is of particular interest. Evidently *convexo* is chosen to describe the temple of Christ placed in the hearts of the faithful, but at the same time it might well be chosen to describe the heavenly temple and the large vaulted arch of the royal chapel in Compiègne. It is noteworthy that the same word, *convexus*, is used in the prose *Candida contio* for St Germain d'Auxerre, cited above ('supera sequens celi convexa felix scandit anima'). There, it is used to describe the happy soul ascending to the high vaults of heaven; but perhaps it may also be understood as 'convexa anima', the blessed, vaulted soul ascending to the heights of heaven.

The word *convexus* is also found in the poem written by John Scottus to Charles the Bald and inscribed with golden letters on purple at the beginning of his famous second Bible, presented to the King in 870.¹¹⁸ There, Scottus first describes the King's pure heart with the Greek words *corde catharo*, then addresses the Wisdom of God — *sapientia* — which encircles the heavens and binds together the centre of the world with the 'convex arch of heaven' (*convexo climate*). Referring to King Solomon, founder of the Temple of Jerusalem, he describes how the King was worthy to build a wonderful temple to the Lord, and asks that the truth of faith that he has gained from the fountain of wisdom might shine out forever:

Biblorum seriem Karolus rex inclytus istam

Contexit chryso corde colens catharo

[...]

Tu quoque circuiens coeli sic undique gyrum,

Nexisti mediam convexo climate terram

[...]

Mirificum Domino meruit quoque condere templum.¹¹⁹

(The glorious King Charles covered this series of biblical books with gold, venerating them from his pure heart [...]. You (Wisdom), circling all around the orbit of heaven, you bound together the centre of the earth with the convex arch of heaven [...]. He also deserved to build a wonderful temple to the Lord.)

¹¹⁸ BnF lat. 2.

¹¹⁹ BnF lat. 2, fols 1^v–2^r; PL, CXXX, cols 1197–99. The editors of PL give the title as 'Versus in fronte Bibliorum positi et aureis litteris exarati in vetustissimo codice ms. monasterii sancti Dionysii, qui nunc exstat in biblioteca Regia'.

Again we bring to mind the images referred to above with King Charles the Bald depicted as King Solomon in the *Codex aureus*. In a similar way, Sedulius Scottus compares Charles to Solomon, and even describes him as superior to Solomon in a poem celebrating the visit of Charles the Bald to Metz in 869:

‘Rex benedictus adest Carolus!’ resonemus ovantes
 ‘Pacifer ut Salomon sceptrum paterna tenens.’
 Ast uno Salomon templo celebretur in orbe;
 Mille sed hic templis eminet arte novis.
 Ille fuit Solimae rex inclitus atque celebris;
 Sed centum Solimas hic tenet altithronus.

(Let us all sing in praise: ‘the blessed King Charles is here, like Solomon holding the sceptre of his fathers!’ Solomon praises God in one temple in the world, but Charles is conspicuous in the art of a thousand new temples. He was the glorified and famous king of one Jerusalem, but the high-throned Charles has a hundred Jerusalems.)

Returning to the theme of *rex in hac aula* in the dedication prose *Letetur et concrepet*, we note that *aula* is the opening word of the famous occasional poem *Aulae sidereae*, also attributed to John Scottus. The author celebrates the King enthroned in a splendid octagonal royal chapel in Compiègne with its rich decorations.¹²⁰ As we have seen above in acts describing the dedication of the Church of the Blessed Virgin in Compiègne on 5 May 877, the chapel was richly decorated with gifts from the King’s treasury.

Towards the end of the poem *Aulae sidereae*, the poet addresses the Virgin Mother and then describes the King in biblical terms, recalling the image of Solomon in Ezekiel, but also in a classical, Homeric vocabulary describing the Olympic father. At the same time he describes the ambitious architectural programme of the *aula*:¹²¹

Magna dei genitrix, ter felix, sancta Maria —
 Te laudant caeli, te votis inclytat orbis —
 Proxima sis Karolo tutrix, munimen et altum,
 Qui tibi mirifice praeclaram fabricat aedem.

¹²⁰ MGH Poetae, III, 550–52. Against Dutton and Jeanneau’s claims of a connection with the dedication, Herren suggests that *Aulae sidereae* was written to celebrate not the dedication but ‘the foundation of Charles the Bald’s new palace church at Compiègne in 870’ (‘Eriugena’s *Aulae sidereae*’, p. 608).

¹²¹ See Yves Christe, ‘Sainte-Marie de Compiègne et le temple d’Hézekiel’, in *Jean Scot Érigène* (see n. 1, above), pp. 477–81.

Aedes marmoreis varie constructa columnis,
 Alta domus pulcre centeno normate facta.
 Aspice polygonos flexus arcusque volutos,
 Compages laterum similes, capitella basesque,
 Turres, luriculas, laquearia, daedala texta,
 Obliquas tyridas, ialini luminis haustus.
 Intus picturas, lapidum pavimenta gradusque,
 Circumquaque stoas, armaria, pastaforia,
 Sursum deorsum populos altaria circum,
 Lampadibus plenas faros altasque coronas.
 Omnia collucent gemmis auroque coruscant ;
 Pallia, cortinae circumdant undique templum.
 Ipse throno celso fultus rex prospicit omnes
 Vertice sublimi gestans diadema paternum,
 Plena manus sciptris enchiridon aurea bactra:
 Heros magnanimus longaevus vivat in annos
 (82–101).

(O great mother of God, three times blessed, holy Mary, the heavens praise you, the world sings your glory. May you be the nearest helper and high protection of Charles, who builds to you a wonderfully brilliant temple, a building of variegated marble columns, a high house beautifully made according to the number one hundred. See the many turns and vaulted archs, the connections of the similar sides, the capitals, the bases, the towers, the parapets, the panelled ceilings, woven tapestries, the oblique windows, bringing in the stream of light. Inside there are pictures, floor and steps of stone; there are pillars all around, chests and shrines. Above the altars, behind and all around, are lamps and high crowns filled with lights. All is shining with precious stones and glowing gold. Everywhere vestments and tapestries are hanging around the walls of the temple. From the throne the shining king himself looks upon all, carrying the diadema of his father upon his head, holding in his hand the golden sceptre of Bactris. Long live our magnanimous hero!)

In the acts describing the dedication of the Church of the Blessed Virgin in Compiègne on 5 May 877, the chapel would have been sumptuously decorated with riches from the royal treasury. The church and the King enthroned within, shining like a heavenly star, are also described in similar words in the *Annals of St Bertin*: ‘pius pater Carolus qui instar coelestis sideris mundo splendebat conspicuus.’

Commenting on the iconography of the royal Psalter, Rosamond McKitterick observes that ‘the iconography reinforces the association between Christ the king and Charles the king, whose power comes from God’.¹²² It is not only illuminations,

¹²² McKitterick, *The Carolingians*, p. 269.

however, and poems by the 'royal poets' such as *Aulae sidereae* that describe the King as a follower of Solomon and image of the invisible heavenly king. As is evident from the acts of the dedication day, the scene with the King sitting on his throne in the new church surrounded by the artful splendour of the hall and a choir of a hundred clerics must have been enacted in the new church.¹²³

It is not impossible to imagine how on the day of the dedication of the splendid palace abbey church of the Virgin Mary, the choir of clerics might have sung the Alleluia sequence with the dedication prose *Letetur et concrepet* inscribed in the precious Antiphoner of the King. The joyful unison voice of the choir ('hec vox nostra') raises the melody like incense to the high arch of the cupola ('letetur et concrepet fidelium plebs devota carmina in hac aula'). The words of the prose evoke the image of the King enthroned in splendour in the new church, 'rex in hac aula'.

It is as though the King is used in the prose as an image and a figure of the invisible heavenly king, all in line with the words of John Scottus cited above. Theologia, as a kind of Poetria, presents the physical person of the King and the physically magnificent and artful building of the church as a visible image that makes the invisible perceivable by the human mind.

Conclusion

This ninth-century 'Alleluia poetry' seems to be the result of a fruitful mixture of reciprocal influences, where the colourful vocabulary and metaphorical language of Homeric and Virgilian hexameter poetry melds together with the poetic language of the Psalms from the Hebrew tradition, in a format that is intimately related to the melismatic singing of the Alleluia sequence. In their visual presentation in the Antiphoner of Charles the Bald, the melismatic sequences are closely related to the earliest proses in the act of singing the Alleluia. Once this compositional form became established, the parallel structure, the endings in *-a*, could easily be used for the composition of new proses, and as we all know, the absolute relation to the Alleluia did not remain so essential any more. But at this point we remain at the beginning of the history of the sequence-prose as a poetic and musical genre.

In accordance with the ideas expressed by such writers as Smaragdus of Mihiel in his commentary on Psalm 46, on singing the Psalms with wisdom, and John

¹²³ See Nils Holger Petersen, p. 172, and William T. Flynn, pp. 341–45, below.

Scottus Eriugena in his text on the use of fictive pictures in order to make the invisible visible, the prose texts enact the visual scene that helps the participants in the liturgy to perceive a vision of the invisible, to bring light to the heart through the singing voice.

The texts of these proses in various ways articulate interpretations of the word *Alleluia*. Besides the vocabulary of the prayers of the Sacramentary, the proses reflect the imagery and poetic language of the learned masters, those in the circle of the royal palace school, describing the act of singing, the refulgent light and royal splendour in the sacred place. The vocabulary, which later came to influence an endless number of similar texts in the tenth and eleventh centuries, seems related, for instance, to that used by Carolingian authors such as Alcuin, but above all to the poetry of John Scottus and Sedulius Scottus written for solemn occasions — *tituli* verses, verses accompanying the illuminations in books produced for the King. Who were the authors of these early proses? That much remains unknown, but possibly some of them were among the poets related to the palace school of Charles the Bald.

THE PLACE AND FUNCTION OF MUSIC
IN A LITURGICAL CONTEXT: THE EARLIEST
WITNESSES OF SEQUENCES AND *VERSUS AD*
SEQUENTIAS IN THE ANTIPHONER OF CHARLES
THE BALD AND OTHER EARLY SOURCES

Marie-Noël Colette

According to the ninth-century musician Aurelian of Réôme, one of the properties of the singing voice consists in its ability ‘to carry itself from far away before filling the space it reaches, like a trumpet’.¹ This idea was taken from Isidore of Seville, who wrote that the perfect voice must be sweet, clear, and high. In effect, its purpose is to fill the space assigned to the presence of God with prayers and praises, as in the introit chant for the Feast of the Dedication, using the words of Jacob visited by the angel, ‘Terribilis est locus iste: hic domus Dei est et porta caeli: et vocabitur aula Dei.’² The whole assembled crowd, united in their purpose, join with the choirs of angels and those of pure

The first fruits of this research were presented at the International Musicological Society congress in Leuven in 2000 and subsequently published as ‘Séquences et *versus ad sequentias* dans l’antiphonaire de Charles le Chauve (Paris, BnF, Lat. 17436)’, *Revue de musicologie*, 89 (2003), 5–29; the present chapter revisits parts of that work and supplies further information in places. See also Gunilla Iversen’s contribution to the same issue of the *Revue de musicologie*, ‘*Rex in hac aula*: réflexions sur les séquences de l’“Antiphonaire de Charles le Chauve” (Paris, BnF, lat. 17436)’, pp. 31–45.

¹ ‘Septimus (vocum modus) ubi perspicuae voces quae longius protrahuntur ita ut omnem impleant contiguum locum sicut tuba’: Aurelian of Réôme, *Musica disciplina*, ed. by Lawrence Gushee, CSM, 21 (1975), p. 69 (chap. 5). All translations are mine unless noted otherwise.

² Gen. 28. 17, 22.

heart who sing without end before the throne of the Lamb, 'Holy, Holy, Holy'. As one prose from the eleventh century or earlier puts it, 'Angelorum fistula et vox societur nostra' (that our voice should join with the instruments of the angels).³

To reach this union, the human voice must sing high (*excelsa*) and resonantly (*sonora*), to use the terms of another prose,⁴ but it is also important for it to work in the other direction and transmit the word of God to those listening, through the grace of the music which carried the word. The sounds made by the singing voice are to be heard even before the meaning of the words reaches the mind. The course of the Office is set out in such a way that anyone participating in it, whether performing or hearing, is reminded at every moment of the meaning of each message being sent toward God (in prayers, praise, and psalmody) or to man (in readings and admonitions). This two-way communication is enhanced by a collection of musical codes and signals elaborated over the course of the centuries; in this way the frame of the liturgy broadly corresponds even today with the description made by Tertullian in the third century: 'tamvero prout scripturae leguntur aut psalmi canuntur aut allocutiones proferuntur aut petitiones delegantur' (They read the scriptures, sing the psalms, preach sermons, or make petitions).⁵

All of these elements — readings, psalmody, sermons, and prayers — are found in every Office. Even the Mass is faithful to this plan, though of course it attaches to it the remembrance of sacrifice. The chants that follow readings — the tract, gradual, and Alleluia — as well as the antiphons, introit, communion, and even the offertory, were all derived from the practice of singing psalmody as far as their form is concerned, and for a long time also in terms of their inspiration, which had drawn once again from the Psalter, as well as from the books of the Old and later the New Testament. Responsories and antiphons were the parts of the Office

³ Edited in AH, VII, 109, and AH, LIII, 109. Lars Elfving's study, *Étude lexicographique sur les séquences limousines*, SLS, 7 (1962), presents many other citations of this type, classed by themes; see also Gunilla Iversen, 'Verba canendi in Tropes and Sequences', in *Latin Culture in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Medieval Latin Studies, Cambridge, 9–12 September 1998*, ed. by Michael W. Herren, C. J. McDonough, and Ross G. Arthur, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin, 5, 2 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), I, 444–73. As in the preceding chapter, I will distinguish here between 'prose' for the text and 'sequence' for the melody of these compositions, following the custom found in manuscripts from the West, which separate sequentiaries from proser.

⁴ The prose *Resultet tellus et alta*; AH, LIII, 198.

⁵ *De anima*, IX.4: Tertullian, *Opera*, I, ed. by August Reifferscheid and Georg Wissowa, CSEL, 20 (1890), p. 310; rev. edn by Georg Wissowa and J. H. Waszink, CCSL, 2 (1954), p. 792.

and Mass that were handed down by singers and the schola, which consisted in the later Middle Ages of a small number of very experienced singers. Commentary was provided in the form of *allocutiones* pronounced by the clergy.⁶ As for *petitiones*, there was a great burgeoning of chants for the litany, for processions, and finally for those parts which came to be known as the Ordinary of the Mass. The singing of hymns, compositions in verse, can be traced back as far as the fourth century.

Tertullian made a clear distinction in his description between texts derived from the Bible, sacred writings, and poetic and other texts composed by clerics. This distinction was respected until the ninth century, and it explains why a certain amount of controversy arose when tropes, non-scriptural verses interpolated into the scriptural texts of the Proper of the Mass, came to be written.⁷ The chants of the Ordinary, conversely, were mostly non-scriptural to begin with, and therefore more welcoming to these poetic interpolations, and in turn this led to the number of melodies used for them being increased.

There were other, musical distinctions that would make an immediate impression on the ears of the congregation. Here an important distinction may be made between the functions of the *cantor* and the *lector*. As far as the more ornate Mass chants are concerned, this distinction arises from an ancient tradition for which a witness is given in the chant for two readings noted in a missal from Benevento, in the south of Italy, for the stories of Jonah and Daniel. In the very middle of these readings, each of which comprises a recitation followed by a song, the move from one style to another is clearly marked by a rubric, 'Hic mutas sonum'.⁸ The song of Daniel is even followed by the more precise instruction 'Hic rede in primo sono'. *Sonus*, musical sound, here refers precisely to the note *D* on which the song should be chanted, a note which at Benevento differed from that used for the reading, *E*. This stark distinction means that even if not everyone hearing the chant necessarily perceived the full sense of the text, they would at least have a sense through the medium of its performance of the intelligibility of the message. The prayer that Daniel offers to the Most High from the burning fiery furnace is sung on a different pitch, and with a different ornamentation, from the recitation that precedes and follows it:

⁶ See Marcia Sá Cavalcante Schuback's essay '*Sancta sonantia*', pp. 349–63, below.

⁷ On these controversies, see Gunilla Iversen, *Chanter avec les anges: poésie dans la messe médiévale* (Paris: Cerf, 2001), p. 26, and pp. 50–51, above.

⁸ Benevento, Archivio Archivescovile, 33, fols 63^v, 70^v; facsimile edition, PM, xx (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1983); transcription in PM, xiv (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1931).

Lectio Danielis prophetae cum cantico:

<Lectio> In diebus illis Nabuchodonosor fecit statuam auream [...] et ambulabant in medio flamme laudantes Deum et benedicentes Dominum

HIC MUTAS SONUM

<Canticum> Benedictus es Domine Deus patrum nostrorum [...] tu es Dominus Deus solus, et gloriosus super orbem terrarum

HIC REDE IN PRIMO SONO

<Lectio> Et non cessabant qui miserant eos ministri regis succendere fornacem [...] Et non tetigit eos omnino ignis, neque contristavit, nec quicquam molestie intulit.⁹

Chant is a necessary part of the liturgical celebration, but it is not simply for reasons of beauty that it is raised heavenward, like a sacrificial offering; an important function of chant is its ability to bring particular associations in its words and its music, arising from tradition and thereby considered essential, to the mind of the singer or congregation, and thereby to help transmit its message. Each of the genres of chant mentioned above, which together constitute the framework of the service, has its own manner of being, each immediately perceptible to the participants in the celebration. This way of clothing a text in a musical form that brings other associations to mind is not a form of expression that is limited to a passing sound, or to an individual word judged worthy of being singled out in this way. There are certain pieces that do show associative references of this kind in individual details, and were composed to this end, but much more it is the chant taken as a whole, organized along easily memorable lines, that can play on the memory, especially when the practice has developed over many centuries. Certain chants are sung in a simple, direct way — such as psalms sung *in directum*, or tracts — while others require a separate part to respond — the *responsum*. Within these chants the phrases are punctuated with cadences composed according to precise formulas. There are different endings for the melodies of each cadence, depending on whether they are medial or final. These rigorous principles help to make the text intelligible, by retaining a place in the memory of the singer and ensuring the active mental participation of those assisting in the service.

In the musical transmission of a text, every aspect is perceived immediately and engages the senses. Chant communicates by its own means, with pauses, silences, ornamentation, and in the manner in which it starts and finishes. The combined effect on those who hear the chant is to grasp the attention and lead the memory to expectations which are then happily brought to fulfilment according to the

⁹ Dan. 3. 1–50; Benevento, Archivio Archivescovile, 33, fols 69^{va}–71^{ra}.

natural rhythm of their function, all of which serves to bring a sense of familiarity for all the participants in the celebration, whether monks, clergy, nobility, or servants.

It was in this context that Western liturgies slowly came to be organized and developed. There are particular witnesses, or sometimes simply markers, that show particular moments of significance in this development, such as the importing of hymns from the Eastern church, the organization of a *schola* and development of a repertory of chant in the time of Gregory the Great or later, the progressive stabilization of the repertory of chants for the Ordinary, or the formation of the series of responsories for the Office. The development of the ways in which different liturgical books were used, replacing little by little the complete books of the Old and New Testaments from which the Psalms and other chant texts originally derived, shows another important change at the end of the sixth century. This was a time at which many important Western traditions developed under a common language but separately from one another, with chant according to regional musical customs.

In this seemingly coherent environment, a reform of the chant could not but have considerable consequences, not only for chant, but for civilization in general. The desire of the Frankish king Pippin III to unify his kingdom by means of the standardization of liturgical chant is a sign of the importance that it had come to assume in the kingdom. This had wide-ranging consequences, two of which are of particular interest here. The first was the creation of new poetic compositional forms, either inserted into the older chant — the practice of troping — or developed in addition to the existing chants — in the form of proses or sequences. The second, arising from the theoretical reflection that accompanied the reform, was the invention of musical notations, intended to represent and to transmit not only the newly reformed melodies but also, and in particular, the new compositions. Thus the earliest examples of musical notation are often found to transmit these new repertories.

The letter of Notker Balbulus of St Gall, written at the end of the ninth century, a short while after the first experiments in notation, is very revealing of the changes as they affected even a monk as experienced in and knowledgeable of chant as Notker himself is likely to have been:

Cum adhuc iuvenulus essem et melodiae longissimae sepius memoriae commendatae instabile corculum aufugerent, coepi tacitus mecum volvere, quonam modo eas potuerim colligare.¹⁰

¹⁰ Latin text in Johannes Duft, 'Wie Notker zu den Sequenzen kam', *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte*, 56 (1962), 201–14.

(When I was still a young man, and the very long melodies that one usually entrusts to the memory escaped from my fickle little heart, I started, in silence, to reflect in myself on the way in which I might be able to collect them together.)

As mentioned above, Notker was accustomed to very strict compositional practices deriving from psalmody, in which repetition had no place. Psalms are organized in sentences whose musical course is linear; but after the Carolingian reforms, the new compositional models dictated new formal practices. Tropes were interpolated into the old chants, and followed new modal schemes inherited from the East.¹¹ Their ornamentation depends entirely on the relations defined by the octoechos, by the positioning of the final and the tenor of the mode, especially in cases where it affects base chants that are composed, in the manner of the oldest chants, according to an archaic structure or using a pentatonic scale.¹²

When sequences are attached to the Alleluia, the *jubilus* of the Alleluia is not retained. The sequence melody starts immediately after the last syllable of the Alleluia and continues in a 'sequence' of melodic formulas based on a principle of repetition: phrases are repeated two by two, and small formulas are repeated within phrases. As competent a musician as Notker, used to the directional, linear organization of chant, could find difficulties here. This seems to be what he means when he tells how, when looking for a way out of this situation, he met a priest from Jumièges carrying an antiphoner in which were found 'versus ad sequentias modulati':

Interim vero contigit, ut presbyter quidam de Gimedia nuper a Nortmannis vastata veniret ad nos, antiphonarium suum deferens secum, in quo aliqui versus ad sequentias erant modulati, sed iam tunc nimium viciati.

(Meanwhile it happened that a certain priest from Jumièges, recently laid waste by the Normans, came to us, carrying his antiphoner with him, in which some verses were adapted to *sequentiae*, but even then they were badly corrupted.)

At the same period another antiphoner from the West, a manuscript without musical notation from the Abbey of St Peter at Mont Blandin, not far from Compiègne, includes mention of Alleluia chants *cum sequentia* for the following Alleluia verses: *Iubilate Deo, Dominus regnavit decorem, Beatus vir qui timet, Te*

¹¹ On the Eastern origins of the Latin modal system see Peter Jeffery, 'The Earliest Octoechoi: The Role of Jerusalem and Palestine in the Beginnings of Modal Ordering', in *The Study of Medieval Chant: Paths and Bridges, East and West*, ed. by Peter Jeffery (Cambridge: Brewer, 2001), pp. 147–210.

¹² See the analysis below, pp. 88–93, for some sequences in which these various compositional procedures may be found.

deceat ymnus, Notum fecit Dominus (the second verse to follow *Cantate Domino*), and *Laudamini in nomine* (the third verse after *Confitemini Domino* and *Cantate ei et psallite*).¹³ These are the first attestations to this new compositional genre of the sequence, which consequently came to refer in the West to these *longissimae melodiae* attached to the Alleluia chant.¹⁴

In his famous letter, Notker mentions ‘versus ad sequentias modulati’ which in his opinion are not very well composed (‘nimium viciati’), and the letter continues by teaching us what he understands to be a good composition, namely that all the notes of the melody must be filled out with texts: ‘Singulae motus cantilenae singulas syllabas debent habere’ (each movement of the melody must correspond to a syllable). It thus seems that what he found in this antiphoner would have been sequences of this type, which we here name ‘partial-text sequences’, where the melodies are partially filled with verses. These melodies come to appear in the proser from both East and West, where they are entirely provided with texts which set these verses; but in the West they still on occasion appear in the form in which Notker describes them, as in the sequentiary shown in Plates 4–6.

In this mention of an antiphoner, Notker thus refers us to the earliest means of diffusion of these sequences, a practice that is confirmed in the additions made to the Antiphoner of Charles the Bald (BnF lat. 17436, fols 29^r–30^v). His description is of the same type of manuscript, with the same presentation: an antiphoner comprising sequences and *versus ad sequentias*, in existence at the same time.¹⁵ Indeed, the earliest manuscript source of the letter of Notker is the small sequentiary of St Gall preserved in Paris, dating from the turn of the ninth and tenth centuries, and Susan Rankin has situated the meeting of the poet with the antiphoner a few decades earlier, at the time of his youth.¹⁶ On another page of the Antiphoner of Charles the Bald (fol. 24^r), the prose *Summa pia gratia*

¹³ Brussels, Bibliothèque royale Albert 1^{er}, lat. 10127–10144 (eighth–ninth century); ed. in AMS.

¹⁴ On this subject see Andreas Haug, ‘Der Sequentiarteil des Codex Einsiedeln 121’, in *Codex 121 Einsiedeln: Graduale und Sequenzen Notkers von St. Gallen*, ed. by Odo Lang (Weinheim: VCH/Acta humaniora, 1991), pp. 207–56 (p. 208).

¹⁵ This antiphoner has been cited in the context of this letter in Haug, ‘Der Sequentiarteil’, p. 208; Richard Crocker refers to it as one of the first sequence manuscripts in *The Early Medieval Sequence* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), p. 5.

¹⁶ BnF lat. 10587. Susan Rankin, ‘The Earliest Sources of Notker’s Sequences: St Gallen, Vadiana 317, and Paris, BN Lat. 10587’, *Early Music History*, 10 (1991), 201–33.

nostra is copied in Metz neumes at the beginning of the same gathering and gives a precise report on the invasion of the Normans before which the monk referred to by Notker had fled.¹⁷

The precise origin of the Antiphoner of Charles the Bald remains uncertain. According to Michel Huglo, this superb antiphoner for the Mass and Office must have been copied in Soissons between 860 and 880 and been completed for the imperial chapel at Compiègne of which the dedication took place on 5 May 877.¹⁸ This reasoning accords with that of Gunilla Iversen, who prefers to see the origins of the manuscript in the broader context of the Palatine chapel and agrees with the dating.¹⁹ Several influences on the book become evident when one considers the musical notations added to the book, comprising French notation, Metz notation, as well as a mixed notation. This area was an important crossroads for the exchange of ideas at this time which saw the emergence of the first musical notations. A contemporary, Hucbald of St Amand, testifies to this situation when, comparing the neumatic notations with the facilities of reading that are

¹⁷ For the controversy surrounding the origin of *Summa pia* and its relation to *Gaude eia*, for which the earliest source, which lacks notation, is in the Autun troper (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 1169, fol. 25^v), see Crocker, *The Early Medieval Sequence*, pp. 88–89, and his 'Some Ninth-Century Sequences', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 20 (1967), 367–402 (pp. 390–95) (repr. in Crocker, *Studies in Medieval Music Theory and the Early Sequence*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 580 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), art. xv); see also Gunilla Iversen's analysis of this prose, pp. 23–28, above.

¹⁸ Michel Huglo, 'Observations codicologiques sur l'antiphonaire de Compiègne (Paris, B.N. lat. 17436)', in *De musica et cantu: Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper, Helmut Huckle zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Peter Cahn and Ann-Katrin Heimer, Schriftenreihe der Frankfurter Musikhochschule, 1 (Hildesheim: Olms, 1993), pp. 117–30 (repr. in Michel Huglo, *Les Sources du plain-chant et de la musique médiévale*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 800 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), art. xii). The antiphoner is edited in PL, LXXXVIII (gradual, cols 641–725; antiphoner, cols 725–850); for the text of the gradual see AMS, and for the Office see Charles Clyde Barber, 'The Oldest Known Antiphoner of the Western Church, being an Exact Transcription of the Text of ff. 31^v–107^r of the Codex Compendiensis (MS 17436 fonds latin of the Bibliothèque Nationale Paris)' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Aberdeen, 1973). On this manuscript see also Jacques Hourlier, 'Le Domaine de la notation messine', *Revue grégorienne*, 30 (1951), 150–58; Wilhelm Koehler and Florentine Mutherich, *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen*, v, 1–2: *Die Hochschule Karls des Kahlen* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1982), pp. 127–31; and Ritva Jacobsson, 'The Antiphoner of Compiègne: Paris, BnF lat. 17436', in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages*, ed. by Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 147–78.

¹⁹ See Iversen, pp. 18–21, above.

offered by notations in the distinct signs used, he mentions the varied written forms of the neumatic notations:

Quod his notis quas nunc usus tradidit quaeque pro locorum uarietate diuersis nichilominus deformantur figuris, quamuis ad aliquid prosint rememorationis subsidium, minime potes contingere.

(But this can scarcely happen using the signs which custom has handed down to us and which in various regions are given no less various shapes, although they are of some help as an aid to one's memory.)²⁰

As with other ninth-century antiphoners, it was not intended that the Antiphoner of Charles the Bald should be notated: their purpose was to transmit the corpus of liturgical texts of the Romano-Frankish repertory in the correct order of their use.²¹ The Antiphoner of Albi, copied at the end of the ninth century or beginning of the tenth, marks a turning point in this respect since, at least for the beginning and certain later portions, the inclusion of musical notation had been envisaged by the copyist of the text, though it was in fact carried out only very little.²² It is notable that this Antiphoner appears at many points to depend upon the tradition presented by the Antiphoner of Charles the Bald. The latter was not notated, but some French neumes were added to the text of the introit *Memento nostri* (fol. 3^v). The reasons for the addition of the neumes are easily discerned, since the 'Dominica vacat' which follows the Saturday of Advent Embertide was only lately equipped with a liturgy, and even the oldest manuscripts do not agree on the choice of introit for this Sunday, Compiègne

²⁰ Hucbald of St Amand, *Musica*, in *L'Œuvre musicale d'Hucbald de Saint-Amand*, ed. with a French trans. by Yves Chartier, Cahiers d'études médiévales, cahier spécial 5 (Saint-Laurent: Bellarmin, 1995), pp. 194–95; translation from *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music: Three Medieval Treatises*, trans. by Warren Babb, ed. by Claude V. Palisca (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), p. 36.

²¹ Six of these earliest antiphoners were edited by Hesbert in his AMS: the Antiphoner of Compiègne, or of Charles the Bald (BnF lat. 17436, ninth century), the Monza Gradual (Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare e Tesoro, eighth century), and the Antiphoners of Mont Blandin (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale Albert I^{er}, lat. 10127–10144, eighth–ninth century), Corbie (BnF lat. 12050, ninth–tenth century), Senlis (Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 111, ninth century), and Rheinau (Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Rh. 30, eighth–ninth century).

²² Albi, Bibliothèque municipale Rochemagade, 44; the text is edited in *Albi, Bibliothèque municipale Rochemagade, Manuscript 44: A Complete Ninth-Century Gradual and Antiphoner from Southern France*, ed. by John A. Emerson and Lila Collamore, Musicological Studies, 77 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2002).

being the only source in the Sextuplex edition to choose *Memento nostri*.²³ The Gradual of Noyon, a city very close to Compiègne, does not include this Mass, nor this introit.²⁴

A gathering of seven folios separates the Gradual of Compiègne from the Antiphoner. As is often seen in this kind of book, this gathering includes a series of Alleluia chants and processional antiphons, grouped together here because their use was not yet completely fixed in the liturgy.²⁵ It is also at the beginning of this gathering that the prose *Summa pia* is found, as well as the sequence melismas copied a little later than the remainder of the manuscript, and the gathering finishes with a Gospel pericope written in tironian *notae*.²⁶

fol. 24^{r-v}: Prose *Summa pia*, with notation.

fol. 25^{r-v}: Series of Alleluia verses.

fols 26^r–29^r: Processional antiphons.

[II] fol. 29^r: Continuation of the antiphons, for Easter; untitled sequence (Alleluia *Domine refugium*); sequence with partial text: *Adorabo minor V. Suscipe laus angelorum* (for the dedication).

fol. 29^v: End of the preceding sequence.

[I] fol. 30^r: Sequence with partial text: *Fulgens preclara V. Rex in eternum suscipe* (for Easter); sequence, *Gloriosa*;²⁷ sequence, *Eia recolamus* (for Christmas, Circumcision, or Eastertide).²⁸

²³ See AMS 007.2. The second part of this antiphoner received two further additions of notation on fols 81^r and 109^v.

²⁴ This is the manuscript said to be from Mont Renaud, now in a private collection but published in facsimile in PM, XVI (1955).

²⁵ Iversen observes that some of the antiphons for the Easter season are unique to this manuscript (pp. 28–30, above).

²⁶ Tironian *notae* were much used in Carolingian scriptoria, and particularly to indicate nuances of a rhythmic or melodic nature in the tenth-century Gradual of Laon (Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 239; facsimile in PM, X (1909)).

²⁷ Anselm Hughes, *Anglo-French Sequelae* (London: Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society, 1934), p. 27, besides *Gloriosa* for St Stephen, mentions other proses for other saints.

²⁸ On p. 75, below, we suggest the use of the prose *Claris vocibus* with this melody. The anthology below includes transcriptions of *Fulgens*, *Gloriosa*, *Claris*, and *Letetur* (nos I, II, III, and VI).

fol. 30^v: Gospel pericope in tironian *notae*, *Vae vobis, qui aedificatis monumenta*.²⁹ This text may be read on the feasts of the Invention of St Stephen and of Sts Cornelius and Cyprian.³⁰

The prose and sequences are written with a type of notation that one could call ‘proto-Messine’, comprising elements in common with proto-Aquitanian notation, such as a looped *pes stratus* and some signs differentiating it from the Messine notation found in the famous gradual of the ninth or tenth century preserved at Laon.³¹ This sequentiary is among the earliest known examples of Messine notation.

The sequences copied here are not the first in the ordering of the liturgical year, as with those found in the fragment of the earliest sequence collection from St Gall.³² We should thus not treat it as a complete sequence collection but rather as a circumstantial selection of sequences, four out of five of which were provided in the margin with a title referring to the corresponding prose or Alleluia verse. That is to say, there are three pure melismatic sequences — one untitled, *Gloriosa*, and *Eia recolamus*³³ — and two sequences with partial text, both entitled, one with its incipit *Fulgens preclara*, the other with the Alleluia *Adorabo minor*. None of the sequences is explicitly assigned in this manuscript to a particular liturgical occasion, but they appear to form a collection relating, to judge from the references to St Stephen and the dedication, to the dedication of the Chapel of Compiègne on 5 May 877.

Each of the series of categories presented in this section of the manuscript begins at the top of a folio: the prose *Summa pia* (fol. 24^{r-v}), the list of Alleluias (fol. 25^{r-v}), and the processional antiphons (fols 26^r–29^r). This procedure, as

²⁹ Luke 11. 47–51; see Huglo, ‘Observations codicologiques’, p. 121, who refers to the edition of the text in Paul Legendre, *Études tironiennes: commentaire sur la VI^e églogue de Virgile tiré d’un manuscrit de Chartres*, Bibliothèque de l’École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sciences historiques et philologiques, 165 (Paris: Champion, 1907), p. 63.

³⁰ Jean Mallet and André Thibaut, *Les Manuscrits en écriture bénéventaine de la bibliothèque capitulaire de Bénévent*, 3 vols (Paris: CNRS, 1984–97), III, 1277.

³¹ There is even an Aquitanian form of *pes stratus* on fol. 30^r, on lines 1, 3, 4, 6, and 7 (*Fulgens preclara*), and 11 and 12 (*Gloriosa*); see Plate 6.

³² BnF lat. 10587 (c. 900) is not a random collection but a sequentiary organized according to the liturgical year, lacking all but the first few leaves.

³³ According to Marie Françoise Damongeot, Conservateur général at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the titles are in the same hand as the sequences themselves; I am very grateful to her for examining these pages.

well as particular details of the hand that wrote the sequence *Adorabo minor*, encourage one to think that the sequences were first added on folio 30^{r-v}, the last folio of the gathering, then continued following the processional antiphons on folio 29^r, ending with folio 29^v.³⁴ This would mean that the series began with the Eastertide sequence *Fulgens preclara*, which includes a royal acclamation, 'Rex in aeternum', followed by the sequence for St Stephen, *Gloriosa*, followed in turn by the sequence entitled *Eia recolamus* (*Claris vocibus*); then on folio 29^{r-v}, after the untitled sequence came finally the sequence for the dedication, *Adorabo*.

All the titles assigned to the sequence melodies correspond to sequences or proses that are well attested in the manuscripts of south-western France, and even though *Eia recolamus* is the incipit of a prose that is also found in St Gall, the adaptation of the melody of Compiègne is effected more satisfactorily for *Claris vocibus*, its counterpart in the West.³⁵ Of the sequences with titles, *Eia recolamus* is the only one with a corresponding East-Frankish version, and it is perhaps for this reason that the title allotted to it was the Eastern one. *Letetur et concrepet* could have *Tu civium* as its Eastern equivalent, but this corresponds only for the opening phrases, even missing out the central verse 'Suscipe, laus angelorum'. One of these sequences, *Gloriosa*, is found in one of the very earliest Western sources, the Toul proser, and corresponds to the Alleluia *Beatus vir*, which is one of the Alleluia chants described in the Mont Blandin Antiphoner as 'cum sequentia'.³⁶ When setting these sequences beside their versions with heightened neumes in the Aquitanian sequence collections, we find that they are very accurately reproduced, following the same groupings of neumes. There is no difficulty in recognizing correspondences, nor in detecting any formulas that are added or removed.

³⁴ This is the order in which they will be considered below; see the transcriptions of the corresponding proses in the anthology below, nos I, II, III, and VI.

³⁵ The study of these repertories has brought to light a distinction between East and West regions corresponding to the division of the Carolingian Empire between Charlemagne's descendants. The consequences of this division are felt both in the composition and in the manner of transmission of repertories created in one or other part after the divide. See on this subject Michel Huglo, 'Division de la tradition monodique en deux groupes "est" et "ouest"', *Revue de musicologie*, 85 (1999), 5–28.

³⁶ The Toul Proser is an unnotated manuscript of c. 900, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, c.l.m. 14843; *Gloriosa* is on fol. 95^v. For Mont Blandin, see p. 65 n. 13, above.

The Sequences of the Antiphoner of Charles the Bald

Fulgens preclara (fol. 30^r)³⁷

The prose corresponding to this melody is found from the tenth century, in St Martial, Autun, and Winchester. It was known throughout Aquitania as well as more widely in England and Italy by the eleventh century, then throughout Europe, with the exception of Germany. It was recognized as the most beautiful, 'prosarum pulcherrima',³⁸ and, sung at Eastertide or on Easter Day itself, it was even provided with a trope *ad sequentiam* in the Moissac Troper.³⁹ As Gunilla Iversen has remarked above, Charles the Bald was accustomed to visiting St Médard of Soissons or Compiègne for the Easter celebrations, which could be an explanation both for the presence of this prose in this manuscript and for its rapid diffusion, bearing in mind that the royal acclamation 'Rex in eternum' was used in other circumstances, found later for example with the same intonation in the Play of Daniel.⁴⁰ This prose was disseminated, as were many other chants, in

³⁷ This sequence was reconstructed by Heinrich Husmann, 'Sequenz und Prosa', *Annales musicologiques*, 2 (1954), 61–91 (pp. 78–79) from the following manuscripts: BnF lat. 887, 909, 1084, 1119, 1133, 1134, 1135, 1136, 1137, 1138, and n.a.lat. 1871. See also for the eleventh century BnF lat. 1087; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 473; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 775; and Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, 76 (75) (from Arras) (see AH, XLIX, 271). The prose is found in BnF lat. 1240, 1118, 1138, 887, 1084, 778, 1087, 1119, 1120, 1132, 1136, 1137, and 1139 (see AH, VII, 57); BnF n.a.lat. 1871 and lat. 903; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 1169 (from Autun, tenth–eleventh century); BnF lat. 9449; Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, 60; Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, 146 and 161; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 222 (from Novalesa); Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, 107 (from Mantua); Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, 2032 (from Stavelot); and BL Harl. 2961 (from Exeter) (see AH, LIII, 62). For the twelfth century let it suffice to mention Benevento Arch. 34 (published as PM, xv (1937)); also David Hiley, 'The Repertory of Sequences at Winchester', in *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes*, ed. by Graeme M. Boone, Isham Library Papers, 4 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), pp. 153–93 (p. 189); also see Iversen's discussion above (pp. 30–40), Plate 6, and the transcription in the anthology below, no. 1.

³⁸ BnF lat. 1135, fol. 3^r.

³⁹ BnF n.a.lat. 1871, fol. 15^r; see the facsimile, *Tropaire séquentiaire prosaire prosulaire de Moissac (troisième quart du XI^e siècle): manuscrit Paris, BnF, n.a.lat.1871*, ed. by Marie-Noël Colette, Publications de la Société française de musicologie, 1st ser., 27 (Paris: SFM, 2006). See also Marie-Noël Colette, 'Le Prosulaire de Moissac: Paris, BnF, n.a.lat. 1871, 3^e quart du XI^e siècle', in *Hortus troporum: florilegium in honorem Gunillae Iversen*, ed. by Alexander Andrée and Erika Kihlman, SLS, 54 (2008), pp. 57–84.

⁴⁰ BL Egerton 2615, fols 95^r–108^r.

southern Italy, not without some modifications, as Iversen has shown for the adaptation found at Benevento. The text of one verse at Compiègne was subject to various alternative readings, which do not affect the melody but could give indications of the various stages of its transmission: in 13a, where Compiègne has 'Ergo pie rex nobis, da peccamina', Winchester, Nevers, and Moissac have 'dans peccamina' and Autun and Cluny read 'laxans crimina'.⁴¹

Gloriosa (fol. 30^r)

The title of this sequence is also the incipit of a prose, which was based on the Alleluia *Beatus vir qui timet*,⁴² which chant is followed in the Mont Blandin Antiphoner with the annotation 'cum sequentia'.⁴³ The prose is found in the oldest collections,⁴⁴ from the tenth century in Toul, Monza, and St Martial,⁴⁵ and in the eleventh century still in Aquitania,⁴⁶ as well as Autun, Winchester, Nevers, Arras, Monza, Ivrea, Mantua, Bologna, Novalesa, and Vercelli,⁴⁷ reaching Catalonia by the twelfth century.⁴⁸ In its wide dissemination it accrued some textual variants, and the prozers of Aurillac and Moissac add a supplementary pair of phrases to it.⁴⁹

⁴¹ Winchester: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 473, fol. 81^v; Nevers: BnF lat. 9449, fol. 37^v; Moissac: BnF n.a.lat. 1871, fol. 79^r; Autun: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 1169, fols 21^r–22^r; Cluny: BnF lat. 1087, fol. 104^r. For the same verse Benevento here gives 'dona veniam'; see David Hiley, 'Editing the Winchester Sequence Repertory of ca. 1000', in *Cantus planus: Papers Read at the Third Meeting, Tihany, Hungary, 19–24 September 1988*, ed. by László Dobszay and others (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1990), pp. 99–113 (p. 111).

⁴² *Graduale triplex* (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1979), pp. 511–12.

⁴³ See p. 64, above.

⁴⁴ Crocker, *The Early Medieval Sequence*, pp. 394–95.

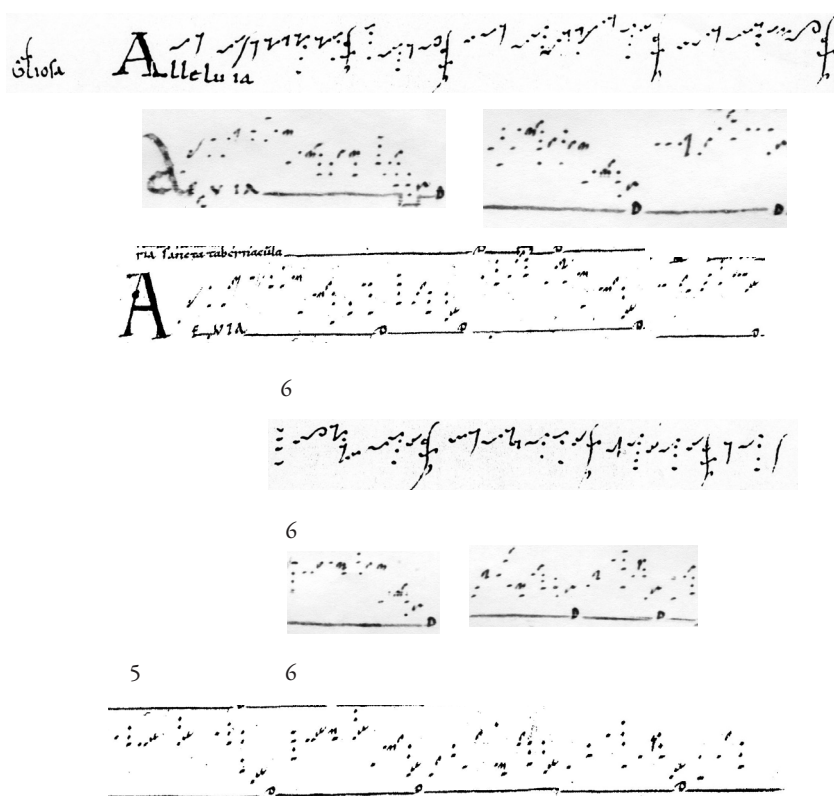
⁴⁵ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, c.l.m. 14843; Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare, 75; BnF lat. 1240.

⁴⁶ BnF lat. 1084, 1118, 1138, 887, 1119, 1120, 1132, 1136, 1137 (see AH, VII, 213), and n.a.lat. 1871.

⁴⁷ Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 1169; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 775; BnF lat. 9449; Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, 60; Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare, 76; Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, 60; Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, 107; Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, 123; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 222; Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, 146 and 161 (see AH, LIII, 351).

⁴⁸ Ripoll (Vic, Archivo Eclesiástico 31) and Girona (BnF n.a.lat. 495).

⁴⁹ *Te donante, Presentis vite*, among the fourth and sixth formulas, and a variant at the beginning and between the ninth and tenth phrases. The fifth phrase corresponds to a change of line in



Ex. 1. *Gloriosa* in BnF lat. 17436, fol. 30^r (see Plate 6); BnF lat. 1118, fol. 133^v; and BnF n.a.lat. 1871, fol. 78^r.

Ex. 1 shows the sequence melody as it is transmitted in BnF lat. 17436 and two other manuscripts.

The date of the dedication feast at Compiègne, 5 May, may account for the presence of this prose generally dedicated to St Stephen, *O beate protomartyr Stephane*.⁵⁰ Victor Leroquais found a Feast of the Translation of Stephen on 5, 6, or 7 May in breviaries from Metz, Passau, Auxerre, and further south in Limoges,

Compiègne. The start is a little different in Moissac (BnF n.a.lat. 1871, fol. 105^r), reading 'Gloriosa per secli ampla', but corresponds to the musical formula in Compiègne. This sequence and *Fulgens preclara* are the two in Compiègne that are notated with a *pes stratus* of Aquitanian form (fol. 30^r).

⁵⁰ This text is also adapted elsewhere for St John, St Silvester, or even the common of saints (AH, LIII, 353). The prosa of St Martial has it dedicated to an unspecified patron saint.

Mirepoix, and Toulouse;⁵¹ at Auxerre the feast on 6 May has the rubric 'In festo Translationis Corporis beatissimi prothomartyris Stephani a Bisantio ad urbem Romam'.⁵² The relics of St Stephen were venerated at Aachen,⁵³ and Charles the Bald had wanted to make his chapel at Compiègne a counterpart to Aachen.⁵⁴ If this prose can be associated with this occasion then it does not come as a great surprise that the same feast is not found in the main part of the antiphoner, its transference to Compiègne for the dedication not having been envisaged at the time of its copying. And it is particularly noteworthy for the dedication of the chapel of the emperor of the West that the feast that was chosen should have been the translation of the relics of the first martyr from Byzantium to Rome, at a time when Charles the Bald was envisaging the translation to Compiègne of the relics of Sts Cornelius and Cyprian.

Eia recolamus (fol. 30^r)

This prose, which is found in the East with the title *Eia turma*, does not appear in the earliest prosers of St Gall, preserved in Paris,⁵⁵ but only begins to be found in the complementary series of St Gall prosers⁵⁶ and in the second series of the

⁵¹ See Victor Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 6 vols (Paris: [n. pub.], 1934), III, 5–10: BnF lat. 1029 (Auxerre, fourteenth–fifteenth century). The Compiègne gradual has the Feast of St Stephen in December but lacks any feasts for Stephen in August or September.

⁵² This translation took place on 15 January 460 and was celebrated in Rome on 7 May; see Ulysse Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge, Bio-bibliographie*, 2 vols (Paris: Picard, 1903–07), I, 1375.

⁵³ I am grateful to Joseph Dyer for this information.

⁵⁴ See Gunilla Iversen, pp. 18–19, above.

⁵⁵ BnF lat. 10587 (c. 900). This manuscript nevertheless comprises the first prosers of the liturgical cycle.

⁵⁶ In St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 484, at the end of the series, no. 43 in the list in *Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen Codices 484 & 381*, ed. by Wulf Arlt and Susan Rankin, 3 vols (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1996), I, 85 (facsimile: III, 336); corresponding to St Gall 381, no. 2, notated by the second hand at its normal position in the liturgical cycle. According to Wolfram von den Steinen, this must have been composed fairly late and was largely diffused first in the East then the West, but never in Aquitania (*Notker der Dichter und seine geistige Welt*, 2 vols (Bern: Francke, 1948), *Editionsband*, pp. 94, 175; *Darstellungsband*, pp. 270, 560). The acclamation *Eia recolamus* may well have existed before the composition of this prose. This prose is reproduced in facsimile in René-Jean Hesbert, *Le Troisième-prosaire de Dublin*, *Monumenta Musicae Sacrae*, 4 (Rouen: Imprimerie Rouennaise, 1979), p. 31.

proser of Einsiedeln.⁵⁷ It is normally assigned to the Nativity; however, one finds it in Benevento for Easter, and the collection of proses and sequences that contains the prose *Qui celorum* proposes *Eia recolamus* for the Circumcision in the first hand, with an additional mention at the beginning of the collection stipulating that it should be sung for the Nativity.⁵⁸ Its origin remains questionable because it is found from a very early date not only in Germany but also in Italy and in the West, in Winchester, Autun, St Magloire,⁵⁹ as well as elsewhere. This mention in the Compiègne Antiphoner only serves to complicate matters further, more especially as in its sounding form it does not meet all the normal characteristics of a Notkerian prose. However, its melody there does not correspond completely to that of Compiègne, which has one formula less before the end. Ex. 2 shows the version of Compiègne and three other sources.

There is, though, a characteristic prose found in the West which conforms with the melody of Compiègne, namely *Clariss vocibus*, for the Purification of the Virgin. It is well attested in the West, found in Autun, Nevers, Winchester, Rouen, Aquitania, and elsewhere. It would not come as a great surprise to find it in this context, since the Chapel of Compiègne was dedicated to the Virgin. Could the title *Eia recolamus* have been universal, and therefore valid for *Clariss vocibus* too,⁶⁰ or could it only have been added by a hand from the East?⁶¹ And yet, as we have already seen, the prose *Eia recolamus* is not found in the earliest St Gall repertory. It should also be noted that Autun, which recalls other proses related to the collection in Compiègne, presents precisely these same two proses, *Eia recolamus* and *Clariss vocibus*. Perhaps the confusion arose from this co-existence. Michel Huglo thinks that this title presents the first attestation of the interjection 'eia' (at least in a liturgical composition: Gunilla Iversen also notes that the word

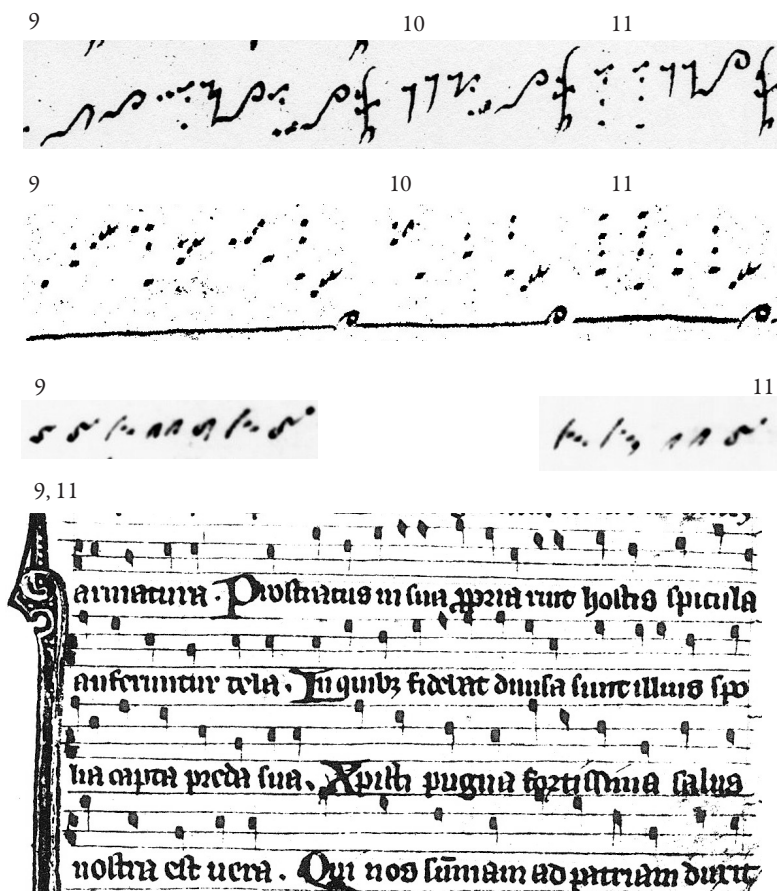
⁵⁷ *Alleluia Eia recolamus*; Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 121 (c. 960) (facsimile in Lang, *Codex 121 Einsiedeln*).

⁵⁸ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1043; see below, pp. 76–79.

⁵⁹ AH, LIII, 23; widespread in St Gall, Germany, Autun, Cambrai, England, Italy, Benevento, and elsewhere. Much later the verse *Gemit capta* was used in farsed verses of the Apostles' Creed in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 263, of the thirteenth century. The Credo is edited by David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 234.

⁶⁰ BnF lat. 1118, 1138, 887, 1084, 1132, and 1136 (AH, VII, 118); many other sources, from Autun, Moissac, Nevers, Winchester and elsewhere in England, St Ouen of Rouen, and elsewhere, are listed in AH, LIII, 174–76. *Clariss vocibus* is found in the Autun Proser, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 1169, fol. 12^r.

⁶¹ According to AH, LIII, certain manuscripts associate this prose with *Adorabo minor*. It occurs as much with *Eia recolamus*.



Ex. 2. *Claris vocibus*: phrases 9–11 in BnF lat. 17436, fol. 30^r (see Plate 6) and BnF n.a.lat. 1871, fol. 78^r; *Eia recolamus*: phrases 9 and 11 in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1043, fol. 2^r, and in the Dublin Troper, Cambridge, University Library, Add. 710, fol. 48^r.

was employed by John Scottus Eriugena). It is quite possible, moreover, that the composer of the Eastern version had borrowed this title from the West, or followed the model of another prose.

The Untitled Sequence (fol. 29^r)

This sequence is found, also without title, in the following collections of melismatic sequences notated on isolated folios, as well as in sequence collections under the heading *Domine refugium*:

BnF n.a.lat. 1618: Boethius, *De institutione musica* and texts on *computus* and astronomy. A tenth-century manuscript from St Benignus of Dijon, originally from St Amand. Folio 91^v has an invitory chant notated in Palaeo-Frankish neumes. Folio 91^r comprises a series of untitled notated sequences, headed 'Sequenciarum pars est ista'. These sequences are noted in French neumes, characteristic of Anjou according to Solange Corbin.⁶²

Autun, Bibliothèque municipale, S 28 (24): a seventh-century copy of Cassian's *De capitalibus vitiis*.⁶³ In the tenth century various sequences were copied onto folio 64^r, ours without a heading and the others titled *Ostende*, *Fulgida*, *Hieronima*, and *Sirena*.⁶⁴

Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, 144 (136): a tenth-century homiliary from St Aubin of Angers. On folio 98^v, at the end of a series of sequences, our sequence is provided with the heading *Domine refugium*.⁶⁵

The sequence also appears with the same heading in the sequence collections of Winchester, where it accompanies the prose *Laude canora*,⁶⁶ and St Martial, with the prose *Eia simul*.⁶⁷

The Alleluia *Domine refugium* is assigned to a Sunday after Pentecost.⁶⁸ It appears, as well as the Alleluia *De profundis*, in the lists of the *Antiphonale missarum*

⁶² Solange Corbin, 'La Notation musicale neumatique dans les quatre provinces lyonnaises' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Paris, 1957), p. 239. At the bottom of the page, the responsory *Alieni non transibunt* has been notated in another, possibly Burgundian hand.

⁶³ See Bruno Stäblein, 'Zur Frühgeschichte der Sequenz', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 18 (1961), 1–33, who does not reveal the resemblance of the sequence with that of Compiègne. See also W. H. Frere, *The Winchester Troper*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 8 (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1894); Crocker, 'Some Ninth-Century Sequences'; and Hiley, 'The Repertory'.

⁶⁴ These last three are not mentioned in Hughes, *Anglo-French Sequelae*; and only the titled sequences are given in the *Catalogue des manuscrits d'Autun, Bibliothèque municipale et Société éduenne*, ed. by Claire Maître (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 102–05.

⁶⁵ See Hiley, 'The Repertory', pp. 177–90.

⁶⁶ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 473, fols 86^v, 127^r–128^r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 775, fols 129^r, 169^r–^v; see Hiley, 'The Repertory', pp. 177–90.

⁶⁷ BnF lat. 1121, fol. 68^v: *Domine refugium*; from *Eia simul*, with a notated melisma.

⁶⁸ This Alleluia is edited in the *Graduale Triplex*, p. 321, which refers to Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 239, fol. 175^r (facsimile in *Antiphonale missarum sancti Gregorii, IX^e–X^e siècle: Codex 239 de la bibliothèque de Laon*, PM, x (1909)) and in the Cantatorium of St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 359, p. 148 (facsimile in *Cantatorium IX^e siècle: no. 359 de la Bibliothèque de Saint-Gall*, PM, 2nd ser., II (1924)).

sextuplex for Compiègne and Corbie, and in the Cantatorium of St Gall with the same melody but for a few slight variants.⁶⁹ Karlheinz Schlager has drawn attention to certain variants, the most significant for our purposes being the absence of the second *pes* on *Al-le-luia* in *Domine refugium* as found in the treatise of Regino of Prüm in the north of France.⁷⁰ This variant corresponds slightly with that of the Compiègne sequence.

Several proses which for the most part did not survive into the eleventh century correspond to this melody:

Laude canora, associated with Alleluia *Domine refugium*, only in the two Winchester Tropers.⁷¹

Eia simul, associated with Alleluia *Domine refugium* at St Martial.⁷²

Succina, found in Aquitania for the feast of a confessor, but also with Alleluia *Domine refugium* in Nevers.⁷³

⁶⁹ For this sequence Hughes mentions the Alleluia *De profundis*, sung on the twenty-third Sunday after Pentecost (*Anglo-French Sequelae*, no. 13; *Graduale triplex*, p. 367), but we have not found it used in connection with any of these proses.

⁷⁰ Karlheinz Schlager, *Alleluia melodien 1*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, 7 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1968): *Domine refugium*, no. 672, p. 135; *De profundis*, no. 671, p. 104 (after the tenth-century manuscript Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Rep. I. 93 (169)); see *Le Graduel romain: édition critique*, II: *Les Sources* (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1957), p. 58: 'Au f. 36v.: série d'origine française des versets alleluiatiques pour les dimanches de l'année [...]. Notation neumatique française'.

⁷¹ AH, XL, 64: *Laude canora vox pulcra*, DOMINICIS DIEBUS. Hiley, 'The Repertory', pp. 177–90, cites *Eia simul*, *Ad te cuncta* (with transcription, p. 186), *Hec est festivitas magna*, and *Eia summe sator* as correlates to this prose.

⁷² Found only at St Martial, in BnF lat. 1121 (AH, VII, 269), where the prose is copied twice. On fol. 199^v, with the rubric *Prosa De Alleluia Domine refugium*, the prose, here notated, conforms with Compiègne except in the seventh formula, and the final formula begins with the initial *Cuncta*. Formula 8b is truncated, and the melisma of *Eia simul* (fol. 68^v) swaps round the fifth and sixth formulas, but the prose retains the ordering of Compiègne. On fol. 240^{r-v}, without precise attribution and just before a prose rubricated as ITEM DOMINICALIS, *Coequalis*, the same prose is not notated and the initials have not been realized.

⁷³ BnF lat. 1118, fol. 230: IN NATALE CONFESSORUM; lat. 1338, fols 67^v–68^v: DE UNO CONFESSORE; lat. 9449, fol. 88^r: 'DOMINE REFUGIUM' (AH, VII, 234). The confessor mentioned in the text is Aunarius in BnF lat. 9449 and 1338. The feast of Aunarius, Bishop of Auxerre, was celebrated on 24 September according to a fourteenth-century breviary in Vézelay; see Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires manuscrits*, II, 183. In the prose of Auch, BnF lat. 1118, the saint is not mentioned by name, and it seems that Marcial had been added before the notation had been written in. The prose *Succina* begins on the third formula of the melody and continues to the end, lacking the phrase of Compiègne. The notation ends at *gratissima* in BnF lat. 1118.

Ad te cuncta and *Succina* are found in Angers.⁷⁴

Hec est festivitas magna, found in Aquitania for St Andrew.⁷⁵

Eia summe sator, in which one finds again the incipit 'Eia', is ascribed *De Sancto Iohanne Baptista* in two missals of Noyon.⁷⁶ These sources are remarkable because of their very late date, and especially because of their origin in Noyon, very near to Compiègne. Would this sequence have been preserved more durably in the place of its origin? Unfortunately no earlier Noyon source allows us to confirm this supposition.

Qui celorum continet regna has two sources in which the sequences are notated in the margins of the proses, in the Eastern manner: Echternach,⁷⁷ and a fragment in a manuscript of unidentified provenance preserved in Vienna that includes part of the repertory of St Gall proses but ends with four proses which are not found in the earliest St Gall proser:⁷⁸ *Qui celorum*, without heading; *Benedicta sit semper Trinitas*, headed 'De sancta et individua Trinitate'; *Cantemus cuncti melodum*, headed 'In Septuagesima' but not notated; and *Laus tibi Christe qui es creator*, also not notated and headed in another hand 'De sancta Maria Magdalena'.

Without excluding the possibility of further discoveries, our present knowledge of this sequence shows that it was known from the late ninth century to the end of the eleventh, written with or without text, in Autun, in the Loire valley, in Nevers, in Angers, in Winchester, in Aquitania, in the East, and at Echternach. It does not appear in the same local traditions in the twelfth century and it is only much later that it is found in two missals, one manuscript and one printed, from Noyon.

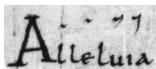
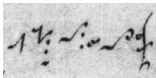
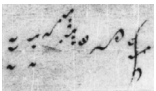

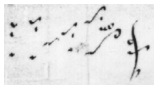

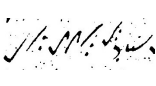
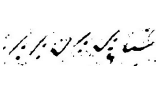

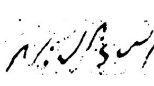
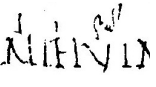
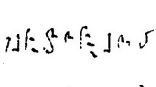
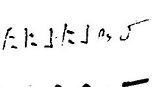
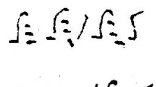
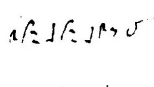
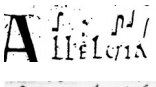
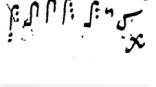
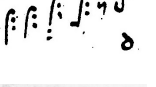
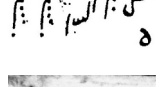
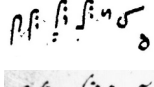
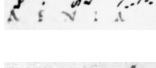
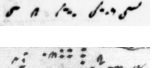
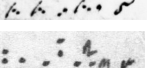
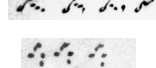

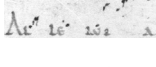









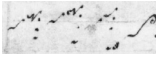

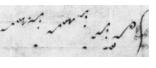
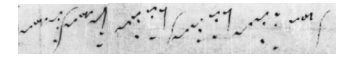
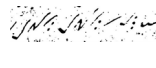

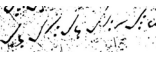
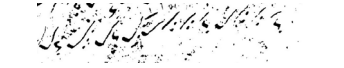
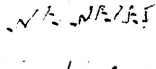

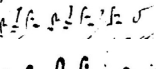
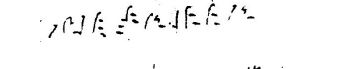
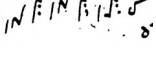

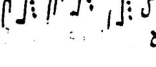
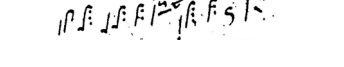
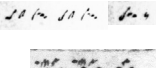
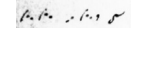
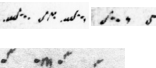
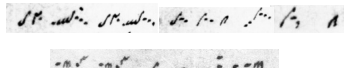
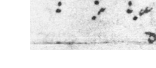


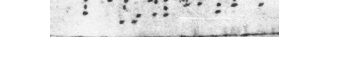

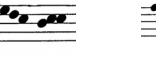


⁷⁴ The eleventh- or twelfth-century gradual-proser of St Aubin of Angers; Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, 97, fol. 116^r. This prose constitutes the opening portion that is lacking from *Succina*.

⁷⁵ BnF lat. 1084, fol. 274^r; BnF lat. 1118, fol. 211^v; BnF lat. 1138, fol. 121^v (AH, VII, 137). The fourth and fifth verses are swapped round.

⁷⁶ Abbeville, Bibliothèque municipale, 7 (a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century missal from Noyon), and the printed *Missale celebris ecclesie Noviomensis* (Rouen: Martin Morin, 1506); AH, XLIV, 159–60.

⁷⁷ Rubricated 'DOMINICA' in the eleventh-century BnF lat. 10510, fols 64^r–65^r, where the ninth formula begins on *Demus*; the title of the Alleluia *Domine refugium* is in another hand.

⁷⁸ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1043 (eleventh century, of unknown origin; AH, IX, 40).

1	2	3	4	5
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
6	7	8	9	
				
				
				
				
				
				
				

Ex. 3. Comparative table of formulas in Compiègne (BnF lat. 17436, fol. 29^r; see Plate 4), Autun S 28 (24), BnF n.a.lat. 1618, Winchester (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 775), Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1043, and St Martial (BnF lat. 1121, with transcription).

The proses that relate to this untitled sequence might be used to celebrate a confessor, St Médard or Sts Cornelius and Cyprian, who were martyrs but also confessors. More probably, it could also recall, since three proses attest to it, the Alleluia *Domine refugium*, a chant appointed for a Sunday, since 5 May was indeed a Sunday in 877. Two reasons encourage one to give preference to *Qui celorum*: it is the only prose which, in both its extant sources, notates the seventh formula of the melisma, which is not included in the other manuscripts; and this prose was also in both sources notated without title in the first hand, just as it was in the sources, including Compiègne, where it is found without text. Moreover, it finishes with the words 'Refugium domine te da, demus ut gratias per cuncta secula', which surely refer back to the Alleluia *Domine refugium*. However, the absence of a heading in the Compiègne sequence collection leaves an element of doubt about this attribution, and therefore about the relation in Compiègne of this sequence to this prose, which could have been composed later in the East. Neither should one exclude the possibility, in view of the number of proses attested for this sequence in the oldest sources, that there was another still unknown prose, or one that went out of use very early, which would explain the absence of a heading for its corresponding sequence.

Adorabo minor (fol. 29^{r-v})

The heading of the last, partially texted sequence, 'Adorabo minor', refers back to the Alleluia verse *Adorabo ad templum*, sung for the Feast of the Dedication on 13 May: 'Dedicatio Basilicae sanctae Mariae ad Martyres.'⁷⁹

The *versus ad sequentiam*, *Suscipe laus*, is fairly widespread, found in Winchester, Cluny, and Aquitania. When the title is not used as the heading of a prose, it refers to *Adorabo maior*.⁸⁰ No fewer than five different proses are attached to it, almost all of them for the dedication: *Angelice turme* is found in one of the Winchester Tropers, for a Sunday;⁸¹ *Precelsa dies veneranda* in the proser of

⁷⁹ Hughes, *Anglo-French Sequelae*, p. 24. A certain confusion has arisen as to which proses are associated with *Eia recolamus* and *Adorabo minor*. They are in effect the same incipit, but are separate from the end of the Alleluia. The St Gall prose *Tu civium* is considered as the Eastern equivalent text, but does not correspond at all and does not include the *versus*.

⁸⁰ BnF lat. 1084, 1118, 1121, 1133, 1134, 1136, 887, 1871, and 1087, and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 473 (AH, XLIX, 272).

⁸¹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 775 (AH, XL, 59); see Hiley, 'The Repertory', p. 190.

Moissac;⁸² *Observanda*, in honour of St Martial, is already found in the earliest St Martial proser, and served as a sequence title in several Aquitanian manuscripts, and even in Cluny;⁸³ *Letetur et concrepet* is the most widespread and the earliest attested text, found in Aquitania, in the proser of Aurillac (BnF lat. 1084), and later in more central sources;⁸⁴ and *Rex celice* is mentioned only in the proser of St Magloire and St Evroult.⁸⁵ *Rex celice* demands our particular attention as it conforms in its organization with the sequence in Compiègne in having only one not three formulas doubled between its verses. It is still distinguished from *Letetur*, though, in its incipit.

This sequence is notated at the bottom of folio 29^r and the top of folio 29^v, and was therefore the last to be written, according to my hypothesis. It was written with a thicker nib in lighter ink, and a fuller examination may lead to our ascribing it to another hand. We recall Michel Huglo's observation that the formulas were here explicitly repeated and not, as in the other sequences, separated with *duplicatur*.⁸⁶ The sequence starts on *G* and finishes on *d*. Some difficulties in reading it can be solved by comparison with the proser, such as an erasure with correction. The most notable aspect, as already mentioned, is the addition of two extra formulas doubled between the verses in the proser *Letetur*, *Observanda*, *Precelsa*, and *Angelice turme*, whereas Compiègne and *Rex celice* have only one.

A testament to the long days of celebration in May 877 was thus inscribed on the pages of this highly important manuscript, between the gradual and the antiphoner, in a gathering which also contained a pericope of the Gospel of Luke which may have been intended to be read on the feast day of St Stephen or Sts Cornelius and Cyprian. The copying of these sequences in such a neat and prestigious manuscript poses various questions. Why, as mentioned in Notker's preface, were the

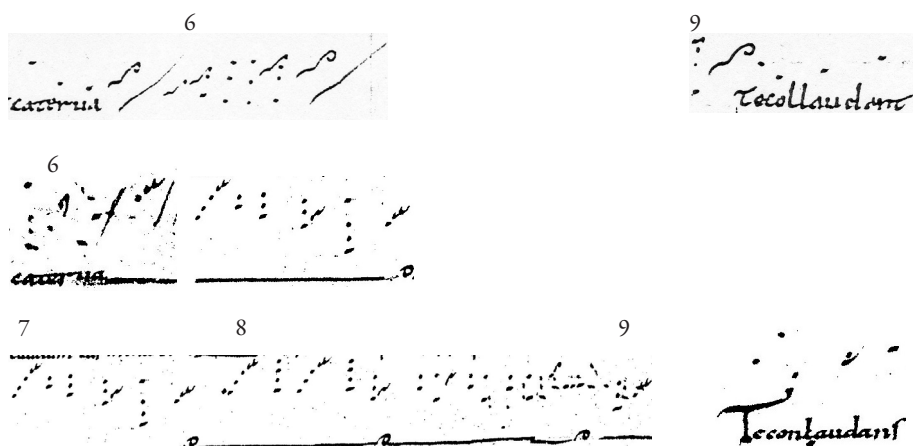
⁸² BnF n.a.lat. 1871, fol. 133^r (from the eleventh century; AH, XLII, 45); see the facsimile in Colette, *Le Trotaire de Moissac*. This prose is transcribed as *Pretiosa dies veneranda* in Camille Daux, *Trotaire-prosier de l'abbaye de Saint-Martin de Montauriol* (Paris: Picard, 1901), p. 141.

⁸³ The sequence has been found by Heinrich Husmann in the following manuscripts: BnF lat. 887, 909, 1087, 1121, 1134, and 1138 ('Sequenz und Prosa', p. 78). The prose *Observanda* is not found in Moissac, but does appear in the following manuscripts: BnF lat. 1240, 1138, 1338, 887, 778, 1119, 1120, 1136, and 1137 (see AH, VII, 241). The Cluny source is BnF lat. 1087, fol. 111^r.

⁸⁴ BnF lat. 1118, 1138, 887, 1084, 778, 1119, 1120, 1132, 1136, and 1137 (AH, VII, 244), and BnF n.a.lat. 1871, BL Add. 22398 (eleventh century, from St Pierre de Vierzon), and Auxerre, Cathedral 6 (thirteenth or fourteenth century, from St Julien de Tours) (AH, LIII, 401).

⁸⁵ BnF lat. 13252, fols 46^v–47^r; lat. 10508, fols 115^r–116^r. Both are for the dedication, despite what is written in AH, IX, 288.

⁸⁶ Huglo, 'Observations codicologiques', p. 122.



Ex. 4. *Adorabo*: phrases 6–9 in BnF lat. 17436, fol. 29^r and BnF n.a.lat. 1871, fol. 82^r.

sequences notated with their verses but not the proses? This points to a habit of notating sequences with an antiphoner. This choice was probably responsible for the separate presentation of the sequences in the West, unlike the St Gall practice shown in the small prosa BnF lat. 10587, with proses copied in the centre of the double page and melismas in the wide outer margins left for this purpose, a form of presentation that remains associated with the East or places influenced by the East, such as Cluny.⁸⁷

Isolated Folios Containing Early Sequences or Proses

These leaves thus include sequences brought together or perhaps even composed for a particular occasion. They do not comprise the only example of this practice. Other sequences or proses are also found on individual leaves, not associated with antiphoners but with other books, not all of them liturgical. Identifying these sequences can help us to understand the reasons why they were grouped together in this context. The earliest sequences may, it seems, have been composed for particular occasions and brought together in written form for the purposes of preservation and diffusion, or to keep a memory of the solemn occasion with which they were associated.⁸⁸ It is only with the earliest copy of the *Liber hymnorum* that

⁸⁷ BnF lat. 1087, fols 102^r–108^r. The two systems of presentation co-exist in this manuscript.

⁸⁸ See on this subject Lori Kruckenberg, 'Sequenz (Gesang)', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, 10 vols (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994–99), VIII, cols 1254–86.

the first collection of sequences appears, notated in the margins of proses, in the order of their occurrence in the course of the liturgical year.⁸⁹

Lists of sequences were inserted into liturgical manuscripts, as we can see for example in those added to the bottom of folio 2^v of the St Denis Missal — *Stans a longe*, *Dulce*, and *Mirabilis*⁹⁰ — and the choice of proses and sequences in the St Martial collection includes, in addition to its proser (fols 46^r–62^r), a supplement (fols 17^r–18^v) and a series of proses and sequences (fols 86^r–88^r).⁹¹ More remarkable still are those which were placed or copied into non-liturgical manuscripts. Let us consider some of these groupings.⁹²

The first page of BnF lat. 2373 has six sequences written out in draft form, with the addition of formulas, neumatic variants, and corrections. This manuscript also includes one page of unnotated proses, which do not correspond to the melismatic sequences. Among these proses are two for which titles are found in the Compiègne manuscript. This volume, written in the ninth and tenth centuries, is better known for its principal contents, works of Halitgar of Cambrai and of St Augustine,⁹³ as well as for the poetic and medicinal texts found in its first section, which is comprised as follows:⁹⁴

⁸⁹ See Rankin, 'The Earliest Sources'.

⁹⁰ Respectively for a Sunday, for the Holy Cross, and for a martyr, in BnF lat. 9436; I am grateful to Lori Kruckenberg for mentioning this connection to me.

⁹¹ BnF lat. 1240. See Richard Crocker, 'The Repertory of Proses at Saint-Martial de Limoges in the Tenth Century', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 11 (1958), 149–64; John Emerson, 'Neglected Aspects of the Oldest Full Troper (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 1240)', in *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, ed. by Gunilla Björkvall and Wulf Arlt, SLS, 36 (1993), pp. 193–217 (p. 214).

⁹² BnF lat. 1618 and Autun, Bibliothèque municipale, S 28 (24); see p. 77, above.

⁹³ Various contents, among them Halitgar of Cambrai, *De vitiis et virtutibus* (fols 7^r–26^r); Augustine, *De cura pro mortuis gerenda* (fols 27^r–33^v); sermons (fols 34^r, 36^r); Alcuin, *De virtutibus et vitiis* (fol. 40^r); and Hincmar of Reims, *Epistola ad Odonem ep. Bellocensem* (fol. 48^v); see *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins*, II, ed. by Philippe Lauer (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1940), pp. 430–31. Among many other discussions of this manuscript, see Paul E. Szarmach, 'A Preliminary Handlist of Manuscripts Containing Alcuin's *Liber de virtutibus et vitiis*', *Manuscripta*, 25 (1981), 131–40.

⁹⁴ Pascale Bourgain, 'Les Manuscrits de poésie rythmique de Paris', in *Poesia dell'alto medioevo europeo: manoscritti, lingua e musica dei ritmi latini; atti delle euroconferenze per il Corpus dei ritmi latini (IV–IX^e sec.)*, Arezzo 6–7 novembre 1998 e Ravello, 9–12 settembre 1999, ed. by Francesco Stella (Florence: SISMEL/Galluzzo, 2000), pp. 263–73; Sam Barrett, 'Ritmi ad cantandum: Some Preliminary Editorial Considerations', in *ibid.*, pp. 397–419 (p. 400); Ernest Wickersheimer, *Les Manuscrits latins de médecine du haut moyen âge dans les bibliothèques de France* (Paris: CNRS, 1966), p. 54, no. 44.

fol. 1^r: Six sequences, without titles (erased text under the second sequence). French neumes.

fol. 1^v: *Reconciliatio paenitentis ad mortem* (two unnotated orationes).

fol. 2^r: Medicinal treatise: *Scimus autem quando* [...]

fol. 2^v: Four unnotated proses: *Candida contio* [...] *Germanum casta exultat*;⁹⁵ *Fulget preclara* [...] *dans peccamina*;⁹⁶ *Laudemus in excelsis christum regem*;⁹⁷ *Gloriosa dies adest qua processit* [...] *protomartyr Stephane* [...]. The large number of abbreviations shows that these texts were not intended to be notated. In the lower margin are *probationes pennae* consisting of French neumes.

fol. 3^{r-v}: 'Planctus anime venerabilis Bedae', *Anima nimis misera*. Partially notated in a hybrid notation mixing French and Palaeo-Frankish elements.

fol. 3^v: *Ecce regis solemnitas* [...]. Added prose, without notation.

fols 3^v–4^v: Gloria A with trope *Laus tua Deus resonet*. Notation added in the lower margin, in French neumes.⁹⁸

fol. 5^r: Translation of St Cornelius of Compiègne: a text and neumes have been erased from the lower margin.

fol. 38^v: Antiphons are added, with French neumes, as follows: *Clementissime Domine*; *Alleluia V. Dedisti* (only the Alleluia and start of the verse are notated); *Alleluia Judicabunt sancti* [...]; *Alleluia V. Iustus ger* [*minabit*] (cut off, with only the Alleluia notated).

Various correspondences may be seen between this repertory and that of Compiègne, not least that BnF lat. 2373 includes the translations of Sts Cornelius and Cyprian, translations which were prescribed in Compiègne at the personal request of Charles the Bald. There are also allusions to royalty in the texts of the proses. This helps a little to clarify the origin of the less well known first part of this manuscript. It is also necessary to study the very complex notations of this

⁹⁵ A very widespread prose, found at Autun, Paris, Nevers, and in Aquitania (BnF lat. 1118, 1120, and others), England (Winchester), Italy, and Benevento (see AH, VII and LIII).

⁹⁶ The textual variants are those found in the Antiphoner of Charles the Bald; see pp. 47–48.

⁹⁷ A rare prose, also found in the proser of Auch, BnF lat. 1118 (AH, VII, 263).

⁹⁸ AH, XLVII, 282; Klaus Rönna, *Die Tropen zum Gloria in excelsis Deo, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Repertoires der St. Martial-Handschriften* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1967), p. 140. For facsimiles, see Arlt and Rankin, *Stiftsbibliothek*, II, 225 and III, 301 (after St Gall 484 and 381 respectively); Colette, *Tropaire-séquentiaire*, fol. 60^{r-v} (after BnF n.a.lat. 1871).

manuscript, in particular that of the Gloria trope, which comprises signs very similar to those added to folio 81^r of the Compiègne Antiphoner.

BnF lat. 12957 is a composite manuscript of the tenth century associated with Corbie and comprising glosses on Boethius's grammatical treatises.⁹⁹ Various names associated with Corbie have been added to folio 99^v:¹⁰⁰ Tribudac, Ansgerus, Motbertus, Agilmarus, Ratbertus abba, Hildevulfus, Vuala abba, Maginerus, Teutbertus, and Adalsadus. Ratbert was Abbot of Corbie, and Vuala was brother of Adalrad, also Abbot of Corbie.¹⁰¹

In the upper margin of folios 53^v–54^r a sequence has been added in an old-fashioned Metz notation. The melody corresponds to that of the Eastertide prose *Ecce iam vicit radix David*.¹⁰² This prose is found in the oldest Aquitanian proser, in Nevers, Autun, and also very widely in Italy.¹⁰³ The last phrase, which is not repeated, corresponds to the version found in Moissac and Italy, and not with the older, Aquitanian version, where the last phrase is repeated.¹⁰⁴

BnF lat. 12273 is a ninth- or tenth-century copy of Bede's *Liber psalmorum*, also from Corbie.¹⁰⁵ On the last folio of this collection (fol. 76), the first stanza of *Fulgens preclara* was added, without notation, in the tenth or eleventh century. On the same folio a melisma on the word *meminero* was notated, taken from the

⁹⁹ A composite manuscript, comprising a fragment of a missal (fol. 1^{r-v}); glosses on Boethius, *De Trinitate*; grammatical treatises including Priscian, *Grammatica*; Boethius, *Commentaria in Ysagogas* (fols 75^r–95^r); a sequence (*Aeuia*) noted in the upper margin of fols 53^v–54^r; and the preface to the Psalter *Profetia quid est [...] redemptor insinuat*; see Léopold Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits latins conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale*, 5 vols (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1868–71), II, 82; and David Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1990), p. 49, pl. 12 (fol. 99^v).

¹⁰⁰ The ink colour is the same as that used for the addition to folio 53^v, but the form of the *d* is not the same. On folio 100^r an annotation reads 'Dilecti in Christo fratribus fratres ex coenobio Corbeie in domino salutem'.

¹⁰¹ I am grateful to Abbé Bernard Merlette for bringing this to my notice.

¹⁰² BnF n.a.lat. 1871, fols 78^v, 110^v; fols 81^v, 131^v. Anselm Hughes associates the prose *Epiphaniam domino* with the same melody, *Concordia (Anglo-French Sequelae)*, p. 30). These two sequences may indeed have formulas in common, but there are nevertheless fairly clear distinctions between them.

¹⁰³ BnF lat. 1240, fol. 48^r; lat. 1118, fol. 178^r; lat. 1084, fol. 247^v (AH, VII, 63).

¹⁰⁴ Found in Moissac (BnF n.a.lat. 1177 and 1871) and in several Italian manuscripts of the eleventh century, from Nonantola, Ivrea, Novalesa, Benevento, and elsewhere; also in Catalan sources including those from Vic, Girona, and Ripoll (AH, LIII, 73).

¹⁰⁵ And subsequently St Germain des Prés; see Bernhard Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 3 vols (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1966–81), I, 112, and Ganz, *Corbie*, p. 157.

offertory verse *Super flumina Babylonis*. This word employs the same neumes as those found on folio 24^r of the Noyon Gradual, where, as often happens in the later notational additions to this manuscript, the notation is written in ascending fashion. But on the blank page of lat. 12273 it may have more of the character of an essay in vertical notation.¹⁰⁶

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1529 is a tenth-century manuscript of Seneca's *De beneficiis* ascribed by Bannister to Tours or Fleury.¹⁰⁷ The prose *Alludat letus* for St Maurice is written on folio 40^r, immediately followed by the corresponding sequence notated twice in two different ways, a comparatively rare feature worthy of notice in its own right.¹⁰⁸ The melody is the same, but for a few alternative readings, the type of notation is the same, but the hands, the choice of the neumes, and the principles of notation are not identical. The formulas are written out twice in the first version, the doublings shown by *uplicatur* on the second.¹⁰⁹

BnF lat. 2778 is a ninth- or tenth-century manuscript of the letters of Gregory the Great, from Fleury. On folio 1^r the prose for the Assumption *Salve porta perpetua* has been added in the tenth or eleventh century, with its corresponding sequential melisma. The earliest known sources for this prose are the manuscripts of Autun, Prüm, Winchester,¹¹⁰ and Aurillac;¹¹¹ it later spread to England, Germany, and especially Aquitania.

The Cabinet des médailles of the Bibliothèque nationale de France holds a diptych from Autun with a notated addition of the tenth or eleventh century on its reverse.¹¹² Two sequences were notated, as well as the Gloria trope *Laus*

¹⁰⁶ The so-called Mont Renaud manuscript (see n. 24, above).

¹⁰⁷ Henry Marriott Bannister, *Monumenti vaticani di paleografia musicale latina*, 2 vols, *Codices e Vaticanis selecti*, 12 (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1913), II, pl. 40, no. 219.

¹⁰⁸ Other proses were also to be adapted to this sequence, amongst them *Precelsa intonant* (AH, VII, 227) and *Phoebus nunc pollens* (AH, VII, 233; LIII, 374).

¹⁰⁹ Some of these *uplicatur* markings are added to the first. The melody is found in the Moissac proser, BnF n.a.lat. 1871, fol. 79^v (see the facsimile, Colette, *Le Tropaire-prosaire*).

¹¹⁰ AH, LIII, 188–90: Autun (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 1169, tenth–eleventh century); BnF lat. 9448 (tenth–eleventh century); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 775 (eleventh century); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 473 (eleventh century).

¹¹¹ AH, VII, 123–24: BnF lat. 1084. I am grateful to Shin Nishimagi for drawing my attention to BnF lat. 2778.

¹¹² BnF, Cabinet des Médailles, inv. 55, nos 297 and 298; Anatole Chabouillet, *Catalogue général et raisonné des camées et pierres gravées de la Bibliothèque impériale* (Paris: Claye, 1858), nos 3263–64. See also Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Elfenarbeiten der spätantike und des frühen*

tua Deus resonet, also copied in the manuscript discussed above. That these were written in such a context attests to the importance given to these repertories.

This selection of examples, certainly not the only such sources, offers an invaluable testimony to the way in which the earliest sequences and proses were preserved, diffused, and especially composed, at the time of particular celebrations. The importance of the feasts concerned has been noted, whether temporal or the great feasts of martyrs. Some of the sources have points in common for their origin, their environment, or their contents. Besides Compiègne, the most quoted places are Corbie, Westminster, Autun, the banks of the Loire, and Aquitania. Some of the sources quoted above relate to the selection of sequences found in the Antiphoner of Compiègne, but also, in a more allusive but real way, to some of its topics, through such words as *rex* or *aula*.¹¹³ These isolated folios are also witnesses to the first musical notations, with all their uncertainties, sometimes presented even as tests in the double copying of a sequence, or showing different aspects of the notation used for different aspects of the repertory being copied, as in BnF lat. 2373. The notation of sequences without text may not have the same constraints as with a piece written *cum littera*, but it does also translate the concern specifically with preserving newly composed repertories.

Musical Composition

These sequences comprise a selection of the earlier sequences from the West, maybe of the very earliest sequences. Some of these melismatic, untitled sequences

Mittelalters, 3rd edn (Mainz: Zabern, 1976), no. 26. Although this diptych does not bear an attribution, Volbach suggests Philoxenus on the grounds of its resemblance to the Diptych of Philoxenus in Washington (Dumbarton Oaks Collection, no. 30). Another diptych of Philoxenus, from Compiègne and in a different format, may be found in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chabouillet, *Catalogue général*, no. 3266). See also *Byzance: l'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises; Musée du Louvre, 3 novembre 1992–1^{er} février 1993* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, Réunion des Musées nationaux, 1992), pp. 58, 61; Jacques Hourlier, 'Neumes sur des diptyques', *Études grégoriennes*, 6 (1963), 149–52; Norbert Dufourcq, *La Musique des origines à nos jours* (Paris: Larousse, 1946), p. 101 (for a facsimile of Chabouillet, *Catalogue général*, no. 3264); Marie-Noël Colette, 'Enigmes neumatiques (F–Pn lat. 12273, F–Pn Médailles, inv. 298; I–Rvat, reg. lat. 1529)', in *Dies est leticie: Essays on Chant in Honour of Janka Szendrei*, ed. by David Hiley and Gábor Kiss (Budapest: Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences; Regensburg: Institut für Musikwissenschaft, Universität Regensburg; Ottawa: Institute of Mediæval Music, 2008), pp. 149–76; and Gunilla Iversen, 'Regnum tuum solidum on Ivory Diptyques and in Liturgical Manuscripts: Observations on Early Prosulas in the Gloria Chant', in *ibid.*, pp. 307–32.

¹¹³ See Gunilla Iversen's discussion, pp. 48, 53, above.

are not yet identified. However, we are able to observe some of the compositional process involved in them. For one thing, some specific modal choices may be identified. Of the modes of the octoechos, a decided preference is shown for the *G* and *D* modes. The same modal preference is found in the tract, which had the same liturgical placement as the sequences, after the lessons of the Mass. Later, other sequences came to be connected with the *E* mode, but that is not found in the present selection. Comparison of the modal structures of these sequences across different sources will have to await further study, but for the time being we shall consider the modal structure according to the first note of the sequences and the different cadential patterns of the phrases, as shown in the following:

Cadence-Patterns of Phrases

BnF lat. 17436:

Gloriosa: C DDDDDDDD

Letetur, Rex celice: G dddeddddddd

Eia simul: G dddddd

Claris: G GGGddddd

Fulgens preclara: G ceecdddddddaaaa

BnF lat. 2373:

Gloriosa: C DDDDDDDD

Candida contio: G dddddd

Fulgens preclara: G ceecdddddddaaaa

Laudemus in excelsis: G GGGddddd

Autun S 28 (24):

Untitled *Eia simul: G dddddd*

Ostende: F GGFG

Fulgida: E GGFG

Hieronima (Frigdola): F GGGGddddd

Sirena: G GGGGddddd

BnF lat. 12957:

Ecce vicit radix David: G GGGGGGG d GG

Vatican Reg. lat. 1529:

Alludat letus: D GDDDDDDDD

There is an evident preference for the *D* mode. In the *D* plagal modes, as well as in the *G* modes, a few melodies begin on *F* or *G*, later reach *d* and then come back to *G*. But many so-called *G*-mode melodies begin on *G*, later moving to *d* and staying on *d* until the end. Others begin on *G*, immediately rise to *d*, and stay to *d* until the end.

Incipit and final:

Letetur, Rex celice: Gcbcd; final: d

Untitled *Eia simul: Gcbcded; final: d*

Candida: Gcbcded; final: d

Laudemus: GaGFG; final: d

Of particular note in these examples is the testimony to the West-Gallican preference for the *corde-mère* of *D*.¹¹⁴ In these cases I do not consider the fact of the phrases reaching *d* as a movement up a fifth, but rather that they may have been conceived on *d* and begun at *G* as a concession to the octoechos by the melody of the incipit, especially in those melodies that begin with the psalmodic intonation of the seventh mode.¹¹⁵ This may happen with the addition of one Alleluia which had not been necessary for the melody. This is a question that concerns the relation of some of the earliest proses to their Alleluias: 'Alleluia cum sequentia' signifies how the sequence begins after the Alleluia. But if Calvin Bower's analyses showing the union of proses with the Alleluia are correct, then they would appear to be melodies composed along traditional lines, already in existence and employed again in Carolingian times for these compositions, one of the functions of which was to put the new modal theories into musical practice.¹¹⁶

In fact the Noyon manuscript of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is the most inclined, for *Eia summe sator*, to follow the theoretical modal categories for

¹¹⁴ See the work of Jean Claire, in particular 'Le Cantatorium romain et le cantatorium gallican', *Orbis musicae*, 10 (1990–91), 50–86.

¹¹⁵ On the relation between modal theory and composition, see Marie-Noël Colette, 'Modus, tropus, tonus: Tropes d'introïts et théories modales', *Études grégoriennes*, 25 (1997), 63–95, and David Hiley, 'Das Wolfgang Offizium des Hermannus Contractus: Zum Wechselspiel von Modustheorie und Gesangspraxis in der Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts', in *Die Offizien des Mittelalters: Dichtung und Musik*, ed. by Walther Berschin and David Hiley (Tutzing: Schneider, 1999), pp. 129–42.

¹¹⁶ Calvin Bower, 'From Alleluia to Sequence: Some Definitions of Relations', in *Western Plainchant in the First Millennium: Studies in the Medieval Liturgy and its Music*, ed. by Sean Gallagher and others (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 351–98.

the prose, singing *G ... ddd ...*, and at the end descending to *b* flat and concluding on *C*, which reminds one of the *G* mode.

The melodies which ascend to *d* can rise as far as high *g* but later descend to high *d*. *Fulgens preclara* rises to high *dd*, but this is more peculiar still, since it ascends from *G* to *d* and higher to *dd* with *b* flat, the melody giving a new minor third on high *g* and stopping on *a*, according to a traditional formula on *a* with *b* (or a *corde-mère* of *E*), a formula which often is found in tropes of Gloria A, for example. This relation with two very traditional formulas on *D* and *E* may justify the preference of the singers for that *pulcherrima prosarum*.

These compositions, of a genre that was completely new for its time, are entirely characteristic of the Western style, in terms of their organization, their partial texts, their melodic structures, and their assonances. Inserted in an antiphoner which transmitted a revised, Romano-Frankish repertory and must therefore have conflicted somewhat with the expectations of the Frankish singers, the sequences serve to define a new musical territory which again characterizes the Western empire. Very soon after the Carolingian reforms Romano-Frankish chant came to be diffused to the edges of the empire. Its very early diffusion as far as Benevento in the south of Italy has been known for a long time.¹¹⁷ Recent work has shown the relationship of the Antiphoner of Charles the Bald with the earliest known antiphoner copied in the south-west of France.¹¹⁸ The contents of this manuscript show clearly that an antiphoner such as that of Compiègne was an instrument of diffusion of the Romano-Frankish reforms in an Aquitania that retained a hold on its Gallican traditions.

The examples that we have cited show that these compositions were diffused not without a certain amount of freedom in their adaptation. The neumatic alternatives, additions, suppressions, or exchanges of formulas bear witness to an improvisatory nature of composition that would be possible only in a medium which recognized them as forming part of their environment.¹¹⁹

Differences are primarily found at the beginning and the end of the sequences. For the sequence *Adorabo*, the proses are linked by the essential bonds that associate them to the *versus*, but after the Alleluia they differ in that *Rex celice*

¹¹⁷ See Thomas F. Kelly, *The Beneventan Chant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 18–25; Kenneth Levy, 'Charlemagne's Archetype of Gregorian Chant', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 40 (1987), 1–30 (repr. in Levy, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 82–108).

¹¹⁸ With the antiphoner Albi, Bibliothèque municipale, Rochegude, 44; see n. 22, above.

¹¹⁹ Hiley, 'The Repertory', p. 161 observes the same phenomena in the Winchester repertory.

has the formulas 1a, 1b (three times), passing directly to 2, whereas *Letetur* passes directly from the Alleluia to the formulas 1c then 2. The proses composed on the untitled sequence do not agree for the beginning of their last formula 9, whose melody is sometimes truncated and whose text is complicated by enjambement between the stanzas. It should be said that this formula encroaches on the preceding one, and presents melodic repetitions that are sometimes neglected, which could involve a certain degree of confusion. Even the two sources of *Qui celorum* do not divide the last stanza in the same way as one another. Other types of variant affect the number of notes, especially at the beginning of certain neumes — *pes subbipunctis* for *climacus* or vice versa — which could show local practices of melodic ornamentation, or even affect the pronunciation of the texts.

The process of identifying the sequences that appear here has allowed us to find some other isolated pages of sequences in non-liturgical manuscripts. At this time, which saw the appearance of the very first sequence compositions, the pieces were apparently composed for specific circumstances. We can then conjecture that the sequences copied in this antiphoner were composed for the dedication of the Chapel of St Mary, in the context of the palatine chapel of Charles the Bald, and that for this reason they came to be well established in the West thereafter. The musical language of their melodies, which reveals the influence of the Gallican style, was to ensure their wide diffusion, and a reason for their presence in this Romano-Frankish antiphoner may be as a sort of respite for the Frankish cantors, but also to serve, by recalling the dedication ceremony at Compiègne, as an excellent advertising medium with these same cantors for the Romano-Frankish chant contained elsewhere in this prestigious antiphoner.

The decision to copy these sequences into a manuscript of such high grade attests to the importance of the celebrations of which they formed a part, as well as to the favour afforded to this new kind of composition and the new capability of notating them. Thus it was that during the earliest period of composition of sequences and proses they would appear on inserted folios or additions into antiphoners. Let us recall that we know of no notated antiphoner before the very end of the ninth century, when in the region of Laon we find the first witnesses to the music of the Mass. The earliest St Gall notation is found in the little tropo-proser of Paris. The first antiphoner with the Office of St Gall, from the end of the tenth century, presents on its first page the image of a melody without words, offered by the monk Hartker, to whom the copying of this antiphoner is attributed.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 390/391; facsimile in PM, 2nd ser., I (1900), p. 13.

In the sequences notated in Compiègne around 877 we have seen testimonies to the circumstances which made these new compositions possible, their modes of composition so revolutionary that the cantors themselves took pains to memorize them. We have seen here a new kind of chant that integrated elements of older traditions and that was more revered than others, to the point that it came to be notated in contexts as prestigious as the Antiphoner of Charles the Bald, or the ivory diptychs of Autun. The act of copying these sequences brought a new level of comprehension of the liturgy and its music at the same time as exposing the completely new and ingenious invention of musical notation. The presence in this magnificent but unnotated antiphoner of Compiègne of long wordless melodies was thus also a marvellous representation of music, not *musica instrumentalis* but the *musica humana* of which Aurelian of Réôme speaks at the same period of the end of the ninth century, a music transformed by the poets, by human intelligence and by the hand of the copyist, and sung by the *vox humana*.¹²¹

¹²¹ Aurelian of Réôme, *Musica disciplina*, p. 64 (chap. 3).

NUNC ET IN AEVUM:
ON ST AUGUSTINE —
TIME, MUSIC, AND THEOLOGY

Marcia Sá Cavalcante Schuback

Go, go, go, said the bird: human kind
Cannot bear very much reality.
Time past and time future
What might have been and what has been
Point to one end, which is always present.¹

In Book XI, Chapter 27, of his *Confessions*, Augustine presents the decisive argument of his reflections on time, in which he says:

Immo sonuit et sonabit; nam quod eius iam peractum est, utique sonuit, quod autem restat, sonabit, atque ita peragitur, dum praesens intentio futurum in praeteritum traicit, diminutione futuri crescente praeterito, donec consumptione futuri sit totum praeteritum.

(It has sounded and it is going to sound, for the sound that sounded has ceased to sound but what remains is going to sound. And this will continue so that the present intention transforms the future to past; in diminishing the future the past grows, until in consuming all the future all becomes the past.)²

¹ T. S. Eliot, 'Burnt Norton', from *Four Quartets*, in *Collected Poems, 1909–1962* (London: Faber, 1963), p. 190.

² For the English version of Augustine's *Confessions*, I have generally used the translation by Henry Chadwick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); this passage is on p. 240. Chadwick's translation has sacrificed some more difficult formulations in order to make the Augustinian language more contemporary and to accord with modern conceptions of time. For the sake of the present discussion, which focuses on the relationship between time and music, I will use, for this and some other passages, a translation made by Gunilla Iversen specifically for this purpose. For

Of particular importance here for our purposes is the expression *diminutione futuri crescente praeterito*, 'in diminishing the future the past grows'.³ The basic question is how to understand this growth of the past. Not only in this passage but in the whole of Book XI, Augustine relates the dimensionality of time to the musical experience of sound and silence. Here we may find a key for reading what one could call St Augustine's images of time, developing what I would like to describe as an imaginative hermeneutics of thought.⁴ This key is the central connection between Augustine's treatise on time in Book XI of the *Confessions* and his *De musica*. Let us begin by considering his concepts of time in the *Confessions*.

Augustine's starting point is the Christian experience of the eternal creation of God. God's ubiquity (*omnipraesentia*) is understood from the eternal creation, from the experience of God as the eternity out of which all times become possible. The distinction between eternity and time is the most decisive and yet the most misunderstood. Thus eternity is not conceived of as that which does not have time — that is, as that which lacks time or negates time — because if it would be so, then eternity would be limited by time. When Augustine writes 'nec tu tempore tempora praecedis: alioquin non omnia tempora praecederes' (it is not in time that you precede times, otherwise you would not precede all time),⁵ he does not mean that eternity is something outside itself, that it is outside time. Eternity is the sublimity of an ever-present: 'celsitudine semper praesentis aeternitatis'; he writes that 'hodiernus tuus aeternitas' (your today is eternity).⁶ It is by being ever-present that eternity can precede all time. How is it possible

a commentary on Books VIII–XIII of the *Confessions* see James J. O'Donnell, *Confessions*, III: *Commentary on Books 8–13* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992). See also the careful commentary and German translation by Kurt Flasch, *Was ist Zeit? Augustinus von Hippo: Das XI. Buch der Confessiones; Historisch-philosophische Studie, Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar* (Frankfurt a.M.: Klostermann, 1993).

³ Gunilla Iversen's translation.

⁴ For the concept of an imaginative hermeneutics see Marcia Sá Cavalcante Schuback, *Paralelos medievais: Ensaios de hermenêutica imaginativa* (Petrópolis: Vozes, 2005). In this book I attempt to sketch an image of medieval spirituality in order to retrace some central concepts, or rather experiences, in medieval thought, such as space, time, existence, truth, language, and mystery. This sketched image appears by means of a criticism of our modern view of the world. Instead of presuming an 'objective' image of medieval thought, I assume the necessity of scraping off some modern prejudices in order to let the motivations of medieval constructions appear to us.

⁵ *Confessions*, XI.16; trans. Chadwick, p. 230.

⁶ *Confessions*, XI.16; trans. Chadwick, p. 230.

that the present precedes all times, the past and the future? How should we understand the Christian experience of eternity as the sublimity of a sempiternal present? Instead of understanding the distinction between eternity and time as the logical opposition between the atemporal and the temporal, we should rather distinguish spiritually between two senses of the word time: time as an act of creation and time as a measure in the chronological sense. Based on this distinction we could say that 'eternity' means rather the 'time of all possible times'.

This expression 'time of all possible times' is problematic to a modern and especially a logical understanding of eternity and of the derivation of time from eternity, which guides our modern readings of the medieval experience of time. The question of time is already in operation here, because when we research the past we are necessarily operating within our present categories. The phrase is problematic because it presents two times, two temporalities, namely time in the singular, unique and complete, and time in the plural, a time of multiplicity and diversity. Time in the singular exposes the fact of God's eternity, whereas time in the plural exposes the time of extra-divine reality. The position we assume here is that God's eternity is the time of all possible times.

Why should God's eternity be referred to using the word *time*, albeit in a different sense from its use in extra-divine reality? This is a provocative way of affirming that eternity is not atemporality, that it is not a negation of time. The identification of eternity within the realm of atemporal permanence expresses only a formal and empty concept of eternity, and never the actual experience of God's eternity.⁷ The paradigmatic experience of eternity for the Christian medieval experience of time is to be found in Book X of the *Confessions* in the Augustinian expression 'vita vitae' (life of life).⁸ In this expression we find anew the paradigmatic definition of eternity given in Boethius's formulation that 'aeternitas [...] est interminabilis vitae tota simul et perfecta possessio' (eternity is the total, simultaneous, and perfect possession of the unfinishable life).⁹ Eternity is God's imperishable life, the life of life. In order to understand the

⁷ On the criticism of the formal concept of eternity see also Martin Heidegger, *Der Begriff der Zeit*, Marburger lecture 1924, ed. and trans. by William McNeill as *The Concept of Time*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), and the footnote in *Sein und Zeit* (English edition: *Being and Time*, trans. by Joan Stambaugh (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996)), § 81, in which Heidegger discusses the possibility of constructing the concept of God's eternity philosophically.

⁸ *Confessions*, x.6: 'deus autem tuus etiam tibi vitae vita est'; trans. Chadwick, p. 184.

⁹ *De consolazione philosophiae*, v.6; for a standard English translation see Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. by P. G. Walsh (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).

medieval conception of time as derived from eternity, we should thus keep in mind the Christian conception of God's eternity as the life of life.

Grounding the finite temporality on eternity means basing it on the infinite, simultaneous, and imperishable life of God. The infinite life of God makes itself evident as eternal creation. The eternal creation should not be confused with the creation of the eternal, with the creation of imperishable things. Meister Eckhart explains the eternal creation by saying that 'the instant [*nunc*] in which God created the world is so close to this time as the instant in which I speak now'.¹⁰ This passage indicates that the eternal creation should not be interpreted within the parameters of linear succession. The instant of a beginning does not exist in a historical past that can be counted or quantified. It is a present instant, but not present in the sense of not disappearing, of surviving; rather, it is present in the sense of a beginning that begins again and again, an eternal beginning — an *ewiger Anfang*, to recall Schelling's beautiful expression. As unfinishable, imperishable life, eternity is life that begins again at every end. That is why time is not opposed to eternity but is the life itself of eternity, and is why it belongs to the notion of eternity both as the concentration of the instant and the end of all times, that is, both as *parousia* and eschatology. The traditional questions of why God, being eternal, should create time, why God, being the perfect good, should create the world, man, and evil, ought to be transposed to the questioning disposition that produces those questions. The principal disposition is of another kind: how should man in his radical finitude — how should the temporality of man — be able to conceive such a perfect, simultaneous, and total possession of the imperishable life, a life that is whole in each of its instants, the life of life?

The second important character of the eternal creation of God is the experience of the *creatio in verbo*. The history of the world, the history of history in a more speculative expression, the history of times begins when God spoke (Gen. 1. 3). In the beginning was the Word, *in principio erat verbum* (John 1. 1). The phenomenality of the sounding and resounding word is decisive for the medieval Christian religious impulse. Augustine discusses time from eternity, from the point of view of the eternal *creatio in verbo*. The sounding and resounding

¹⁰ Meister Eckhart, *Deutsche Predigten und Traktate*, ed. by Josef Quint (Munich: Hanser, 1963), Sermon 10: 'Quasi stella matutina in medio nebulae et quasi luna plena in diebus suis lucet et quasi sol refugens, sic ista refulsit in templo dei'; 'Nehme ich aber das Nun, so begreift das alle Zeit in sich: das Nun, in dem Gott die Welt erschuf, das ist dieser Zeit so nahe wie das Nun, in dem ich jetzt spreche, und der Jüngste Tag ist diesem Nun so nahe wie der Tag, der gestern war' (p. 195).

word reaches with Augustine a central hermeneutic value. The discussion about time in Book XI of Augustine's *Confessions* begins with a question, qualified by many scholars as a rhetorical question:¹¹ Augustine begins by asking if there is any sense in telling something to God, if God is eternity:

Numquid, domine, cum tua sit aeternitas, ignoras, quae tibi dico, aut ad tempus vides quod fit in tempore? Cur ergo tibi tot rerum narrationes digero?

(Lord, the eternity is yours, could you, then, be ignorant of what I tell you? Your vision of occurrences in time is not temporally conditioned. Why then do I set before you an ordered account of so many things?)¹²

This rhetorical expression says that the finite human soul cannot in fact say anything about God, but that in being a discursive soul, human understanding nevertheless addresses everything to God. That is why the word has the basic character of a prayer, a celebration, a *laudatio*. At the same time it is remarked that the human word is God's creation, meaning that humans say everything to God because they receive their words from God.

Human language is the place where the creational structure of existence becomes expressed: *exitus–reditus*; coming from God and returning to God. That is why the human word has the basic feature of being an answering word: *Wort ist Antwort*, as German more eloquently expresses it. For Augustine, the human word begins as an answer and only later can become a question. That is also why invocation to God, formally similar to the invocations to the muses of antiquity, has to be pronounced: 'vide, pater, aspice et vide et adproba, et placeat in conspectu misericordiae tuae invenire me gratiam ante te' (See, father, see and behold and approve, and may it be pleasing that I find grace before you in the eyes of your mercy).¹³ It shows the importance of making oneself able to listen: 'audiam et intellegam.'¹⁴ Man is able to listen when he makes himself void in order to receive God's silent word and lets it resound in himself as a sounding word. 'Audiam et intellegam' indicates the human mortal soul as a resonance box that has to be emptied in order to become resonant.

¹¹ For the paroxysms arising from this rhetorical issue, see Jacques Derrida, *Circonfession* (Paris: Les Contemporains, Seuil, 1991) and Jean-François Lyotard, *La Confession d'Augustin* (Paris: Galilée, 1998).

¹² *Confessions*, XI.1; trans. Chadwick, p. 221.

¹³ *Confessions*, XI.2; Gunilla Iversen's translation.

¹⁴ *Confessions*, XI.3; trans. Chadwick, p. 222.

Augustine's reflection continues the quest of mankind to understand what it means that God in the beginning created heaven and earth. How is man to understand creation? Augustine conducts his discussion by means of analogy. The very sense of the analogical structure of human knowledge (in Christian terms) is very clearly explained by Meister Eckhart in his tenth sermon.¹⁵ The nearest we may come to God is to be as far as possible from our human paradigms. As humans we cannot talk in divine terms but only in human ones, and this by trying to listen to what seems to be the most unsuitable for a human way of understanding. God is not the human, God is not what can be said, what can be seen, and so on. *Ex negatione* is the only possible human means of affirming the divinity of God. God does not create as mankind creates. In Augustine's argument we do not hear the *creatio ex nihilo* argument explicitly. It is, however, implied in the argument of *creatio in verbo* ('ergo dixisti et facta sunt, atque in verbo tuo fecisti ea').¹⁶ All those argumentative words, reasonings, phrasings, obey the spirit of analogy; that is, they are approximations by means of negation, rather than affirmations. The word, in its phenomenality of sound and silence, has the hermeneutical value of an approximation to the eternal creation of God, in itself pure mystery. This analogical understanding compares the human words by means of negation in their phenomenality — their sounding — with God's word, non-human and therefore not sounding in senses.

At illa comparavit haec verba temporaliter sonantia cum aeterno in silentio verbo tuo et dixit: aliud est longe, longe aliud est. Haec longe infra me sunt nec sunt, quia fugiunt et praetereunt: verbum autem dei mei supra me manet in aeternum.

(But she [Wisdom] compared these words that were temporally sounding with your eternal word in silence, and said: 'This is distant, it is far, far distant. These sounds are far below me, and have no being, because they are passing and vanishing, but the word of my God is above me and remains for ever.)¹⁷

The difference is expressed in terms of a great distance: 'longe longe aliud.' Difference is distance — a very important point that should not be forgotten.¹⁸ With distance we can understand the sense in which such contraries as the absolute difference between God and the world, the creator and the creatures, necessarily

¹⁵ Meister Eckhart, *Deutsche Predigten*, Sermon 10.

¹⁶ *Confessions*, XI.5; trans. Chadwick, p. 225.

¹⁷ *Confessions*, XI.6; Gunilla Iversen's translation.

¹⁸ *Confessions*, XI.4; trans. Chadwick: 'it is very different, the difference is enormous' (p. 225). Aristotle also defines difference and opposition as distance, in Book II of his *Nicomachean Ethics*.

touch one another. The human word, in Augustine's definition, is 'verba temporaliter sonantia', while God's word is 'verbum aeternum in silentio'. The very question in Augustine is in this sense the correlation of sound and silence.

Augustine is, in his own way, a phenomenologist. He follows the concrete sense of God's 'verbum aeternum in silentio'. Augustine can be called a phenomenologist of sound and silence. By analogy, that is as a non-human, non-finite word, the word of God is set in a non-successive discourse: 'neque enim finitur, quod dicebatur, et dicitur aliud, ut possint dici omnia.'¹⁹ God's word is not a word as discourse, that is, a saying that successively goes from one word into another in such a linear way that the previous word would finish when the following begins. God's word is not such a discursive speech but a word that says everything simultaneously and eternally, all at once, and everlastingly, 'sed simul ac sempiternae omnia'.²⁰ Otherwise, Augustine continues, there would be time and change, and no true eternity, no true immortality: 'alioquin iam tempus et mutatio, et non vera aeternitas nec vera immortalitas.'²¹ In these words Augustine distinguishes a true eternity from the conventional understanding of eternity. True eternity is, as we saw before, the unending life of God, the life of life. The Latin word for expressing true eternity is *sempiternitas*. True eternity is in Augustine's text understood as the unifying relation that is created again and again (*semper*). Augustine's point is that successive and linear time is not capable of measuring eternity because eternity is not a measure. Those who ask what God was doing before creating heaven and earth do not deserve a whipping (as Luther would later put it), but are full of spiritual agedness ('pleni sunt vetustatis suae').²² The spiritual agedness operates in terms of successiveness and linear temporality. An old spirit is a spirit without life, 'et conantur aeterna sapere, sed adhuc in praeteritis et futuris rerum motibus cor eorum volitat et adhuc vanum est' (and they attempt to taste eternity when their heart is still flitting about in the realm where things change and have a past and future; it is still 'vain').²³

The first point to be made and stressed is that eternity cannot be measured by linear and successive temporality. Eternity is the foundation and fundament of linear time. It means that successiveness and linearity are grounded on eternity

¹⁹ *Confessions*, XI.7; trans. Chadwick, p. 226.

²⁰ *Confessions*, XI.7; trans. Chadwick, p. 226.

²¹ *Confessions*, XI.7; trans. Chadwick, pp. 224–25.

²² *Confessions*, XI.10; trans. Chadwick, p. 228.

²³ *Confessions*, XI.11; trans. Chadwick, p. 228.

experienced as the life of life, and not vice versa. Time has its foundation in the life of life. God — life of life, *vita vitae* — is exposition, enhancement, intensification, amplification. That is the central meaning of the miracle of the son. Christ, son of God, is time, death, and finitude, exposing God's eternity. The 'sum qui sum' of the Old Testament (Isa. 43. 10, etc.) and the 'Dominus Deus omnipotens qui erat et qui est et qui venturus est' (Rev. 4. 8) of the New are the same statement of the eternity of creation. What does it mean that God became present in Christ? It does not mean that God was not present as God before Christ. Christ's death means further that God intensifies his presence through death. It means that the distance of God is his extreme nearness, that God's absence is his closest presence. It means that in the language of Christianity, 'to be' means 'to become', and that is what the soul of a young spirit means in contrast to an old spirit. The present, in which the pulse of eternity is heard, is therefore not at all the now-point, always fixed in a substantial determination of being, but the imperishable life of life, God's life. To understand what Augustine means in these words ('deminutione futuri crescente praeterito, donec consumptione futuri sit totum praeteritum'), we have to bear in mind that Christ as time is the ferment of eternity.²⁴ By grounding time in eternity, Augustine aims to show the simultaneity of God's 'sum qui sum' (I am what I am), with 'qui venturus est' (I am the one who becomes), and with God's death on the Cross. Augustine's own description is to be found in Book XI, Chapter 13:

Anni tui dies unus, et dies tuus non cotidie, sed hodie, quia hodiernus tuus non cedit crastino; neque enim succedit hesterno. Hodiernus tuus aeternitas: ideo coaeternum genuisti, cui dixisti: ego hodie genui te. Omnia tempora tu fecisti et ante omnia tempora tu es, nec aliquo tempore non erat tempus.

(Your 'years' are one 'one day', and your 'day' is not any and every day but Today, because your Today does not yield to a tomorrow, nor did it follow on a yesterday. Your today is eternity. So you begat one coeternal with you, to whom you said: 'Today I have begotten you.' You created all times and you exist before all times. Nor was there any time when time did not exist.)²⁵

To understand the sense of presence, of God's presence, the finite human understanding has to affirm it as not being determined in a successive and linear temporality. That is why a criticism of the consciousness of time that operates in

²⁴ *Confessions*, XI.27; trans. Chadwick, p. 240. One of the most impressive poetic testimonies to this fermenting enlargement of the past is to be found in the works of Friedrich Hölderlin, above all in his Christian poems such as 'Patmos', 'Der Einzige', or 'Brot und Wein'.

²⁵ *Confessions*, XI.13; trans. Chadwick, p. 230.

our finite human understanding is central for Augustine. Time tends toward non-being.²⁶ 'Quid est ergo tempus? Si nemo ex me quaerat, scio; si quaerenti explicare velim, nescio' (What then is time? Provided that no one asks me, I know. If I want to explain it to an inquirer, I do not know).²⁷ In what sense has time a being? In what sense can we affirm that time 'is'? This is the first *aporia* of time. The second aporetic moment of time has to do with the understanding of time as extension, as formulated by Aristotle in Book IV of his *Physics* with the celebrated formula that 'time is the calculable number or dimension of motion with respect to before-and-afterness' (ἀριθμός κινήσεως κατὰ τό πρότερον και ὕστερον; *Physics*, 219b.1–2). *Aporia* of extension appears when we ask how we can measure time if time is not a thing like all other things. From the point of view of successiveness, Augustine shows that time is not to be defined by time, because what is always being measured, counted, or observed are always 'things' and not really time. Time is a non-thing and non-things cannot be measured.²⁸ From the past we measure what remains — that is, what is present for consciousness. This is the crucial problem concerning all historiography. Augustine saw that very clearly: we exercise chronology by counting and measuring what remains to be counted, narrated, measured, but not the past in its having been past, not past in its past tense, in its passing through. The passing of the past itself cannot be counted or measured because it cannot be noticed as a 'thing'.

From a positive side, these aporetic issues of time as extension show that the phenomenon of time is connected to apprehension. But apprehension for Augustine is essentially memory, a putting into the present, a making present and becoming presence.²⁹ Memory shows the circumstance of apprehension. It means

²⁶ *Confessions*, XI.14: 'Si ergo praesens, ut tempus sit, ideo fit, quia in praeteritum transit, quomodo et hoc esse dicimus, cui causa, ut sit, illa est, quia non erit, ut scilicet non vere dicamus tempus esse, nisi quia tendit non esse?'; trans. Chadwick, p. 238.

²⁷ *Confessions*, XI.14; trans. Chadwick, p. 230.

²⁸ See *Confessions*, XI.16: 'Nisi forte audebit quis dicere metiri posse quod non est?'; trans. Chadwick, p. 233.

²⁹ The theological sense of recollective apprehension in Augustine is very well discussed by Hannah Arendt in her doctoral thesis, 'Liebesbegriff bei Augustin', defended in 1929 under the direction of Karl Jasper (English edition: *Love and Saint Augustine*, ed. and trans. by Joanna Vecchiarelli Scott and Judith Chelius Stark (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996)). From the point of view of medieval studies, another reference related to this topic is to be found in the studies of Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 192–93, where we read: 'Memory is the matrix of all human temporal perception. This too is a medieval commonplace, nowhere so eloquently

that to apprehend something is to apprehend at the same time the way of apprehending. That is why, in its recollective aspect, apprehension is essentially *comprehensio, co-gnitio*, the movement of the prefix *cum*. Augustine's point is that the human finite soul does not really measure or calculate time, but comprehends things in time.

In te, anime meus, tempora mea metior; noli mihi obstrepere, quod est: noli tibi obstrepere turbis affectionum tuarum. In te, inquam, tempora metior; affectionem, quam res praetereuntes in te faciunt et, cum illae praeterierint, manet; ipsam metior praesentem, non ea quae praeterierunt, ut fieret; ipsam metior, cum tempora metior.

(In you, my mind, I measure my time. Do not distract me, that is, do not allow yourself to be distracted by the turbulences of your feelings. In you, I affirm, I measure the time. The impression that the passing events make upon you remains, also when they are gone. This I measure, which is present, not those things that have passed, as if it should exist. I measure this impression, when I measure time.)³⁰

In which sense does Augustine situate time *in anima*? Augustine's concept of time is usually understood as that which takes place *in anima*, and in this sense as a psychological interpretation of time. It is nevertheless very important to understand that for Augustine *in anima* does not mean the human mind or man's subjectivity in the modern sense of 'subject' and 'subjectivity'. We have to be very aware of the sense in which the word *psychological* is used: there is an important distinction in medieval Christianity between *animus* and *anima* that needs to be discussed. Cicero translated both *nous* and *psyche* with the same word, *animus*, which has contributed greatly to philosophical confusion. It is important to understand in which way Augustine distinguishes between *animus* and *anima*, because that is the sense of the conversational character of the Christian

explored as in the final books of Augustine's *Confessiones*. *Memoria* makes present that which is no longer so in actuality; indeed, as we have seen, this temporal understanding of memorial representation is more emphasized, at least in medieval analyses, than its mimetic one [...]. Therefore, to say that memory is the matrix within which humans perceive present and future is also to say that both present and future, in human time, are mediated by the past. But "the past", in this analysis, is not itself something, but rather a memory, a representing of what no longer exists as itself but only in its memorial traces.'

³⁰ *Confessions*, XI.27. I here use Gunilla Iversen's translation; Chadwick's version (p. 242) reads as follows: 'So, it is in you, my mind, that I measure periods of time. Do not distract me; that is, do not allow yourself to be distracted by the hubbub of the impressions being made upon you. In you, I affirm, I measure periods of time. The impression which passing events make upon you abides when they are gone. That present consciousness is what I am measuring, not the stream of past events which have caused it. When I measure periods of time, that is what I am actually measuring.'

existence.³¹ To be Christian is to practise Christianity, and in a way it means to convert an idea of generic life, or rather a generic idea of life, into 'my life', *vita mea*. This is what *animus* means: the force or belief of reconducting human facticity — the life of man understood as 'defluxus in multitudine', or in Augustine's own expression, 'in multa defluximus'³² — to the eternity of creation. *Animus* means both *defluxus* and searching for *continentia*, for *attentio* to the eternal creation. *Animus* does not mean the human soul in the modern understanding of self-consciousness. The difference between Augustine and modernity is in fact to be seen here: *animus* is not what belongs to mankind, but the belonging of mankind to God. *Animus* is not a synonym of subjectivity, as medieval man is not reduced to being simply a consciousness; he is part of the whole life of God, and that means he is more than consciousness. In this sense, *animus*, the mortal, finite soul, is movement towards God, and not a kind of 'place', a kind of capsule inhabited by a subject. This movement towards God defines *animus* as a 'here' that is already extending outward. The metaphorical realm for this strange presence, this sense of 'being here', *in se*, is one of breathing, of respiration, of *pneuma*.

If we keep in mind the existential constitution of the human as the movement between *exitus* and *reditus*, we may come closer to Augustine's central definition of time as *distentio animi*: 'inde mihi visum est nihil esse aliud tempus quam distentionem: sed cuius rei, nescio, et mirum, si non ipsius animi' (That is why I have come to think that time is simply a distension. But of what is it distension? I do not know, but it would be surprising if it is not that of the mind itself).³³ The word used here by Augustine, *distentio*, does not mean stretching out in length, but the proper character of human existence as a life of dispersion, of exiting from God and living only as a search for God. In Chapter 29, Augustine again uses this word when saying:

Sed quoniam melior est misericordia tua super vitas, ecce distentio est vita mea, et me suscepit dextera tua in domino meo, mediatore filio hominis inter te unum et nos multos, in multis per multa, ut per eum adprehendam, in quo et adprehensus sum, et a veteribus diebus colligar sequens unum, praeterita oblitus, non in ea quae futura et transitura sunt, sed in ea quae ante sunt non distentus, sed extensus, non secundum distentionem, sed secundum intentionem sequor ad psalmam supernae vocationis, ubi audiam vocem laudis et contempler delectationem tuam nec venientem nec praetereuntem.

³¹ On the Christian distinction between *animus* and *anima* see Paul Claudel's *Animus et anima*, quoted in Henri Bremond, *Prière et poésie* (Paris: Grasset, 1926), pp. 112–13.

³² *Confessions*, x.29; trans. Chadwick, p. 202.

³³ *Confessions*, xi.26; trans. Chadwick, p. 240.

(‘Because your mercy is more than lives’ [Ps. 62. 4], see how my life is a distension in several directions. ‘Your right hand upheld me’ [Ps. 17. 36; 62. 9] in my Lord, the Son of man who is mediator between you the One and us the many, who live in a multiplicity of distractions by many things; so that ‘I might apprehend him in whom also I am apprehended’ [Phil. 3. 12–14] and leaving behind the old days I might be gathered to follow the One ‘forgetting the past’ and moving not towards those future things which are transitory but to ‘the things which are before’ me, not stretched out in distraction but extended in reach, not by being pulled apart but by concentration. So ‘I pursue the prize of the high calling’ where I ‘may hear the voice of the praise’ and ‘contemplate your delight’ [Ps. 25. 7; 26. 4], which neither comes nor goes.)³⁴

In this passage we may follow the meaning of *distentio* as *exitus*, as *defluxus in multitudine*, that is, the proper genetic sense of *creatura*, existing as being created. In its metaphysical sense, Christianity is an interpretation of being as creation. Transcendence here means a cut between the creator and the creatures. *Creatum esse* therefore means that essence and existence do not coincide, that their difference is absolute, that is, it has to be conceived of from the point of view of God’s absolute transcendence. *Creatum esse* means further a life that is made and not life as a simple fact. A created life is life as becoming, life as being in time in the sense of an in-between of the beginning and the end. The difference between *fieri* and *facere* is already inscribed linguistically (*fieri* as the passive form of *facere*), making a decisive starting point to understanding the metaphysics of Christianity.³⁵ Augustine’s own formulation of the sense of existence as being created is formulated in Book XI of the *Confessions*, Chapter 4, with the words ‘ideo sumus, quia facta sumus; non ergo eramus, antequam essemus, ut fieri possemus a nobis’ (The manner of our existence shows that we are made. For before we came to be, we did not exist to be able to make ourselves).³⁶

Creatum esse therefore means an existence that has left God behind, an *exitus*, a distraction or distension that lives by searching for a point, by searching for *continentia*. It is a way of life that lives only by way of intentions, by tending to, by searching for, by *intentio*. The possibility of reaching ‘points’, of coming to points, is by means of attention, of *attentio*. *Distentio*, *attentio*, *intentio*, *tensio*: all these words describe one structure, the existential structure of being created, of *creatum esse*. This search is described as a desire — *quaestio* — of God; it is a searching for *delectatio*, *frui*, *uti Deo*, and therefore a search whose purpose is *redire ad creatorem*.

³⁴ *Confessions*, XI.29; trans. Chadwick, pp. 243–44.

³⁵ Hannah Arendt points this out in her ‘Liebesbegriff bei Augustin’; see *Love and St Augustine*, pp. 52–53.

³⁶ *Confessions*, XI.4; trans. Chadwick, p. 224.

The searching is nevertheless a word, the work of the spirit; it is a *cura*. Christianity understands itself as praxis, as a *cura* that is accomplished as a life following the exemplarity of the son, the mediator. *Exitus–reditus* is not, however, the movement of a straight line. The movement of turning back to the creator is the movement of meeting the origin *after* life. The Christian life is a paradox, as Kierkegaard's works showed so deeply, because the end is at the beginning in the same way that the beginning is at the end. The relation between the creator and his creatures, the creational act, should not, as Augustine continuously stresses, be understood in the same way as human creation is to be understood. The fundamental distinction is that the absolute difference between God and the creatures is found in God. God's mystery is the mystery of a one that is three: it is the mystery of incarnation. That is the central question in the difference between God's *creatio in verbo* and the human creations.

Following the passages in which Augustine pronounces the word *distentio*, it is easily observed that the phenomena of voice and sound are also mentioned. By means of analogy, the human way of understanding God's *creatio in verbo* is to understand the human verb as a finite image of God's creation. 'Et ego credidi, propter et loquor' ('For I believed and therefore do I speak', 'I also have believed, and therefore speak' (Ps. 115. 1; II Cor. 4. 13)). That is why Augustine, in order to understand time as *distentio animi*, as the creation of God's unperishable life, *aeternitas*, pronounces in a loud voice the word 'time'. The necessity of analogy is the necessity of having two perspectives present: the perspective of the creator and the perspective of creatures, as constituting the perspective of God's life.

Dicimus tempus et tempus, tempora et tempora: 'quamdiu dixit hoc ille', 'quamdiu fecit hoc ille' et: 'quam longo tempore illud non vidi' et: 'duplum temporis habet haec syllaba ad illam simplam brevem'. Dicimus haec et audivimus haec et intelligimur et intelligimus.

(And we repeatedly speak of time and time, of times and times: 'how long ago did he say this?'; 'how long ago did he do this?'; 'for how long a time did I fail to see that?'; and 'these syllables take twice the time of that single, short syllable'. We speak in this way, and hear people saying this, and we are understood and we understand.)³⁷

We talk of time, that is, we pronounce the word *time* aloud. Augustine stresses the phenomenology of the sounding. It is in the phenomenology of sounding that the strangeness of one, being at the same time three, as eternity being the co-presence of past, present, and future, at once, *semper stantis*, makes itself concrete, makes itself into experience. It is not without significance that the following

³⁷ *Confessions*, XI.22; trans. Chadwick, p. 237.

chapter on Augustine's definition of time as *distentio animi* discusses the necessity of this analogy, namely in Chapter 27. It begins:

Insiste, anime meus, et adtende fortiter: deus adiutor noster; ipse fecit nos, et non nos. Adtende, ubi albescet veritas, ecce puta vox corporis incipit sonare et sonat et adhuc sonat et ecce desinit, iamque silentium est, et vox illa praeterita est et non est iam vox.

(Stand firm, my mind, concentrate with resolution. 'God is our help, he has made us and not we ourselves' [Ps. 61. 9; 99. 3]. Concentrate on the point where truth is beginning to dawn. For example, a physical voice begins to sound. It sounds. It continues to sound, and then ceases. Silence has come now, and the voice is past. There is now no sound.)³⁸

We have here the principal terms that guide Augustine's treatise *De musica: incipit sonare, vox, and silentium*. Here we may very briefly summarize Augustine's starting point in *De musica*, a position found with the same intensity in the *Confessions* with the formula that 'time as sound means sound as the endurance' — as what Bergson called in French the *durée* — of a beginning. We would once again misunderstand Augustine's musical doctrine if we use our modern measures of versification of the antique verses. Augustine understands measure as coming from rhythm and not the other way around, that rhythm comes from measure.³⁹ Augustine's argument in connecting *incipit sonare, vox, and silentium* ontologically is that time is not extension but *modus*, a way of pronouncing the word. The vibration, the intensity of a sound necessarily blows up, disappears, diminishes, comes into silence, is not voiced any more, with Augustine's words. But it does not mean that in silencing the sound it is any longer a beginning. The end of a sound is not the suppression of the sound but its plenitude. Here we can see the metaphysical, theological, and spiritual importance of the place of silence in a theory of the sound. 'Teneas igitur oportet haec silentiorum spatia certa in metris esse' (admit that in the intervals of time there are fixed spaces of silence), we read in *De musica*.⁴⁰ The sounding word is preserved in the silence. Sound in silence and silence in sound are the edifying issues of Augustine's *De musica* that return clearly in his *Confessions*.

³⁸ *Confessions*, XI.27; trans. Chadwick, p. 240.

³⁹ In relation to this very important aspect see Thrasyboulos Georgiades, *Der griechische Rythmus* (Hamburg: Marion von Schröder, 1949), and the insightful remarks made by Nietzsche in a letter to the musicologist Carl Fuchs written in August 1888: Friedrich Nietzsche, *Briefwechsel*, ed. by Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari, 16 vols (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1975–84), ser. 3, v, no. 1097 (pp. 403–05).

⁴⁰ Augustine, *De musica*, III.8.17, in PL, XXXII, col. 1125, and in *Obras completas de San Agustín*, XXXIX, Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos (Madrid: Gredos, 1988).

Augustine understands the mutual belonging of sound and silence as a 'structural' phenomenon and not as a conjugation of two different 'things'. Silence constitutes sound in the same way that sound constitutes silence. This mutual belonging is the acoustic image of the most prevalent relation of difference, namely the creational difference, the difference between the Creator and his creatures. The phenomenon of sound in itself is the phenomenon of a composition, of *harmonia* and *symphonia*. Sound does not consist in a single sound but must already exist as a *symphonia*, a composition of sounds. A sound is the *symphonia* of its enharmonics. This concrete phenomenality of the sound is the basis for Augustine's reasonings. Augustine describes this enharmonic symphony of differences and contraries by means of an analogy with the relation between light and darkness. Opposition here means an intrinsic belonging; and that is why to measure a sound 'non in temporum intervallis est, sed ipso sono, qui quasi lux est talium numerorum, cui sic est contrarium silentium, ut coloribus tenebrae' (does not depend on the temporal intervals but on the sound itself, which is, so to speak, the light of these rhythms, to which silence is opposite in the same way as darkness is to colours).⁴¹ To measure a sound is thus totally different from measuring a thing.

The relation of different elements, composition, harmony, proportion, reason (λόγος): all these expressions are explications and synonyms of the word *numerus*. In *De musica*, Book VI, Augustine tends to use the words *numerus* and *harmonia* as synonyms.⁴² Number is not a single entity but a relation of *analogia*, an interpretation of what unity and element means. It does not mean the 'one' in an arithmetic series that defines itself as that which is opposite to any difference. Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans made the extraordinary discovery that a sound is never one single sound but *in se* a relation of proportion, *in se* an *analogia* or difference. That is why the Pythagoreans understand unity as a dynamic unity — unity in transformation. *De musica* is a very Pythagorean treatise, as can easily be seen in passages such as the following:

[...] quod illa unitas quam te amare dixisti, in rebus ordinatis hac una effici potest, cuius graecum nomen ἀναλογία est, nostri quidam proportionem vocaverunt, quo nomine utamur, si placeat: non enim libenter, nisi necessitate, graeca vocabula in latino sermone usurpaverim.⁴³

⁴¹ See *De musica*, VI.13.38, in the critical edition and translation by Martin Jacobsson, *Aurelius Augustinus, De musica liber VI*, SLS, 47 (2002), pp. 84–85; PL, XXXII, col. 1184.

⁴² Étienne Gilson, *Introduction à l'étude de S. Augustin* (Paris: Vrin, 1943), p. 76.

⁴³ Augustine, *De musica*, I.12.23, in PL, XXXII, col. 1097.

([...] because this unity that you said you love can only be achieved within things arranged in orderly fashion. Its Greek name is ἀναλογία; some of our Latin authors have called it 'proportion', which is the word we could use here if you like, for I prefer not to use Greek words in the Latin language unless necessary.)

Sound is, then, the paradox of a one that is *in se* already two. It is a phenomenon of pure simultaneity or, in a more contemporary vocabulary, the phenomenon of differences in tension. In sound, differences are kept in tension, as such, and not as that which has to be solved. This is the musical sense of the Latin word *distentio*. Augustine understands this distensive constitution of a sound as the mutual belonging of sound and silence and this mutual belonging as an image of creational difference. By means of analogy, the nearest the human understanding can come to the mystery of creation is by hearing the distensive constitution of sound itself as an image of created existence. But this nearness is still too far from God's mystery. The absolute difference between the creator and his creatures is described in this image as two perspectives in the absolute perspective of God's creation: from the perspective of the infinite life of God, the divine word is a sound that never ceases to sound even in silence. In this sense, created existence is a silence within God's eternal sound.

God's word is therefore a silencing sound. From the perspective of the finite life of creatures, God's word may not be a word that sounds as human words do, but a sounding silence and a created existence are the very sounding of God's silence. This analogical mutual constitution of sound and silence has several means of sounding in silence and being silent in sound. In *De musica*, Augustine describes it in the doctrine of numbers. *Numerus* is *modus*, a way of belonging in a constitutive mutuality, as we saw before. And music, as Augustine defines it in *De musica*, I.2.2, is 'scientia bene modulandi', 'the science of moving well'. From this fundamental definition it is no accident that Augustine chooses the words *bonus* and *modus* in order to begin his investigation of the metrical relations between verses, metrical feet, and so on. Augustine talks about five fundamental *modi*,⁴⁴ five ways of mutual belonging, or better expressed, five ways of simultaneous being. The first is of 'numeri in ipso sono', that which exposes the simultaneity in the element ('sono qua harmonia');⁴⁵ secondly, 'numeri in ipso sensu audientis',

⁴⁴ See Martin Heidegger, *Phänomenologie des religiösen Lebens*, in *Gesamtausgabe* (Frankfurt a.M.: Klostermann, 1975–), vol. LX. In these notes and lectures written between 1914 and 1919, Heidegger makes an interpretation of Augustine's *De musica*. He says very properly that the different *modi* or numbers should not be understood as a psychological exposition but as 'die Art und Weise des Sich-Verhaltens beim Hören' (pp. 285–86).

⁴⁵ *De musica*, VI.3.4; ed. Jacobsson, p. 14; PL, XXXII, col. 1163.

the simultaneity of sounding and listening;⁴⁶ third, ‘numeri in ipso actu pronuntiantis’, the simultaneity of the acts of the soul and its concrete form in word — that is, simultaneity of thought and word;⁴⁷ fourth, ‘numeri ipsa memoria’, simultaneity in time, the simultaneity of a before and an after;⁴⁸ and finally ‘numeri in ipso naturali iudicio sentiendi’, the simultaneity of apprehension of life and the life of life.⁴⁹

It is very important to observe how Augustine explains the way in which the five *modi* of simultaneity that constitute the mutual belonging of sound and silence are connected with each other: they are all simultaneous. Augustine tells us:

Ista certe omnia, quae carnalis sensus ministerio numeramus, et quaecumque in eis sunt, locales numeros, qui videntur esse in aliquo statu, nisi praecedentibus intimis in silentio temporalibus numeris, qui sunt in motu, nec accipere possunt nec habere. Illos itidem temporum intervallis agiles praecedit et modificat vitalis motus serviens Domino rerum omnium, non temporalia habens digesta intervalla numerorum suorum sed tempora ministrante potentia.

(Surely all these things, which we enumerate with the aid of the carnal sense, and all things in them, can neither receive nor possess any local rhythms, which seem to be motionless, unless the innermost temporal rhythms, which are in motion, silently precede. These, which are mobile likewise in the temporal intervals, are preceded and modified by a vital movement which serves the Lord of all things, without having distributed the temporal intervals of its rhythms, but with a power that gives the times.)⁵⁰

A figure to represent this analogical structure of sound would connect them with concentric circles. This articulation between the *De musica* and the *Confessions* can help clarify the ways in which sense of time is to be grounded in eternity as the imperishable life of God. This foundation is to be understood as a dazzling explosion of simultaneity. This is said very explicitly in Augustine’s literal commentary on Genesis 5. 23, 45, with the words: ‘So the world, since God created all things simultaneously, should be regarded as simultaneously

⁴⁶ ‘Neque esse possit, nisi cum adest effector eius sonus. Similis est enim vestigio in aqua inpresso, quod neque ante formatur quam corpus inpresseris, neque remanet cum detraxeris’: *De musica*, VI.2.3, ed. Jacobsson, p. 12; PL, XXXII, col. 1163.

⁴⁷ *De musica*, VI.3.4; ed. Jacobsson, p. 14; PL, XXXII, col. 1164.

⁴⁸ *De musica*, VI.3.4; ed. Jacobsson, p. 14; PL, XXXII, col. 1164.

⁴⁹ *De musica*, VI.7.18: ‘Hi autem iudiciales, utrum et in anima, nescio, in ipsa certe hominis natura manent, iudicaturi de oblatiis — quamquam a certa brevitate usque ad certam longitudinem varientur — adprobando in his numerosa et perturbata dammando’; ed. Jacobsson, p. 42; PL, XXXII, col. 1165.

⁵⁰ *De musica*, VI.17.58; ed. Jacobsson, p. 114; PL, XXXII, cols 1192–93.

containing all that was made in and with it.' The difficulties of reconciling eternity and temporality are reconsidered by Augustine through the analogy of the simultaneity of sound and silence. We could say in very brief terms that the principal issue in Augustine's treatise on time is that, as *distentio animi*, temporality exposes itself as the enharmonics of eternity. Multiplicity, finitude, death are the enharmonics of eternity, the enharmonics of the imperishable life of God. When Augustine retains the descriptive Neoplatonic terms of parts and whole, he not only maintains their use but interprets the mutual belonging of part and whole as a 'musical' and simultaneous participation, or to use the expression of Hannah Arendt, as a 'sempiternal structure of the universe'.⁵¹

The analogy of the phenomenon of experiencing sound in silence and silence in sound is developed in Book XI of the *Confessions* in a very concrete way. Augustine chooses to quote from *Deus creator omnium* as a resounding hymn to proclaim God as creator. God not only created all but created all at once ('simul'). Augustine develops his analysis by listening to the very concrete sounding and silencing of those words, the metrical or rhythmic articulation of their own resonance.⁵² When the resonance of the words reaches into silence it does not mean that they resound no longer: they continue to sound as memory, sounding in silence by way of attention and retention of the memory of the words already spoken. The fact of their having been sounded does not disappear into silence; rather, in the silence the words increase in their sounding. Here we meet again the central passage in the *Confessions* that has guided our reflections:

Immo sonuit et sonabit; nam quod eius iam peractum est, utique sonuit, quod autem restat, sonabit, atque ita peragitur, dum praesens intentio futurum in praeteritum traicit, deminutione futuri crescente praeterito, donec consumptione futuri sit totum praeteritum.

(It sounded and it is going to sound, for the sound that sounded has ceased to sound but what remains is going to sound. And this will continue so that the present intention transforms the future to past; in diminishing the future the past grows, until in consuming all the future all becomes the past.)⁵³

Temporality in terms of successiveness is understood as an enharmonic of the simultaneous and imperishable life of God. Time passing, finitude, is therefore explained as a percussive and resonant enactment of God's eternal beginning.

⁵¹ Arendt, *Love and St Augustine*, p. 57.

⁵² See here specifically *Confessions*, XI.28; trans. Chadwick, p. 243.

⁵³ *Confessions*, XI.27; Gunilla Iversen's translation; trans. Chadwick, p. 240.

Et quod in toto cantico, hoc in singulis particulis eius fit atque in singulis syllabis eius, hoc in actione longiore, cuius forte particula est illud canticum, hoc in tota vita hominis, cuius partes sunt omnes actiones hominis, hoc in toto saeculo filiorum hominum, cuius partes sunt omnes vitae hominum.

(What occurs in the psalm as a whole occurs in its particular pieces and its individual syllables. The same is true of a longer action in which perhaps that psalm is a part. It is also valid of the entire life of an individual person, where all actions are parts of a whole and of the total history of 'the sons of men' where all human lives are but parts.)⁵⁴

Here we can see how the analogy with the phenomenality of the sounding word as sounding silence and silencing sound gives Augustine a key for an interpretation of history. It is common sense to suppose that the Middle Ages did not develop a consciousness or awareness of history in the way we moderns have. But perhaps we should say that the Middle Ages did not need to develop a consciousness of history as such when history is understood as the history of the people of God. The Middle Ages were deeply aware of history, but not in the way that we are or pretend to be. If we admit that the subject of history is man and that history defines man as historical, then it would be difficult to deny that the Christian faith understands human life as being historical, and furthermore that what we think of as historical awareness could only emerge in a Christian tradition. The modern presupposition of man's historical being lies in his freedom to make decisions. The incompatibility of the modern sense of freedom, as freedom to become oneself, and the Christian claim of becoming free not to oneself but from oneself towards God motivates the idea that the Middle Ages did not propagate historical consciousness. As Rudolf Bultmann showed in his Gifford lectures of 1955, entitled *History and Eschatology*, 'Christian faith believes that it receives this gift of freedom, by which man becomes free from himself in order to gain himself. "Whoever will save his life shall lose it, but whoever will lose his life shall find it."'⁵⁵ Quoting St Luke's Gospel, Bultmann stresses the fact that Christianity did not understand history as science but as an existential constitution of man as *creatum esse*. This Christian interpretation of the essence of history is furthermore a fundamental issue for the existential understanding of history as developed in the philosophies of Jasper and Heidegger, even if these are secularized versions of it.

⁵⁴ *Confessions*, XI.28; trans. Chadwick, pp. 278–79.

⁵⁵ Rudolf K. Bultmann, *History and Eschatology: The Gifford Lectures* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1957).

This brief consideration of the Christian awareness of history is intended to have shown that a hermeneutics of the Christian Middle Ages becomes possible if we take into account the Christian experience of time and history, which received its main interpretational keys in the writings of Augustine. For a Christian, the different ages and epochs do not establish a linear representation of a development, but are understood as enharmonics of the eternal beginning of God. It is what allows Christian exegesis a spiritual co-existence and even more a spiritual contemporaneity of different historical periods. It is what allows a concrete contemporaneity between the Old and the New Testaments, between distinct doxological commentaries — between, for instance, Augustine and Gabriel Marcel or Simone Weil. This transhistorical view is not constituted in the negligence of history, but in history understood as experience and not primarily as chronological measure. The chronological distance is unable to deny experiential nearness. As we have seen, grounding time on eternity means, for Augustine, a grounding of temporal successiveness on eternal simultaneity. The importance of this point lies in the necessity that a contemporary hermeneutics of the medieval experience should face the strangeness of this awareness of history and experience of time in order to meet this strange other — the religious man as the image of the sempiternal structure of the universe — in a living image. The necessity of discussing our for the most part uncritical understanding of the essence of time as successiveness and chronology increases in proportion with our refusal to do it. In order to face the strangeness of this other — the medieval — an imaginative hermeneutics of the medieval should remember the Augustinian claim, ‘et videat omne praeteritum propelli ex futuro, et omne futurum ex praeterito consequi, et omne praeteritum ac futurum ab eo, quod semper est praesens, creari et excurrere?’ (Let the heart see how every past is propelled out of the future, and every future follows from the past, and all past and future are created and flow out of what is ever present) — a claim that remains alive, resounding in the *Four Quartets* of T. S. Eliot:

Time present and time past
Are both perhaps present in time future,
And time future contained in time past.
If all time is eternally present
All time is unredeemable.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Eliot, ‘Burnt Norton’, p. 189.

FROM *PROPHETA PLANGENS* TO *RETHOR DIVINUS*:
TOWARD AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE RHETORICAL
HERMENEUTICS OF GILBERT THE UNIVERSAL
IN HIS GLOSS ON LAMENTATIONS

Alexander Andréé

Peter Abelard († 1142) is often credited with the idea that the idiom of sacred scripture is formulated with rhetorical intent; the remark in his commentary on St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, written sometime after 1133, that 'omnis scriptura diuina more orationis rhetoricae aut docere intendit aut mouere' (all divine scripture intends to teach or move in the manner of rhetorical speech)¹ is generally regarded as the first instance of a positive affirmation of the intention of divine speech to use rhetorical techniques to convey its message.² His defence of the rhetorical character of the language of the Bible is,

¹ *Commentaria in Epistolam ad Romanos*, ed. by Eligius-Marie Buytaert, CCCM, 11 (1961), Prologue, lines 5–6, p. 41. In his newer edition, Rolf Peppermüller, *Expositio in Epistolam ad Romanos*, Fontes Christiani, 26, 3 vols (Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 2000), I, 62, suggests the reading *monere*, 'warn', instead of the *mouere* of Buytaert's. I have printed Buytaert's version in the text, but leave it to the discretion of the reader to decide which reading makes better sense in this context. Translations in this chapter are my own.

² For instance Constant J. Mews, 'Peter Abelard on Dialectic, Rhetoric, and the Principles of Argument', in *Rhetoric and Renewal in the Latin West, 1100–1540: Essays in Honour of John O. Ward*, ed. by Constant J. Mews, Cary J. Nederman, and Rodney M. Thomson, Disputatio, 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 37–53 (p. 51), who notices an anticipation to this observation in Abelard's *Theologia 'Scholarium'*: 'there is no clear precedent [to Abelard's statement in the *Theologia*, ed. by E.-M. Buytaert and C. J. Mews, CCCM, 13 (1987), II.28, p. 420] in patristic tradition [...] that as Scripture made great use of rhetorical devices, it was absurd to assume that there was no need to study the liberal arts.'

according to Peter von Moos, 'radical',³ by which must be meant that very few, if anyone, before him had made the same assumption; that there is no 'clear precedent'⁴ to the thought that the inspired language of scripture actually makes use of rhetorical devices. Certainly, St Augustine, as Abelard was well aware, claimed that scripture used the trappings of secular eloquence to convey its message on different levels — to instruct, to delight, and to move — but nevertheless wished to separate this divinely inspired use of rhetoric from the purely secular type as found in the orators of ancient Rome.⁵ Another point of view was demonstrated by the Venerable Bede, who argued that the most common use of figurative speech in scripture could be compared with the most 'urbane' and accomplished form of classical rhetoric; that metaphors and allegories, which are legion in scripture, were in fact the most polished form of eloquence.⁶ Bede thus initiated a 'monastic poetics' the grammar and aesthetics of which were founded on the use of figurative language in scripture.⁷ But this type of eloquence was eloquent in itself on account of its divine source, not because it was performed according to the rules of classical rhetoric.

The general approach first developed by Augustine that it was possible to interpret biblical authors according to ancient rhetorical models may be of ancient date; the novel interpretation that the sacred writers intentionally used rhetorical devices to form their speech seems to stem from the twelfth century, when the qualities of the classical authors were again appreciated for what useful things they could convey to learned Christianity.⁸ It was long the belief among medievalists

³ Peter von Moos, 'Literary Aesthetics in the Latin Middle Ages: The Rhetorical Theology of Peter Abelard', in *Rhetoric and Renewal* (see n. 2 above), pp. 81–97 (p. 89).

⁴ Mews, 'Peter Abelard on Dialectic', p. 51.

⁵ Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, ed. by J. Martin, CCSL, 32 (1962), IV.28–30, pp. 135–37. In particular, the function of eloquence for Augustine was not to incite people to do things they did not want to, but to discover hidden truths; see *ibid.*, IV.26, p. 134: 'Prorsus haec est in docendo eloquentia, qua fit dicendo, non ut libeat, quod horrebat, aut ut fiat, quod pigebat, sed ut appareat, quod latebat' (In a word, the function of eloquence in teaching, which takes place by means of speaking, is not to make people like what they abhor, nor to have them do what they are ashamed of, but to make clear what was hidden).

⁶ See Bede, *De arte metrica* and *De schematibus et tropis*, ed. by C. B. Kendall, CCSL, 123A (1975), pp. 82–171.

⁷ See William Flynn, *Medieval Music as Medieval Exegesis*, Studies in Medieval Musicology, 8 (Lanham: Scarecrow, 1999), pp. 35–43.

⁸ See, for instance, Janet Martin, 'Classicism and Style in Latin Literature', in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by R. L. Benson and Giles Constable (Oxford: Clarendon

that the study of the classical Latin literature, including rhetoric and grammar, had had to yield in the twelfth century to the rising interest of nascent scholasticism in dialectics, and that rhetoric was studied only as an antiquarian exercise of times long gone, with impact only on the art of letter writing, and had little application to contemporary needs.⁹ This view has been substantially modified by such scholars as Richard McKeon in a groundbreaking article and John O. Ward, whose numerous writings on the subject stress that rhetoric was studied according to ancient precepts to face concrete and practical needs.¹⁰ In fact, rhetoric was of fundamental importance to the structuring of the language of both logic and theology, and found its way into theological treatises as well as biblical commentaries.

The latter represents a category where very little research has been done to establish the extent of influence of the practical use of rhetoric. A surprising occurrence of this phenomenon, hitherto neglected, may be found in a part of the biblical commentary compilation later to become known as the *Glossa ordinaria*. The Gloss to the Book of Lamentations seems after a brief perusal to be a straightforward piece of exegesis according to the threefold pattern of interpretation, but a closer study of the commentary glosses reveals that in this work, Lamentations has been used as a model of Ciceronian rhetoric. The Gloss on Lamentations was compiled by the rhetorician and theologian Gilbert the Universal († 1134), who based his work mainly on the exposition of the same text made by the ninth-century religious Paschasius Radbertus († 860). In engaging with the Lamentations text and its three-hundred-year-old exposition, Gilbert showed a remarkable sensitivity to the rhetorical qualities he found inherent in the Old Testament poems,¹¹ and he developed them and the ways of using them into a programme for the interpretation of this particular biblical book with the aid of the art of classical eloquence. This programme — these rhetorical hermeneutics — of Gilbert the

Press, 1982), pp. 537–68, and Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), pp. 93–126.

⁹ See for instance Haskins, *Renaissance*, pp. 138–39.

¹⁰ See Richard McKeon, 'Rhetoric in the Middle Ages', *Speculum*, 17 (1942), 1–32, and John O. Ward, *Ciceronian Rhetoric in Treatise, Scholion and Commentary*, *Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental*, 58 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985).

¹¹ Beryl Smalley took notice of this fact but never developed it substantially; see *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd edn (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1983), pp. 69–70, and Beryl Smalley, 'Gilbertus Universalis, Bishop of London (1128–34), and the Problem of the "Glossa ordinaria"', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 7 (1935), 235–62, and 8 (1936), 24–60 (especially pp. 252–53).

Universal in his Gloss on Lamentations is our prime concern in the present chapter; by means of examples and comparisons we will see how the Old Testament poet and prophet Jeremiah, the *propheta plangens* of Paschasius Radbertus, is transformed into the *rethor divinus* of Gilbert the Universal.

The Gloss on Lamentations and the Time of its Composition

As is quite well known, Gilbert the Universal was one of the protagonists of the Gloss movement in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.¹² Together with Anselm and Ralph of Laon, he stands as one of the chief organizers and compilers of the biblical Gloss — the tremendous endeavour to collect and make easily accessible all important knowledge of scriptural interpretation,¹³ which by means of its accomplished methods of scholarship and innovations with textual layout almost ushered in the renewal of the twelfth century. The roots of the *Glossa ordinaria* to the Bible must be looked for in Carolingian times, when patristic commentaries on holy writ were gathered and arranged in *catenae* consisting largely of longer extracts from the authorities. They thus lacked one of the prime characteristics of the later Gloss, that of brevity.¹⁴ This brevity was crucial to one of the Gloss's more salient features, the format, where the mise-en-page consisted of a complicated arrangement of the Bible text and its exposition in the shape of longer glosses written in the margins and shorter ones between the lines of the sacred text (see Plate 10).¹⁵

The exact date of the completion of the biblical Gloss is obscure. Various parts of the Gloss were completed and incorporated into the body of Gloss texts at different times. At least as far as its conception is concerned, though, the work was undertaken at the cathedral schools of Laon and Auxerre; its later redaction and

¹² See Gilbert the Universal, *Glossa ordinaria in Lamentationes Ieremie Prophete, Prothemata et Liber I*, ed., intro., and trans. by Alexander Andrée, SLS, 52 (2005), pp. 20–24, 37–47 (hereafter cited as Gilb. Univ., *Lam.*), and the references cited there.

¹³ Whether the various books of the Gloss were compiled with the explicit intention of constituting a biblical reference tool is a matter under dispute.

¹⁴ See Nikolaus M. Häring, 'Commentary and Hermeneutics', in *Renaissance and Renewal* (see n. 8, above), pp. 173–200 (p. 180).

¹⁵ A comprehensive study of the format of the glossed books of the Bible has been made by Christopher de Hamel, *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Booktrade* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1984).

stabilization — its ‘crystallizations’, to use Lobrichon’s term¹⁶ — were presumably undertaken elsewhere, for instance at St Victor in Paris.¹⁷ This is not the place to delve more deeply into the evidence pointing to the conclusion that the earliest parts of the Gloss were presumably completed before 1100 rather than after;¹⁸ suffice it here to relate the few existing facts by which we may try to establish the date of the composition of the Gloss on Lamentations.

The earliest manuscript of any book of the Gloss that can be dated with certainty is the latter part (fols 46^r–90^r) of Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, 2° Ms. Theol. 6, which was copied in 1131 at Riechenberg in Germany (see Plate 11).¹⁹ It contains, as it happens, the Gloss on Lamentations. The art historian Patricia Stirnemann has showed that the earliest manuscripts with glossed books originating from Laon and its surroundings date from c. 1100–35. These comprise glosses on Genesis, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, St Matthew, St John, the Canonical Epistles, and the Apocalypse.²⁰ Among these glosses

¹⁶ See Guy Lobrichon, ‘Une nouveauté: les gloses de la bible’, in *Le Moyen Âge et la bible*, ed. by Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon, Bible de tous les temps, 4 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), pp. 95–114 (especially pp. 107–14).

¹⁷ It is (almost) an established fact that the cathedral school of Laon was the focal point of the fledgling Gloss enterprise, with masters Anselm and Ralph together with Gilbert the Universal its foremost protagonists. In this connection, an interesting question would be whether the Gloss was consciously initiated as a comprehensive commentary on scripture, or if the arrangement of its books was undertaken elsewhere and later, for example at St Victor in Paris, and whether the individual commentary texts were incorporated later or were already fixed in Anselm’s time.

¹⁸ See for instance the summary in Gilb. Univ., *Lam.*, ed. Andrée, pp. 22–24.

¹⁹ On folio 45^v is a note reading ‘Liber sancte Marie in richenberg quem scripsit sigefridus eiusdem ecclesie subdiaconus anno incarnationis domini MCXXXI’; see Wolfgang Petke, ‘Eine frühe Handschrift der Glossa ordinaria und das Skriptorium des Augustiner-Chorherrenstifts Riechenberg bei Goslar’, in *Papstgeschichte und Landesgeschichte: Festschrift für Hermann Jakobs zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by J. Dahlhaus and A. Kohnle (Cologne: Böhlau, 1995), pp. 255–96. If Matthias M. Tischler of the Hugo von Sankt Viktor-Institut in Mainz is correct in his dating of the manuscript BnF lat. 14781 to as early as the 1120s, then another early copy of the glossed Lamentations survives; see his ‘Dal Bec a San Vittore: l’aspetto delle Bibbie “neomonastiche” e “vittorine”’, in *Forme e modelli della tradizione manoscritta della Bibbia*, ed. by Paolo Cherubini, *Littera antiqua*, 13 (Vatican City: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 2005), pp. 373–405 (pp. 390, 398). See also Gilb. Univ., *Lam.*, ed. Andrée, pp. 115–16.

²⁰ Patricia Stirnemann, ‘Où ont été fabriqués les livres de la glose ordinaire dans la première moitié du XII^e siècle?’, in *Le XI^e siècle: mutations et renouveau en France dans la première moitié du XII^e siècle*, ed. by Françoise Gasparri, Cahiers du léopard d’or, 3 (Paris: Le Léopard d’or, 1994), pp. 257–301 (pp. 258–64).

originating in Laon, perhaps surprisingly, the Gloss on Lamentations is not found. According to Stirnemann's research, there is no extant evidence of this part of the Gloss being copied at Laon before 1140 (the earliest extant copy from that region is Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 71, fols 50^r–89^r, c. 1140–50).²¹ Since Gilbert the Universal was schoolmaster at Auxerre for at least twenty years, this may be an indication that this part of the Gloss was made at Auxerre and did not pass through Laon until slightly later on its way through medieval Europe.

In 1131 we therefore have a clear *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the Gloss on Lamentations. This date may be further modified by a number of circumstances. First must be taken into account the time it took for books to travel. The text had to go from Auxerre or Laon, probably via Paris, to Riechenberg, with as many generations of copies, probably more. This leads us to a second consideration, the time it took for books to be copied. Without going into technical considerations, we can at least state that copying books was a time-consuming enterprise. In the Rule of St Benedict, the monks are allowed one year for reading and perhaps copying one work.²² Seven centuries later the pace had probably increased slightly, but still the whole process including acquiring the book (asking for it to be sent, waiting for it to arrive, and so on), the preparation of parchment and writing material, ruling, copying, and illuminating, all took place on a long-term basis, perhaps requiring a year for a monk or a canon with other duties to perform as well. The speed was greatly enhanced when the professional scribes came onto the stage later in the twelfth century. At the time of our present concern, though, we are still confined to the local scriptoria housed at cathedrals or monasteries.

In this connection must also be mentioned the textual evidence: to judge from the type and number of textual errors and variants displayed by the Kassel manuscript, there ought to be at least two generations of manuscripts between this manuscript and the archetype of the tradition represented by the extant manuscripts (which is not the same as the original, autograph manuscript, which must have been at least another generation away, and which is lost today).²³ The third factor is Gilbert's age: he died in 1134 and was already *grandaevus* when he acceded to the episcopal throne of London in 1128. He had a long career as a

²¹ For a description of this manuscript, see Gilb. Univ., *Lam.*, ed. Andrée, pp. 109–10.

²² St Benedict, *Regula monachorum*, ed. by Philibert Schmitz (Maredsous: Éditions de Maredsous, 1955), 48.37–40, p. 110.

²³ For a *stemma codicum* and a discussion of the manuscript tradition of the Gloss on Lamentations, the reader is referred to Gilb. Univ., *Lam.*, ed. Andrée, pp. 119, 142–44, and 148.

teacher, biblical exegete, as well as canon lawyer behind him. He is held to have been the man who glossed the major part of the Bible — the Pentateuch, the Greater Prophets (including Lamentations), Kings, Joshua, Ruth, and Judges, and the Lesser Prophets may also be the work of his pen.²⁴ His chief claim to fame has time and again been recognized as his involvement in glossing the Bible, first by his friend and contemporary Bernard of Clairvaux, who expressed his awe at his having renewed scripture — ‘renovare scripturam’.²⁵ He ought to have earned his fantastic epithet, *universalis*, on the same merits, but did not call himself by that name until sometime in the 1110s.²⁶ A note in the Kassel manuscript, albeit much later, tells us that he ‘claruit 1090’ — became famous in 1090.²⁷ If the Gloss on Lamentations was a product of his youth — the choice of book to comment upon speaks against it; other biblical books enjoyed priority — it was probably made before 1090; if a product of the mature exegete, who had already glossed major parts of the Old Testament, then basing our judgement on the facts previously related, I think we may conjecture that it was completed at least before 1110. If it cannot be established with absolute certainty when the Gloss on Lamentations was compiled, the various pieces of evidence at our disposal point to a date at the very beginning of the twelfth century, and certainly before 1127, when the man behind it was called to other duties than those of the exegete.²⁸

Classical and Medieval Complaint and Disdain

Whereas other glossed books draw upon a wide variety of source material from which the commentary in the shape of interlinear and marginal glosses is compiled, the Gloss on Lamentations builds on one principal source only: the commentary to the Book of Lamentations by Paschasius Radbertus, the ninth-century abbot

²⁴ See the recent *conspectus* in Tischler, ‘Dal Bec a San Vittore’, pp. 387–94.

²⁵ *Epistola* 24; SBO, VII, 76–77.

²⁶ See Gilb. Univ., *Lam.*, ed. Andrée, pp. 37–39, and the sources mentioned there.

²⁷ The note is found on fol. 89^r, straight after the colophon ‘Sufficiant hec’; on this, see below.

²⁸ Gilbert the Universal was elected to the see of London in 1127 and acceded the next year, executing his duties with obvious enthusiasm over the following years until his death in 1134; see Gilb. Univ., *Lam.*, ed. Andrée, pp. 37–48; Falko Neining, ‘Gilbert’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, 61 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), XXII, 157–58; and Smalley, ‘Gilbertus Universalis’, pp. 235–47 (pp. 246–47).

of Corbie.²⁹ This relative shortage of source material is probably accountable to the fact that there were no other Lamentations commentaries available until the early twelfth century, when there was a virtual explosion in this kind of literature.³⁰ Gilbert had to compile the Gloss on Lamentations relying on this source only for a comprehensive commentary to this particular biblical book,³¹ which makes his treatment of the subject-matter somewhat restricted, as he adopts the thought and, occasionally, the phrasing of his source. And yet, Gilbert treated his source material with the utmost care, abbreviating, omitting, reinterpreting and rewriting, reducing the prolixity of its prose by about a third, and reshaping its language to fit his own preferences.³² Most importantly, he imbues it with a perspective of his own, with regard to his interpretation of the language of Lamentations. Considering his later development of them, some observations made by Radbert in his text must furthermore have elicited Gilbert's particular curiosity: Radbert, albeit not developing the thought to its full consequences — a task he left inadvertently to Gilbert over three centuries later — had an idea that some passages of the biblical book were expressed in a rhetorical manner. On occasion, the text he comments upon makes Radbert think of a juridical situation, and he delivers the remark that the prophet speaks 'more iuridico', or 'more loquitur eorum qui sibi semper animos iudicum conciliari satagunt et contra hostes infligere' (he speaks in the manner of those who are always busy to make the minds of the judges favourably inclined towards themselves and direct them toward their enemies).³³ This type of comment is made quite sparingly, though: the thought is iterated only on five or six occasions in a text comprising some 350 printed pages.

²⁹ *Pascasii Radberti Expositio in Lamentationes Hieremiae libri quinque*, ed. by Beda Paulus, CCCM, 85 (1988).

³⁰ A number of commentaries on Lamentations were written in the first decades of the twelfth century; see Gilb. Univ., *Lam.*, ed. Andrée, pp. 55–57. The fact that these commentaries have not been used by Gilbert may be taken as another indication of an early date of composition for the Gloss on Lamentations.

³¹ In addition to Radbert's commentary, Gilbert evidently made use of the brief Lamentations commentary of Pseudo-Jerome (published in PL, XXV, cols 787–92), which was probably composed in Carolingian times. His use of this work is mostly restricted to making up the contents of some of the interlinear glosses. See Gilb. Univ., *Lam.*, ed. Andrée, pp. 62–64.

³² Gilbert's redactorial technique is studied in Gilb. Univ., *Lam.*, ed. Andrée, pp. 64–75.

³³ Paschasius Radbertus, *Exp. in Lam.*, 1.9.936–37 and 1.21.1830–31. The translations of the texts discussed in this chapter are my own with the exception of some of the passages quoted from Cicero, which are derived from various existing translations and my own.

More specifically, Radbert has the fifth book of Lamentations receive a somewhat different treatment than the preceding four: beginning with a supplication to God for mercy on account of what has happened to the poor city and its people, 'Recordare, Domine, quid acciderit nobis' (Remember, O Lord, what has befallen us), Radbert asserts that the final chapter, the conclusion, must according to the rules of rhetoric bring the issues previously developed in Books I–IV into one brief summary:

Quintus igitur liber non eadem lege est editus qua praemissi quattuor. Sed eorum conclusio in hoc uno recapitulatur lege rhetorum qui sub epilogo in fine concludunt et determinant ac dinumerant singulas res breuiter quas attigerant. Agunt enim hoc reminiscendi causa dum res dispersas et diffusas uno loco quasi sub aspectu subiciunt conquerendo ut indignationem uel clementiam moueant pii iudicis. Clementiam scilicet in se aut in suos, indignationem uero contra hostes [...]. Ad hoc quippe maxime conquisitio ualet ut misericordiam iudicis imploret et auditoris animum mitem ac misericordem faciat. Cuius itaque primus locus est per quem quibus in bonis fuerint et nunc per quem quibus in malis sint cum dicitur: *Memento* uel *recordare* quid factum sit nobis uel *quid acciderit*. *Hereditas* inquit *nostra uersa est ad alienos*. Deplorat igitur coram clementissimo iudice omnia eorum incommoda resque turpes et humiles sibi accidisse et omnia quasi ante oculos singillatim apponit ut uideantur quae preter spem eis contigisse dolet. Et ad summas miseras deuolutos se suosque commemorat more ut dixi oratorum.³⁴

(The fifth book is not written according to the same rules as the previous four; but their conclusion is recapitulated in this one, according to the rules of the rhetoricians, who, at the end in the peroration, sum up and settle and briefly enumerate the causes one by one, with which they have been occupied. Indeed, they do this for the sake of remembering, as complaining, they subjoin the most diffuse topics under one head as before the eyes, that they may affect the good judge's displeasure or pity. Pity towards himself or his relations; displeasure towards his enemies [...]. To this, to be sure, complaint is most efficacious, to implore the pity of the judge and make the mind of the listener mild and compassionate. Its first head is that by which [is shown] what prosperity they once enjoyed and what misery they are in now, when it is said: 'Remember', or 'be mindful' of what is come upon us, or 'what has happened'. 'Our inheritance', he says, 'is turned to strangers'. Therefore he bewails before the pitiful judge all their misfortunes, and that foul and disgraceful things have happened to them, and he puts everything before the eyes one by one, so that it is evident that what he laments has happened to them is beyond hope, and he recalls that he and his relations have fallen to the utmost despair, in, as I said, a rhetorical manner.)

As we will see presently, two elements in particular of the quoted passage appealed to Gilbert: the procedure of the inspired writer to arrange his text according to the 'lex rhetorum' or 'mos oratorum' in order to incite the judge and audience to pity,

³⁴ Paschasius Radbertus, *Exp. in Lam.*, v, prol., ll. 4–24.

and the ‘*primus locus*’ with which this activity is identified. To the contemporary reader, of the ninth as well as of the twelfth century, these notions must have recalled school classes in rhetoric as part of the *trivium*, where Cicero’s juvenile manual for rhetoricians, *De inventione*, was often on the reading list. The locus mentioned was, according to classical rhetorical theory, to be used together with various other loci toward the end of a speech, the peroration, when the orator made a summary of the case and of his arguments, spicing it with rhetorical complaint or disdain.

These *loci communes* — in Greek, *topoi*, in English ‘commonplaces’ — were used as a kind of common amplification of arguments, which could be adapted for use in a wide variety of cases. They were regarded as particularly suitable when a case had been treated very carefully, and the minds of the audience were apparently affected by what had been said. There were several kinds of *loci communes*,³⁵ but what particularly interests us in the following is Cicero’s assertion that ‘*pars locorum communium per indignationem aut per conquestionem inducitur*’ — a portion of the loci are concerned with inciting ill-will (*indignatio*) or complaint (*conquestio*).³⁶ Cicero counts fifteen heads of disdain and sixteen of complaint.³⁷ The first type, *indignatio*, is according to Cicero the more common, and receives the following definition: ‘*Indignatio est oratio per quam conficitur ut in aliquem hominem magnum odium aut in rem gravis offensio concitetur*’ (Disdain is speech by which the effect produced is that great hatred is excited against some person, or severe offence at some event).³⁸ Among the loci which follow may be mentioned the one showing how great a concern the event in question has been for those whose authority and opinion carries the greatest weight — for instance, the immortal gods, ancestors, kings, nations, wise men, the senate, and others. By means of another locus one may ask what would happen if everyone did as the delinquent under treatment, and at the same time show that many would end up the same way if he was granted freedom. The orator may furthermore demonstrate that the crime committed is no ordinary one, which has been committed before by the most audacious of rogues, but is repugnant even to savages, barbarian tribes, and wild beasts. Such cruelties may have been committed against women and children, parents, the elderly, and others who are not able to defend

³⁵ See Cicero, *Rhetorici libri duo, qui vocantur De inventione*, II.48–51, 55–56, 61, 68, 77–78, 85–86, 91, 94, 101–03, 108, 109, 143, 147, and 152–53.

³⁶ Cicero, *De inventione*, II.48.

³⁷ Cicero, *De inventione*, I.98–109.

³⁸ Cicero, *De inventione*, I.100.

themselves nor to hurt others. These fifteen loci are, according to the author, all very suitable for producing the most violent ill-will against those who have done violence in any of the cited instances.

The second type of amplification is *conquestio*, complaint, which is described as a means to arouse the pity of the audience and to incite them to compassion: 'Conquestio est oratio auditorum misericordiam captans. In hac primum animum auditoris mitem et misericordem conficere oportet, quo facilius conquestione commoveri potest' (Complaint is speech seeking to arouse the pity of the audience. In this it is of prime importance to render the mind of the listener gentle and merciful, in order that it may the more easily be moved by the complaint).³⁹ These sixteen *loci conquestionis* consist principally in illustrating the powers of destiny and the weakness of man and include loss of property or position and influence, deaths in the family, injustices received, helplessness, poverty, loneliness, and other misfortunes, not necessarily of one's own creation, employed to procure the pity of the audience.

Radbert apparently took note of this aspect of rhetoric in some passages of Lamentations and applied it to the prophet imploring the pity of the most gracious judge, God.⁴⁰ The two, classical and medieval, meanings of the word *oratio* are here effectively blended into one. However, Radbert's remark in his preface to the fifth book is made almost in passing, and together with the other four or five shorter comments of the type mentioned above, is not very significant. It is almost possible to detect a slight element of condescension toward the use of rhetoric in the quoted passages. It is explained as a secondary activity: the prophet speaks *in the manner of*, or *according to the rules of* the rhetoricians, never *as* a rhetorician. The style of certain passages of Lamentations is likened to rhetorical features; they are never described as *being* such features, or written as such. Compared with the rest of the exegesis, historical, allegorical, anagogical, and, in particular, tropological, these passages fade in significance. Radbert looks on the ancient use of ornate language to move the feelings of the judges or the audience almost with disdain. At least, he views it at some distance, as the type of business a certain kind of person becomes involved in, far away from his own Benedictine *conversatio*. For him, the prophet's profession is far more creditable than that of a rhetorician.

³⁹ Cicero, *De inventione*, I.106.

⁴⁰ The editor seems unaware of the obvious Ciceronian references made by the ninth-century author. No mention is made of *De inventione* in the *apparatus fontium* nor in the *index auctorum*.

But in the text and language of Lamentations, and in Radbert's commentary — especially in the passages mentioned above — Gilbert the Universal detected something else, something of particular interest to him. To show both Gilbert's rendering of his source and his appreciation of the rhetorical notions, let us turn our attention to the passage in Gilbert's Gloss on Lamentations corresponding to that quoted from Radbert's commentary above. His version is considerably shorter:

Recapitulat tamquam rethor divinus omnia sub uno aspectu colligens more rethorico conquestionem et indignationem alternatim permiscens; conquestione in se et in suos clementiam iudicis alliciens, indignatione autem in adversarios iram compellens. Conquerendo ergo exponit, quibus in malis sint, dicens: *Recordare, Domine, quid acciderit nobis*, vel secundum alios: 'Memento, Domine, quid acciderit nobis' &c. Deplorat ergo ante iudicem clementissimum, quam turpes res et humiles passi sunt.⁴¹

(Just as a divine orator he recapitulates, collecting everything under one aspect in a rhetorical manner, mixing alternately complaint with indignation; with complaint attracting the pity of the judge toward himself and his relations, with indignation inciting fury toward his enemies. Therefore, lamenting he explains what misery they are in now, saying: 'Remember, O Lord, what has happened to us', or, according to others: 'Be mindful, O Lord, what has happened to us', etc. He therefore complains before the most merciful judge, what shameful and ignoble deeds they have suffered.)

The notion admitted by Radbert is here developed further. Whereas Radbert is almost forced to yield to the too obvious rhetorical similarities of this part of the biblical book, Gilbert assigns a more interesting role to the prophet. I would like to direct particular attention to a certain phrasing not used by Radbert, namely *rethor divinus* — a divine orator. Interestingly, though stressing the rhetorical notions in general, the Ciceronian locus actually referred to by Radbert in the passage quoted above is missing in Gilbert's abbreviated version. As we shall see, this loss is more than made up for in what follows.

It has already been mentioned that the study of the Latin classics saw a reflorescence in the cathedral schools of the twelfth century. With an increasing interest in prosody, metrics, and style, this activity was very likely to put its imprint on other endeavours of the same institutions. In the art of rhetoric we have mentioned the study of Cicero and his *De inventione*, which was definitely pursued on both theoretical and practical levels. The result was obvious not only in letter writing, but presumably also in performed oratory and preaching.

⁴¹ Gilbertus Universalis, *Glossa ordinaria in Lamentationes Ieremie prophete*, gloss to the beginning of Book V, quoted from my forthcoming edition.

A subject which has been very little, if at all, studied is that of whether the theory and practice of embellished speech found its way into the study and commentary of sacred scripture.

Gilbert's Gloss on Lamentations consists of eleven forewords (*prothemata*) and five books of exposition, corresponding to the five books of Lamentations. Nine of the forewords and the major portion of the five books of exposition, arranged in the manuscripts as marginal glosses, are based on and developed from Radbert's commentary. In addition to these come the interlinear glosses, most of which are not taken over from Radbert but from other sources or Gilbert's own pen, and six other glosses, including two of the forewords bearing Gilbert's signature.⁴² All but one of these are concerned with the rhetoric of Lamentations.⁴³ Among the interlinear glosses explaining singular words or shorter passages of the text of Lamentations, furthermore, are found the Ciceronian *loci rhetorici*, to which we shall return later.

We have seen that Radbert compared some passages of Lamentations with the language used by the ancient orators in a juridical context. Let us now examine how these passages are treated by the twelfth-century compiler. Does he retain them, ignore them, or develop them? Whatever his purpose at that time, Gilbert the Universal, when working with Radbert's text, can hardly have been unaware of these notions; comparing the compilation with its source, it rather seems that Gilbert's susceptibility to rhetorical issues was kindled by those few hints that were left by Radbert, and that he subsequently developed them with full force, applying what Radbert thought appropriate to a handful of passages to the entire Book of Lamentations. A gloss from the fourth book epitomizes his general idea of the style of composition of Lamentations:

In gravi stilo Lamentationes esse compositas manifestum est. Ponuntur enim cuiusque rei verba ornata vel propria vel translata: sententie graves cum amplificatione et cum miseratione, et sententie ornatæ cum verborum gravitate, sicut hic: *Quomodo obscuratum est aurum* &c.⁴⁴

⁴² As we shall see, there are some shorter, anonymous, mostly interlinear glosses on rhetoric as well, which are probably by Gilbert.

⁴³ There are two prefatory glosses, 'Lamentationes Ieremie' and 'Rethoricorum colorum'; two at the beginning and end of the third book, 'Universas fere' and 'Non loquaci, sed dicaci'; one at the opening of the fourth book, 'In gravi stilo'; and one at the very end of the last book, 'Sufficiant hec', which is a colophon and not concerned with rhetoric at all. These passages will be dealt with in what follows.

⁴⁴ Gilb. Univ., *Lam.*, gloss to Book IV.1, quoted from my forthcoming edition. On Gilbert's positioning of the severe style of Lamentations in apposition to the joy of the Song of Solomon

(It is evident that Lamentations are composed in severe style. For the words for each thing are put either ornately or specifically or metaphorically: grave sentences with amplification and with pity, and ornate sentences with the gravity of the words, as it is here: 'How is the gold become dim', etc.)

The differences between the compiler and his source are compelling. The divinely inspired prophet Jeremiah, to whom the poems of Lamentations are traditionally ascribed,⁴⁵ was not merely inspired to the extent of the prophetic message the verses were taken to contain, but also in his use of language. Gilbert indicates his programme of interpretation in a number of glosses, for instance in one of the two prefatory glosses, guiding the student about to set out on the study of the Book of Lamentations:

Lamentationes Ieremie membro patet orationis maxime distingui vel dissoluto colorari. Res enim breviter absoluta sine totius demonstratione sententie dicitur, que alio orationis membro excipitur, sicut hic est: *Plorans ploravit in nocte* &c. Interdum vero more dissoluti coniunctiones de medio auferuntur; partes separate efferuntur hoc modo: *Quomodo sedet sola civitas* &c, et more rethorico aliquando duobus membris, aliquando tribus vel pluribus constat oratio.⁴⁶

(It is clear that the Lamentations of Jeremiah are in a special way punctuated by the clause of speech, or coloured by means of asyndeton. For the case is said to be briefly completed without a presentation of the whole meaning, which is resumed in another clause of the speech, as in this: 'Weeping she has wept in the night', etc. Occasionally, by way of asyndeton, connecting particles are removed, and separate parts are brought forth in this fashion: 'How doth the city sit solitary', etc., and in a rhetorical manner the speech sometimes consist of two clauses, sometimes of three or more.)

To the twelfth-century writer it was apparently obvious that the Lamentations of Jeremiah 'maxime' (in a special way) 'membro orationis distingui' (are punctuated by the clause of speech), and 'dissoluto colorari' (coloured by the means of asyndeton). Considering the former, the thing uttered in the prophetic verse is said to be finished briefly without an explanation of the whole meaning (*sententia*), which is thereupon resumed in another clause of speech.⁴⁷ The sense in this is not

with the opening phrase 'Sunt cantica canticorum, sunt et lamentationes lamentationum', see Gunilla Iversen's discussion, p. 206, below.

⁴⁵ On the attribution of Lamentations to the prophet Jeremiah, see the study by N. K. Gottwald, *Studies in the Book of Lamentations* (London: SCM, 1954), especially p. 21.

⁴⁶ Gilb. Univ., *Lam.*, Prothema VIII.59–65; ed. Andrée, pp. 166–67.

⁴⁷ In the translation accompanying my edition of the text, I gave the word *sententia* a different rendering, 'sentence', which, however, is hardly possible, as will be evident from the following; see Gilb. Univ., *Lam.*, ed. Andrée, p. 167.

entirely clear, but it would seem to imply that the intrinsic meaning of the things uttered is not wholly covered in a sole sentence or clause, but that one has also to read the following clauses to grasp the significance in full, or perhaps even to look further on in the text, to another verse entirely, where the clause in question will be explained or its sense resumed. The example of ‘*Plorans ploravit in nocte, et lacrimae eius in maxillis eius*’ therefore does not find its immediate explanation, the cause of her grief, until two verses down, where it is said that all her friends have despised her and have become her enemies: ‘*Omnes amici eius spreverunt eam et facti sunt ei inimici.*’ The reader must stand ready and alert and wait for the fulfilment of the oration to grasp its sense completely, just as with a speech delivered by an orator of ancient Rome.

This remark — that the Lamentations of Jeremiah ‘*dissoluto colorari*’ (are coloured by the means of asyndeton) — must imply that the sentences, the clauses, within the verses are clearly separated one from the other not by ‘*coniunctiones*’ (connecting particles) but by natural pauses, and that although in the manuscripts the sentences are written continuously without any indication of stops except between verses, these pauses are still doubtless discernible, especially for one reading the text out loud. For example, ‘*Quomodo sedet sola civitas | Facta est quasi vidua domina gentium | Princeps provinciarum facta est sub tributo*’ — three sentences are heaped upon each other without stops or connecting particles, rightly ‘*more dissoluti*’ (by way of asyndeton). In such a rhetorical manner, the speech consists sometimes of two clauses, sometimes of three or more, which is of course true of the varying lengths of the verses of Lamentations. For Gilbert writing in the twelfth century, it was obvious that rhetorical devices such as this had been deliberately applied by the sacred writer over fifteen hundred years before.

We will consider the implications of this treatment presently, but let us first linger a little longer on the glosses in which Gilbert outlines his rhetorical programme with regard to Lamentations. It would seem that to Gilbert, Lamentations constitutes a treasury for the student of rhetoric, who has a lot to learn from the various rhetorical devices used throughout the five prophetic poems. The procedure for the student so inclined is described in one of the longer glosses bearing Gilbert’s name:

Non loquaci, sed dicaci; non studioso, sed perspicaci rethorica semina iacimus, ut quod aliquibus in locis Lamentationum facimus, faciat ipse in omnibus. Hoc tamen generaliter notandum, quod sicut iudicis misericordiam comparando quinto conquestionis utitur loco incommoda sua singulatim exponendo, sic in adversarios indignationem excitando duodecimum indignationis ponit locum, colligens que in negotio acta vel secuta sunt, cum

uniuscuiusque indignatione et criminatione rem verbis ante oculos iudicis exponens, ut indignetur ac si interfuerit et viderit, unde: *Vidisti omnem furorem eorum, et similia*.⁴⁸

(Not for the chattering, but for the acute; not for the eager, but for the penetrating reader have I spread the seeds of rhetoric, so that what I have done in a few places of Lamentations, he may do for himself in the rest. It is to be generally noted, though, that as he uses the fifth topic of complaint to obtain the pity of the judge by exposing his difficulties one by one, thus to excite ill-will against his adversaries, he puts the twelfth topic of disdain, gathering that which has happened or been achieved in the case, uttering this before the eyes of the judge with the agitation and accusation of everyone, that he be upset as if he had been present and seen for himself. Hence 'Thou hast seen all their fury', and similar.)

To Gilbert, the verses of Lamentations may be interpreted by means of Ciceronian rhetoric, and more specifically by means of the technical devices categorized under *amplificatio* in classical rhetorical theory, exemplified by means of *rethorica semina* (seeds of rhetoric), the *loci communes* of Cicero. These have been indicated in a number of cases by the author himself, as guidelines for the more penetrating reader to continue the rhetorical interpretation of the rest of the verses by himself. Above all, the Master cautions, the prophet employs the fifth topic of complaint to gain the judge's pity and the twelfth topic of disdain to inflame the audience against his enemies.

In keeping with his promise to spread 'seeds of rhetoric', Gilbert assigns Ciceronian rhetorical loci to verses throughout the text, in addition to the commentary proper. Thus a single verse or a line of a verse of Lamentations may be assigned a *locus rhetoricus* either of complaint (*conquestio*) or disdain (*indignatio*), as in the examples in the text above. This programme is pursued throughout the five books of Lamentations, but most consistently in the first book. There are some thirty-five loci in all, with some variation among the manuscripts; twenty-five of these are found in the first book. To quote a few examples of Gilbert's procedure, let us first take his rhetorical interpretation of the second verse of the first book of Lamentations (1.2), where the fallen Jerusalem, who before was a princess of gentiles and full of people, is now described as sitting solitary and weeping in the night with tears running down her cheeks, and 'non est, qui consoletur eam ex omnibus caris eius | Omnes amici eius spreverunt eam et facti sunt ei inimici' (there is none to comfort her among all them that were dear to her | All her friends have despised her and have become her enemies). The interpretation is made as follows:

⁴⁸ Gilb. Univ., *Lam.*, gloss to Book III, quoted from my forthcoming edition.

OMNESAMICIEIUS&c: Tercius decimus conquestionis locus, per quem cum indignatione conquerimur, cum ab his, a quibus minime conveniat, male tractemur.⁴⁹

(ALL HER FRIENDS, etc.: the thirteenth topic of complaint, by which we complain with indignation, when we are badly treated by those by whom it would be least becoming.)

The definition of the thirteenth topic of complaint is exactly in keeping with Cicero. The Roman orator merely supplies an additional explanation with examples collected from his own time and context:

Tercius decimus, per quem cum indignatione conquerimur, quod ab iis, a quibus minime conveniat, male tractemur, propinquis, amicis, quibus benigne fecerimus, quos adiutores fore putamus, aut a quibus indignum est, ut servis, libertis, clientibus, supplicibus.⁵⁰

(The thirteenth, by which we complain with indignation that we are badly treated by those by whom it would be least becoming, by our relations or friends, whom we have served, and whom we have expected to be helpful to us, or by whom it is shameful to be mistreated, as by slaves, freedmen, clients, and suppliants.)

This particular topic of complaint is used by the twelfth-century commentator to interpret the biblical language: the personified city of Jerusalem has been abandoned and despised by all her friends and those dear to her, which corresponds nicely with the categories mentioned by Cicero. In a similar manner, verse 21 of the first book, ‘Audierunt quia ingemisco ego, et non est, qui consoletur me’ (They have heard that I sigh, and there is none to comfort me), is interpreted by means of a Ciceronian locus, but this time with a slight modification:

AUDIERUNT: Secundus indignationis locus; ostendit enim, ad quem precipue res ista pertineat, id est ad ipsum Deum, quem hostes in suis despiciunt, unde: *Ingredietur omne malum* &c.⁵¹

(THEY HAVE HEARD: the second topic of indignation; for it shows to whom this act principally pertains, that is to God himself, whom the enemies have despised in their own affairs, whence: ‘Let all their evil be present’, etc.)

By the caption, *Audierunt*, must be meant also the following lines of the current verse, as God, ‘to whom this act principally pertains’, makes his appearance only in line three, ‘Letati sunt, quoniam tu fecisti | Adduxisti diem consolationis, et fient similes mei’ (They have rejoiced that thou hast done it | Thou hast brought a day of consolation, and they shall be like unto me). The sentiment of the interpretation is still found in Cicero’s original, though the twelfth-century commentator

⁴⁹ Gilb. Univ., *Lam.*, I.2.21–23; ed. Andrée, pp. 180–81.

⁵⁰ Cicero, *De inventione*, I.109.

⁵¹ Gilb. Univ., *Lam.*, I.21.10–12; ed. Andrée, pp. 276–77.

has narrowed the perspective quite drastically to allow for an exclusive Christian interpretation:

Secundus locus est, per quem, illa res ad quos pertineat, cum amplificatione per indignationem ostenditur, aut ad omnes aut ad maiorem partem, quod atrocissimum est; aut ad superiores, quales sunt ii, quorum ex auctoritate indignatio sumitur, quod indignissimum est; aut ad pares animo, fortuna, corpore, quod iniquissimum est; aut ad inferiores, quod superbissimum est.⁵²

(The second topic is that by which it is shown with amplification, by means of indignation, whom that affair concerns, whether it concerns all men or the greater part of men, which is a most infamous business; or whether it concerns the higher classes, such as those men on whose authority the indignation which we are professing is grounded, which is most unworthy; or whether it affects those men who are one's equals in courage, fortune, and personal advantage, which is most vile; or whether it affects our inferiors, which is most arrogant.)

An example showing that the misfortunes being lamented may be those of another rather than our own, a notion as we have already seen well in agreement with Cicero, is apparent in a rhetorical gloss to a line in the fifth book (v.3), 'Pupilli facti sumus absque patre | Matres nostre quasi vidue (We are orphans and fatherless | Our mothers are as widows):

MATRES NOSTRE QUASI VIDUE: Quintus decimus conquestionis, per quem eorum, qui cari esse debent, magis quam proprias plangimus fortunas.⁵³

(OUR MOTHERS LIKE WIDOWS: the fifteenth topic of complaint, by which we deplore the ill fortunes of those who should be dear to us rather than our own.)

The Ciceronian counterpart is almost identical:

Quintus decimus, per quem non nostras, sed eorum, qui cari nobis debent esse, fortunas conqueri nos demonstramus.⁵⁴

(The fifteenth, by which we demonstrate that we bewail the fortunes of those who ought to be dear to us and not our own.)

The examples collected thus far from Gilbert's Gloss have contained substantial information of what or which persons the rhetorical gloss contains. In many other cases, though, no explanation follows, but there is only a mention of the appropriate locus, as in this gloss to Lamentations 1.5: 'FACTI SUNT HOSTES EIUS: Octavus

⁵² Cicero, *De inventione*, I.101.

⁵³ Gilb. Univ., *Lam.*, v.3; quoted from my forthcoming edition.

⁵⁴ Cicero, *De inventione*, I.109.

conquestionis locus'⁵⁵ (HER ADVERSARIES HAVE BECOME: the eighth topic of complaint). A check with the description of the corresponding locus in Cicero reveals that the general precepts of ancient rhetoric had to be remembered by heart by the students:

Octavus locus est, per quem demonstramus non vulgare neque factitatum esse ne ab audacissimis quidem hominibus id maleficium, de quo agatur; atque id a feris quoque hominibus et a barbaris gentibus et inmanibus bestiis esse remotum. Haec erunt, quae in parentes, liberos, coniuges, consanguineos, supplices crudeliter facta dicuntur, et deinceps si qua proferantur in maiores natu, in hospites, in vicinos, in amicos, in eos, quibuscum vitam egeris, in eos, apud quos educatus sis, in eos, ab quibus eruditus, in mortuos, in miseros et misericordia dignos, in homines claros, nobiles et honore usos, in eos, qui neque laedere alium nec se defendere potuerunt, ut in pueros, senes, mulieres; quibus ex omnibus acriter excitata indignatio summum in eum, qui violarit horum aliquid, odium commovere poterit.⁵⁶

(The eighth topic that is by which we demonstrate that the crime which is the subject of discussion is not a common one, nor often committed, and that it is foreign to savages and barbaric peoples and brute beasts. Actions such as these are said to be wrought with cruelty against parents, children, spouses, relations, or suppliants; and next to them, if anything is done towards elders, patrons, neighbours, friends, to those with whom one passes one's life, to those among whom one has been brought up, to those by whom one has been taught, to the dead, to the poor and those deserving pity, to men who are illustrious, noble, and vested with honours, to those who have neither the faculty to injure another nor to defend themselves, such as boys, old men, and women; by all these circumstances indignation is violently excited and will be able to produce the greatest hatred against him who has violated any of these persons.)

It certainly demands a 'more careful, penetrating' reader to know his Cicero to this extent. Students of exegesis ought to have spent several years studying the liberal arts, and would thus already be familiar with the appropriate grammatical and rhetorical devices. The student of the Gloss on Lamentations was required to know the precepts of Ciceronian rhetoric.

The most frequently occurring locus is, according to Gilbert, the fifth of complaint. This state of affairs is expressed in a gloss at the beginning of Book III:

Universas fere Ieremie Lamentationes quinto conquestionis loco insignitas diligenti patet lectori. Deplorantur enim singula incommoda ante iudicis oculos sic digesta, ut videatur videre et re ipsa ad omnia descendere.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Gilb. Univ., *Lam.*, I.5.15; ed. Andrée, pp. 196–97.

⁵⁶ Cicero, *De inventione*, I.103.

⁵⁷ Gilb. Univ., *Lam.*, gloss to Book III, quoted from my forthcoming edition.

(It is obvious to the attentive reader that almost all of Jeremiah's Lamentations are marked by the fifth topic of complaint. For each and every inconvenience is deplored before the eyes of the judge thus recounted, that he seems to see and through the thing itself yield to everything.)

In Gilbert's hands, the Book of Lamentations becomes an exercise book. The student is exhorted to find 'seeds of rhetoric' in Lamentations. The pupil is cautioned that the prophet's verses mainly consist of Cicero's fifth topic of complaint or twelfth topic of disdain. Based on such evidence, the suspicion arises that Gilbert may have used this text in his teaching before it was incorporated into the body of Gloss texts. Later in the text, the fifth topic is described as that 'by which all disadvantages are brought separately before the eyes'. The topics as found in the Gloss on Lamentations have all been collected from Cicero's *De inventione*, and as the phrasing of the copied passages shows, most probably from the author's memory. Many allusions to rhetorical loci are found among the interlinear glosses, though without an exact number prescribed. To these occurrences may be added the frequent simple comments 'more rethorico' of the marginal glosses. Apart from these, and apart from the obviously Gilbertian passages, there are a number of glosses not carrying Gilbert's name but still unmistakably issuing from his pen, nearly all of rhetorical content, which do not have any counterpart in Radbert. One such is the following interlinear gloss to Lamentations III.19, 'Recordare paupertatis et transgressionis mee, absinthii et fellis' (Remember my poverty and transgression, the wormwood and the gall):

RECORDARE: Expositis singulatim incommodis benevolentiam iudicis comparat a persona sua et iudicis et adversarii, quod propriis notatur locis.⁵⁸

(REMEMBER: after the misfortunes have been recounted one by one, he acquires the benevolence of the judge from his own person and from the judge's and the enemy's, which is noted with its own topics.)

'Propheta plangens' versus 'Rethor divinus'

The ascription of various *loci communes* from Cicero to the verses of Lamentations is by far the most common rhetorical device that Gilbert exhibits. Occasionally, though, he develops the rhetorical method he has discovered behind the prophet's prayer of lament and carries it beyond the use of commonplaces. The general concentration on rhetoric betrayed by Gilbert seems to have

⁵⁸ Gilb. Univ., *Lam.*, III.19; quoted from my forthcoming edition.

influenced his own way of treating the language when rewriting his source. Gilbert shared a passion for the use of rhetoric with his famous contemporary Bernard of Clairvaux.⁵⁹ His own idiom is certainly rhetorically flavoured, as seen in his prothemata, but the Ciceronian in him also becomes apparent in his restating of Radbert's meaning. A typical example showing that the same concern for the use of rhetorical devices that Gilbert describes as applying to the text of Lamentations in the gloss above applies to his own language is the following. The passage in question is presented together with its counterpart in Radbert's commentary so that the differences between Gilbert and his source are readily apparent.⁶⁰

Radbert

4, 22 (1927–86) Libeat in calce tanti lamenti mentem altius attollere ut uidere simul queat mens quam praeclso *Hieremias* in culmine caeli ascenderit unde contemplando *dilatato corde* tanta quasi in palestra *huius saeculi* agonizantium discrimina uidit ita ut *nunc* ad omnes generaliter oculum mentis extendat *nunc* ad singulos *nunc* *Iudaeorum casus defleat* et ruinas *nunc ecclesiae lugeat detrimenta*. Sed et *morum* uniuscuiusque animae deplorat improbitates et dirae captiuitatis eius cum lacrimis depingit dispendia. *Nunc gloriam* et solium *contuetur Hierusalem* atque simul omnium electorum Dei. Nunc miserae seruitutis eorum qui iugo excruciantur aduersariorum cum omni dolore cordis commemorat.

Verum et ipsam ecclesiam nunc lugentem se nunc suos introducit. Vertitur ergo planctus eius interdum ad moenia ciuitatis

Gilbert

4, 22 Notandum immo ammirandum maxime, ad quantam altitudinem *Ieremias* conscenderat, unde quasi de specula *dilatato corde* agones *huius seculi* considerat.

Nunc simul omnes, *nunc* singulos, *nunc* *Iudeorum casus deplorat*, *nunc ecclesie luget detrimenta*, *morum* perturbationem dolet,

Nunc restaurationem *Ierusalem* et *gloriam intuetur* et ecclesiam exaltandam gloriatur,

cum victoribus gaudet, cum victis luget, denique omnem sexum, omnem etatem, prelatos et subditos tanquam unus sit in

⁵⁹ On Bernard's use of rhetoric see Erich Auerbach, *Literatursprache und Publikum in lateinische Spätantike und im Mittelalter* (Bern: Francke, 1958), p. 207, and Gunilla Iversen's discussion, pp. 204–13, below.

⁶⁰ Agreements between the two texts are marked by *italics*. Since it is quoted for reasons of comparing the style of the Latin language of the two passages, and not for the contents, I have judged a translation of Radbert's passage redundant. Gilbert's version, though, may be found translated below, p. 139.

et ornamenta uirtutum interdum uero ad sacerdotes et ad optimates plebis quod eorum ex culpis non minus ipsi quam et grex capti sunt atque uincti cum omni foeditate peccati loro iniquitatis. Nec non et ad paruulos et lactantes sermo dirigitur gementis eo quod fame sitique extabuerint dum nullus in plebe doctor egregius inuenitur. Virgines quoque eius et continentes squalidae deplorantur quia id eis ob inedia[m] uerbi Dei nullus uiror nulla pulchritudo uultus uel uenustas decoris eo quod egressus sit a filia Sion omnis decor eius.

Quid plura? Nulla est uexatio nullus casus animae nullaue scelerum aut aduersariorum afflictio intus forisue quam non defleat et connumeret. Nulla boni priuatio quam non retexat mestus non minus in genere quam et in specie. Et sicut nulla sunt ornamenta uirtutum quae non amiserint hi per partes ita nec ulla est species meroris aut doloris quibus non moueatur uox lamentationis et lacrimarum fluentia. Et dum uarias intromittit tam uulgi quam et nobilium *personas*, uariis mouetur fletibus et innouantur per *singulas personas* et afflictiones fletuum incitamenta. Et sicut nullus est praesentis vitae reatus quo illa non deliquerit ita nec ulli fletus quibus iste non ingemuerit. *Ad ultimum* pro eisdem nostris reatibus Deum et *Dominum captum* et passum in carne insinuat nec sic *tamen omnes a morte redisse* inmanissime dolens deplorat.

Quapropter eorum ad extremum *qui* audierint et *conuersi fuerint completam malitiam* et iniquitates prenuntians *gaudet* quod *ultra* non addat *eos* ut affligat *Dominus* neque *ut transmigret* de firmitate suae uirtutis. Sed *erunt sicut angeli in caelo et cum Christo sine fine regnabunt*. Eorum uero *qui* in vitiis et sceleribus vitam finierint contraque *sanctos* et electos Dei semper commoti ad inuidiam et fraudem egerint

omnibus, si male cedat, deplorat et ad plorandum inuitat.

Singulis personis propria lamenta impertit et semper lacrimas novas fundit, dum alternatim *personas* novas inducit.

Ad ultimum Christum *Dominum* testatur esse *captum* pro peccatis nostris; *non tamen omnes a morte redisse* prope finem ingemiscit et eorum,

qui conuersi sunt, finitam esse malitiam gaudet, ut ultra eos Dominus non transmigret, quia plantati sunt in domo Domini et *erunt sicut angeli in caelo et regnabunt cum Christo*.

Eos uero, *qui sanctos* persecuti sunt, pro iniquitatibus puniendos affirmat, cum eorum detegentur *peccata*.

uisitabit iniquitates non ut releuet et
remittat sed ut puniat et condempnet et
discoperiat atque detegat omnia *peccata*
eorum.

Vnde prudens lector diligenter perpende a
principio lamenti huius quod premisi *quia*
in Scripturis sacris non nisi *lamentationes et*
carmen atque uae inueniuntur. Quorum
trium inpresentiarum lamentationes ualent.
In illa uero aeternae uitae patria carmina
hymnidicis angelorum uocibus et
sanctorum omnium cum iubilo
exsultationis erunt.

Hinc rogo adhibeantur in hac nostra
peregrinatione lamentationes et lacrimae
quatinus illic in carminibus Deum laudare
possimus cum sanctis. At uero quos hic
praesentis uitae gaudium et laetitia
extulerint ad inania illic uae perpetuum
erit. Quorum iniquitates uisitabuntur in ira
furoris Domini non ut finiantur et luctus
cesset ut requiescant sed acrius ultio ut
innouetur et puniantur eorum sine fine
delicta qui hic sine fine peccare decreuerunt
si licuisset.

Hinc intelligendum est, *quia in Scripturis*
sanctis nichil aliud est quam *lamentationes*,
que frequentande sunt in hoc seculo, *et*
carmen quod cum angelis cantabimus in
celo, *et ve* quod filii Edom ululabunt in
inferno.

Lugeamus ergo cum Ieremia in hoc seculo,
ne ululemus cum filiis Edom in inferno.
Fugiamus gaudia presentis vite et inania
carmina, ut cum angelis cantare possimus
perpetuum alleluia.

Without reading the passages carefully, it is not wholly obvious that the passage in the right column is modelled on that on the left; such a comparison requires familiarity with or at least awareness of Gilbert's redactorial technique. In Gilbert's skilled hands, it has become quite another text, though still conveying basically the same message. The passage is typical for Gilbert's method of treating his source: first he prunes, reducing the original by almost half, then he rewrites the text, using both his own words and those of his source, inflecting them differently; sometimes he abbreviates, sometimes he adds. Furthermore, the concision of Gilbert's prose greatly enhances the rhetorical swing of the sentences. In contrast, Radbert's sentences are long and heavy, the language seeming almost sluggish.⁶¹ As we shall see, by means of rhetorical devices of the twelfth-century *ars dictaminis*, Gilbert very often makes the context more tangible and the language

⁶¹ This appearance is not helped by the absence of punctuation in the modern edition from which the quoted passage is cited.

more rhetorically rippling. His phrases are given shape and symmetry by using phrases of almost equal length (a figure called *isocolon* in rhetorical theory). He also makes use of parallelisms, syntactical and structural as well as with regard to sound; these last may be produced by the repetition of the same word at the beginning of successive clauses or phrases (*anaphora*) or by end-rhymes. *Antithesis*, the conjoining of contrary ideas or words, is another figure used, albeit less conspicuously.⁶² The following is an attempt to structure the same passage syntactically, with instances of *anaphora* and end-rhyme italicized:

Notandum,
 immo *ammirandum*, maxime,
 ad quantam altitudinem Ieremias conscenderat,
 unde quasi de specula dilatato corde agones huius seculi considerat.
 Nunc simul omnes,
 nunc singulos,
 nunc Iudeorum casus deplorat;
 nunc ecclesie luget detrimenta, morum perturbationem dolet.
 Nunc restaurationem Ierusalem
 et *gloriam intuetur*
 et ecclesiam exaltandam *gloriatur*.
 Cum victoribus gaudet,
 cum victis luget.
 Denique *omnem sexum*,
 omnem etatem,
 prelatos et subditos tamquam unus sit in omnibus,
 si male cedat,
 deplorat et ad plorandum invitat.
 Singulis personis propria lamenta *impertit* et semper lacrimas novas *fundit*,
 dum alternatim personas novas *inducit*.
 Ad ultimum Christum Dominum testatur esse captum pro peccatis nostris;
 non tamen omnes a morte redisse prope finem ingemiscit
 et eorum, qui conversi sunt, finitam esse maliciam gaudet,
 ut ultra eos Dominus non transmigret,
 quia plantati sunt in domo Domini et erunt sicut angeli in celo et
 regnabunt cum Christo.
 Eos vero,
 qui sanctos persecuti sunt,
 pro iniquitatibus puniendos affirmat,
 cum eorum detegentur peccata.
 Hinc intelligendum est,

⁶² These rhetorical devices are defined in the anonymous contemporary treatise *Ad Herennium*, IV.19 (*anaphora*), IV.21 and 58 (*antithesis*), and IV.2–28 (*isocolon* and rhyming figures).

gloriatur, creating a chiasmus of sound. The two short symmetrical sentences that follow are marked by *anaphora* (the repeated *cum* at the beginning of both phrases) and a double rhyming parallelism, as well as creating an antithesis by means of their contents. The sentence that follows begins with *anaphora* and ends with repetition of the sound *plor-* in ‘deplorat et ad plorandum’. The next sentence contains a series of three end-rhymes, each consisting of a present-tense verb ending in *-it*. The following sentence, constituting the middle of the passage, or its *culmen*, gains suitable prominence through the use of three parallel *accusativi cum infinitivo* and the perhaps somewhat puzzling phrase ‘ut ultra eos Dominus non transmigret’, which is obviously a biblical allusion, or rather, a mixture of two biblical allusions.

Being a biblical commentary, the text of course abounds in biblical quotations and vocabulary, but it is worth noting that very often the passage under treatment is likened to or explained by means of another biblical passage. Thus is spun the magnificent web of coherence between the books of the Bible. A vision of the reward of those who have repented follows in time, contrasted with a strong antithesis in the following sentence (beginning *Eos vero*) explaining what will happen to those not so converted when their sins are exposed. Three parallel nouns, *lamentationes*, *carmen*, and *ve* — together a quotation from Ezekiel — with three parallel explanatory relative clauses (beginning *que*, *quod*, and *quod*) characterize the following sentence. The relative clauses are rounded off with parallel end-rhymes — *seculo*, *celo*, and *inferno* — corresponding to the three types of song. There is also a striking contrast between the songs, which will be sung (*cantabimus*) together with the angels in heaven, and the woe, which the sons of Edom will howl (*ululabunt*) in hell. The same parallel is reiterated a few lines down (*ululemus* and *cantare possimus*) with the consecutive particles (*ne* and *ut*) marking the negative and positive aspects of the situations respectively. The conclusion of the passage — two sentences begun in a homiletic manner with hortative subjunctives in first-person plural — constitutes a grand finale both to the passage itself and to the fourth book of exposition that it concludes.

Apart from the more obvious rhetorical adaptations, Gilbert’s treatment of his source shows a consciousness on the part of the twelfth-century editor of a new readership and a changed intellectual climate. This is occasionally apparent in a theological clarification of doctrine. For instance, *à propos* the sacrament of the Mass, Gilbert offers an explanation in addition to his source. Where Radbert originally wrote of the ‘eagles of the Church’, ‘quia ubi passio Christi celebratur et corpus immolatur nostrae salutis ibi aquilae caeli adgregantur quasi ad escam et adueniunt ut de morte carnis eius uitam percipiant et refectionem perpetuae satietatis’ (since where the Passion of Christ is celebrated and his body sacrificed

on account of our prosperity, there gather the eagles of heaven so as to eat and come to receive life from the death of his flesh and the refreshment of perpetual satiety),⁶³ Gilbert has found an occasion to make a doctrinal clarification: 'quia ubi memoria passionis Christi celebratur, et panis et vinum per misterium sancte orationis in corpus et sanguinem Christi transfigurantur, advolant aquile celi quasi ad escam, ut de morte eius vitam percipiant' (since where the memory of the Passion of Christ is celebrated, and through the mystery of the sacred prayer, bread and wine are transformed into the body and blood of Christ, the eagles of heaven hasten as to eat, so that they may receive life from his death).⁶⁴

Though anticipating the later doctrine, this passage was written some hundred years before the dogma on the transubstantiation was formulated by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.⁶⁵ It may be inferred that Gilbert's comment lacks the directness of its source. Radbert says very frankly that when the Passion of Christ is celebrated, 'his body is sacrificed', using the present tense for something truly and immediately happening before our eyes every time the sacrifice of the Mass is offered. But then again, Gilbert stood on the threshold of a time of theological speculation that demanded overt explanation in a philosophical idiom of things which had earlier been taken for granted. One is reminded of the fact that the church has never felt the need to proclaim truth as a dogma until the day of its becoming questioned. In this particular case, the heresy of Berengar of Tours of c. 1050, which was renewed in the 1070s, probably stood rather fresh in the memory.⁶⁶

⁶³ Radbert, *Exp. in Lam.*, IV.19.1597–1600. Radbert's stance on the reality of Christ's presence in the Eucharist against the position of Ratramnus is well known, and sufficiently explained in his *De corpore et sanguine Domini* of 831; PL, CXX, cols 1267–1350. See the contribution by Nils Holger Petersen to the present volume, especially pp. 174–82.

⁶⁴ *Gilb. Univ., Lam.*, IV.19, quoted from my forthcoming edition. The words chosen by Gilbert, 'per misterium sacre orationis' echo the confession that Berengar of Tours was forced to sign at a Council in Rome in 1079. See further below, n. 66.

⁶⁵ See H. Denzinger and F. Schönmetzer, *Enchiridion symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*, 33rd edn (Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1965), no. 802. The word *transubstantiation* is said to have been first used by Hildebert of Lavardin, c. 1079: see his *Synodicus ad sacerdotes seu pastores*, PL, CLXXI, col. 776A. For its early use by Robert Pullen († 1147) see Joseph Goering, 'The Invention of Transubstantiation', *Traditio*, 46 (1991), 147–70. After him, Peter Lombard cleared the path in his *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae* by means of his definition of what occurs in the words of consecration, 'cum enim haec verba proferuntur, conversio fit panis et vini in substantiam corporis et sanguinis Christi': IV.8.

⁶⁶ See Denzinger and Schönmetzer, *Enchiridion*, nos 690 and 700. The confession that Berengar was forced to read is a very clear assertion of the church's belief at the time. Even though

Sapientia and Eloquentia

To return from this Eucharistic excursus to our original subject, rhetoric, a few things may be said about the prothema *Rethoricorum colorum* reproduced below:

Rethoricorum colorum splendorem et sententiarum gravitatem et elocutionis ornationem me tacente diligens lector non tacebit. Locorum quoque rethoricorum multitudinem et dialecticorum raritatem et argumentorum subtilitatem gratis inveniet. Preterea rethorice conquestionis humilitatem et interdum indignationis asperitatem vel utriusque commixtionem nullo docente docebit. Rudibus tamen satisfaciendo conquestionem et indignationem rethoricam propriis diffinitionibus ad medium deducere non gravabor.

Est enim, ut ait Tullius, 'conquestio oratio auditorum misericordiam captans', cuius primus locus est, per quem, quibus in bonis fuerimus et nunc quibus in malis simus, ostendimus, sicut hic: *Quomodo sedet sola civitas* &c.

'Indignatio est oratio, per quam conficitur aut in hominem odium aut in rem offensio', cuius primus locus est ab auctoritate, cum dicitur, quante cure ea res fuerit diis immortalibus &c, sicut hic: *Candidiores Nazarei eius nive* &c.

In primo ergo alphabeto paucos indignationis et conquestionis locos assignando diligentiori et perspicaciori viam aperio lectori &c.⁶⁷

(Albeit that I say nothing, the careful reader will not pass in silence over the splendour of the rhetorical colours, the weight of the sentences and the adornment of speech. For nothing, he will also find the multitude of heads of rhetoric, the choice dialectic and the plainness of the arguments. Moreover, he will teach, without instruction, the abjectness of the rhetorical complaint, and occasionally the severity of disdain, or the combination of both. To satisfy the unskilled, however, I shall not unwillingly explain the rhetorical complaint and disdain by their proper definitions. 'Complaint', as Tully says, 'is speech seeking to arouse the pity of the audience'. Its first head is that by which we show what prosperity we once enjoyed and what misery we are in now, as it is here: 'How doth the city sit solitary', etc. 'Disdain is speech by which either hatred is aroused against some person or offence at some event'; the first head of which is from authority, when it is related of how much concern this event has been to the immortal gods, etc. As it is said here, 'Her Nazarites were whiter than snow', etc. In the first alphabet I therefore show the more careful, penetrating reader the right way by denoting a few heads of complaint and disdain, etc.)

the word *transubstantiation* is lacking, there can be no doubt as to whose body is actually consumed in the sacrament of the Eucharist: 'Ego Berengarius corde credo et ore confiteor, panem et vinum, quae ponuntur in altari, per mysterium sacrae orationis et verba nostri Redemptoris substantialiter converti in veram et propriam ac vivificatricem carnem et sanguinem Iesu Christi Domini nostri [...] non tantum per signum et virtutem sacramenti, sed in proprietate naturae et veritate substantiae.'

⁶⁷ Gilb. Univ., *Lam.*, Prothema XI.96–110; ed. Andrée, pp. 170–71.

In this gloss, the proper words of the great Roman author, which we may recall from above, are used to explain these two important devices often encountered in the text of Lamentations, disdain (*indignatio*) and complaint (*conquestio*). As was mentioned earlier, these devices were to be used at the end of a speech, the *peroratio*, to arouse either the pity of the audience or the mercy of the judges. In the passage quoted above, to exemplify the second device, *indignatio*, Gilbert selects a line from the fourth book which in full reads, 'Candidiores Nazarei eius nive, nitidiores lacte, rubicundiores ebore antiquo, saphiro pulchriores' (Her Nazarites were whiter than snow, purer than milk, more ruddy than the old ivory, fairer than the sapphire; Lam. 4. 7). Checking the interlinear gloss for this passage, one finds the rhetorical comment, 'Indignatio iudicis contra adversarios excitatur' (the judge's hatred toward the opponents is aroused).

More important, in the gloss a personal appreciation of the literary qualities of the sacred text is given by its twelfth-century interpreter. It is a testimony, conscious or not, to Augustine, who feared that literate people of his time would be repelled by the Christian sacred texts, and thus by the Christian message as a whole, on account of the 'barbarity' of the language they were written in, compared with the elaborate Latin of the Roman style of his time. Augustine's fears are here effectively overbridged with the aid of the greatest of the Roman orators, Cicero himself. The reader will discover unguided the splendour of the rhetoric of the verses of Lamentations, the modulation of the sentences, and the embellishments of speech. He will also spontaneously be able to find the various Ciceronian rhetorical loci used by the inspired writer. At this point, a question arises: could Gilbert have been so ignorant as to believe that Jeremiah (to whom he, as well as his contemporaries, ascribed the authorship of the Book of Lamentations) actually made use of the rhetorical devices delineated by Cicero, Jeremiah who lived at least five hundred years before Cicero? The current of history was by no means unknown or uninteresting to the medieval mind. The answer to this question is found in the continuation of the prefatory gloss to the fifth book, the beginning of which was reproduced above ('Recapitulat tamquam rethor divinus'), readily taken over from Radbert, but ingeniously adapted by Gilbert to corroborate the claims of Christianity's supremacy over ancient Rome. He continues the passage on the divine orator:

Invenies ergo, si bene perpendis, et loquendi artes a nostris ad philosophos transisse, non ab illis ad nostros ascendisse, quod bene percipies, si per singula intentionem prophete et affectum et verba consideres.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Gilb. Univ., *Lam.*, v.1; quoted from my forthcoming edition.

(You will therefore find, if you examine carefully, that even the arts of speaking have passed from our people to the philosophers, and have not ascended from them to our people. This you will fully grasp, if you in every singularity consider the prophet's intention and compassion and words.)

Gilbert clearly states that, as he has hitherto endeavoured to show in four books of Lamentations commentary, the arts of rhetoric did not originate with the pagan Greeks or the Romans, but have come to them from the Hebrews, that is the proto-Christians, 'our' ancient people, of the Old Testament, here incarnated in the prophet Jeremiah, who makes vivid use of the arts of embellished speech, long before Cicero or Demosthenes were even born. Rhetoric is thus not only useful for Christians, as Augustine rightfully proclaimed, but is intrinsically a Christian practice; Cicero merely supplied the terminology. The reader is reminded of the very similar passage in Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*, where it is asserted that Ambrose, having studied secular history, came to the conclusion that Plato on his trip to Egypt had learned all the things he is praised for from the prophet Jeremiah.⁶⁹ On rhetoric and the arts in general, it would seem that Augustine was slightly more restrictive. However, if the arts of rhetoric and dialectic were in fact given to man by God as instruments of his reason to help him think and talk, who could deny their rightful study and use?

This may be taken as the gist of Gilbert's rhetorical programme, and at the same time its most radical aspect — that the art of rhetoric has come not *from* the pagan Romans to 'us', but *to* the pagan Romans from the ancient Hebrews, namely from 'us'. There can thus be no question of the legitimacy with which studies in the liberal arts, particularly rhetoric, may be pursued, since it is a Christian practice, divinely sanctioned by holy scripture.

Returning again to our point of departure, to Abelard and his assertion made in his commentary on St Paul's Epistle to the Romans that divine scripture operates in the manner of rhetorical speech, a thought that he did indeed develop, it seems it was anticipated by Gilbert the Universal in his programme for the rhetorical interpretation of the Book of Lamentations. Abelard wrote his commentary after 1133, and the various 'theologies' of which the *Theologia 'Scholarium'* forms part were written over two decades in 1120–40;⁷⁰ Gilbert's

⁶⁹ Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, II.27.41. Augustine later realized his mistake in making Ambrose believe that Plato and Jeremiah had been contemporaries: see his *Retractationes*, II.30.2, and also *De civitate Dei*, VIII.11.

⁷⁰ The other parts are the *Theologia Christiana* and the *Theologia 'Summi boni'*; see von Moos, 'Literary Aesthetics', p. 83, and C. J. Mews, 'On Dating the Works of Peter Abelard', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et litt  raire du moyen   ge*, 52 (1985), 75–134.

Gloss on Lamentations was completed probably more than twenty years earlier. A collaborator of Anselm of Laon and a friend of St Bernard, it would seem that Gilbert hailed from a different camp from Abelard.⁷¹ Ironically, Abelard's statement presented at the outset of this chapter thus brought forth an idea that is fully developed and propagated through a consistent programme by one of his opponents.⁷² It is nevertheless hardly surprising that Abelard should have picked up these notions, as he had studied at Laon and disputed with William of Champeaux, who certainly was in favour of rhetorical studies, even in connection with scripture.⁷³

We have discussed various aspects of Gilbert the Universal's Gloss on Lamentations, considering the text not primarily as what it was later to become, namely a part of the great Gloss, the *Glossa ordinaria* on the Bible, but rather as a text in its own right. Gilbert obviously took from Radbert the more traditional biblical exposition, reshaping it to fit his own ways of expression, and aware of the vast rhetorical wealth of the text he added his own rhetorical interpretation to it. Before him it had been asserted that rhetorical loci could be extracted from biblical passages; now, Gilbert says that the author of the biblical text *himself* made use of the same rhetorical devices. Radbert's original vision of the lamenting

⁷¹ One of the masters of divinity mentioned by Abelard in his *Theologia 'Scholarium'* as upholding a 'chair of pestilence' in Burgundy, teaching 'many things contrary to the Catholic faith', could be Gilbert, though the identification should be treated with caution. See Peter Abelard, *Theologia 'Scholarium'*, ed. by Éloi M. Buytaert and Constant J. Mews, CCCM, 13 (1987), II.65, p. 440, repeating claims made c. 1122–25 in *Theologia Christiana*, ed. by Éloi M. Buytaert, CCCM, 12 (1969), IV.80, p. 302. This matter deserves further attention. See also Gunilla Iversen's discussion below, pp. 215–17.

⁷² There is another example of Gilbert being ahead of Abelard, noticed by Smalley, 'Gilbertus Universalis', pp. 55–60, in the use of *quaestiones* on the sacred page, which appear in a *glosula* on the psalms attributed to Gilbert (extant in the manuscript Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 17, fols 1^r–152^r). Abelard is often credited with having introduced this type of philosophical reasoning to the study of the *sacra pagina*.

⁷³ Interestingly, there is no similar treatment of *loci conquestionis* and *indignationis* by the twelfth-century commentaries *In primis* and *Materia Tullii* on Cicero's *De inventione* (which I have seen in the manuscripts Durham Cathedral Library, C IV 7, fols 2^r–30^v and C IV 29, fols 196^r–215^v), the first of which was probably written by William of Champeaux, the second anonymous but heavily dependent on the first. Nor does the art of rhetoric seem to be applied to books of scripture in these commentaries. On the possible Laon origin of these commentaries and their contents see Karin Margareta Fredborg, 'The Commentaries on Cicero's *De inventione* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium* by William of Champeaux', *Cahiers de l'Institut du moyen-âge grec et latin*, 17 (1976), 1–39.

prophet Jeremiah, the *propheta plangens*, has through Gilbert's skilful artifice been transformed into a *rethor divinus*, a divine Cicero descending from above, which was perhaps not so much a change as the re-appreciation and complete Christianization of the arts.⁷⁴ From *propheta plangens* to *rethor divinus* is no small step, but one reflecting the needs of a new readership and a changed intellectual climate, a change which may perhaps be represented by the emphatic shift from *sapientia* to *eloquentia*.

⁷⁴ Compare Andreas Bückler, 'Christianizing the Arts: From Augustine's *De ordine* to Carolingian Thought', in *Signs of Change: Transformations of Christian Traditions and their Representation in the Arts, 1000–2000*, ed. by Nils Holger Petersen, Claus Clüver, and Nicolas Bell (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), pp. 173–89, where it is argued that it was Alcuin of York who first conferred the long-expected sacrament of baptism on the secular *artes liberales*.

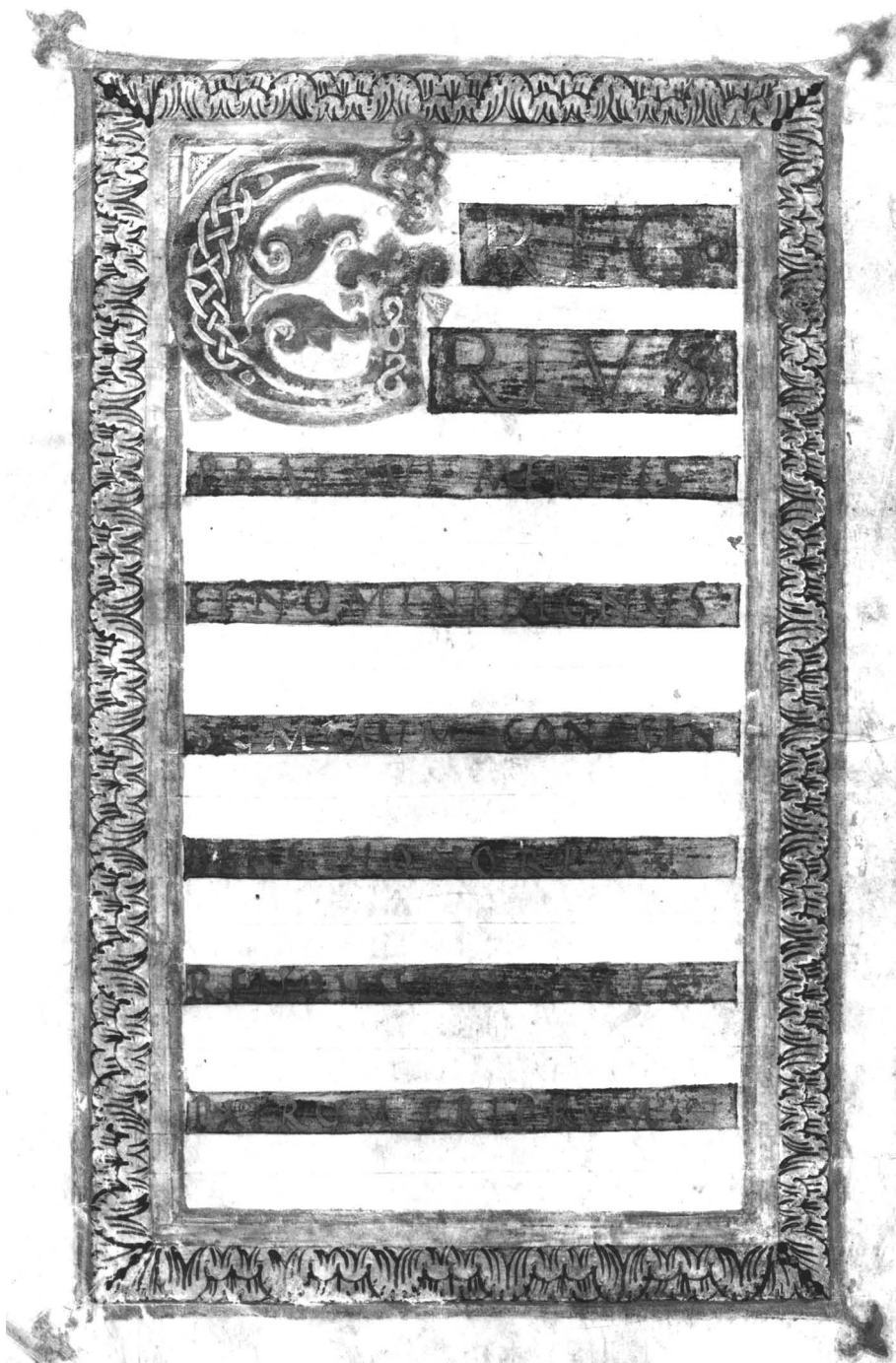


Plate 1. The opening lines of *Gregorius presul* in BnF lat. 17436, fol. 1^v.



Plate 2. Gregory in the Sacramentary of Charles the Bald, BnF lat. 1141, fol. 3^r.



Plate 3. The Drogo Sacramentary, BnF lat. 9428, fol. 58^r.

ANS DIRRESURRECTIONE

an̄ **S**ancti angelus ad sepulchrum dñi solus ad ruitus cooperit uidentis tumulus et immo
errans potest esse aditum alio tempore locuti ē angelus dixit ei proleuere
dico ubi quia illum quaeris et mortuum latuisse et cum omni aēre uirgo et al

AN Maria uide angelum amicum splendoris quecum lacrimis interrogas deo saluatore ubi
me uidisti et plures angelis quod lapis reuelatus ē. ab ore meo uenit quoniam uideas post alium ut
agnum crucifixum att illum quoniam quod dñi sum rex et scia de x att att att

My Maria cernens dum uenisset ad monumentum angelis splendentes apparuit dicens
quid quaeritis uiuentem cum mortuis non. hic uenit crucifixum cum ubi erat uocatus
discite de apulis in regepe quaerunt omnia uenit et. e nob humanogenia ab

[illegible]

Allegro

Adorabomina

Aug lu 14

Laus gloriam laudem criminaliter p[ro]fectuato

supplici nostra que mittit cetera

Tacollaudum adonata sanc re

rex in hac aula & dona per secula sano tata

Plate 4. Sequences in the Antiphoner of Charles the Bald, BnF lat. 17436, fol. 29^r.

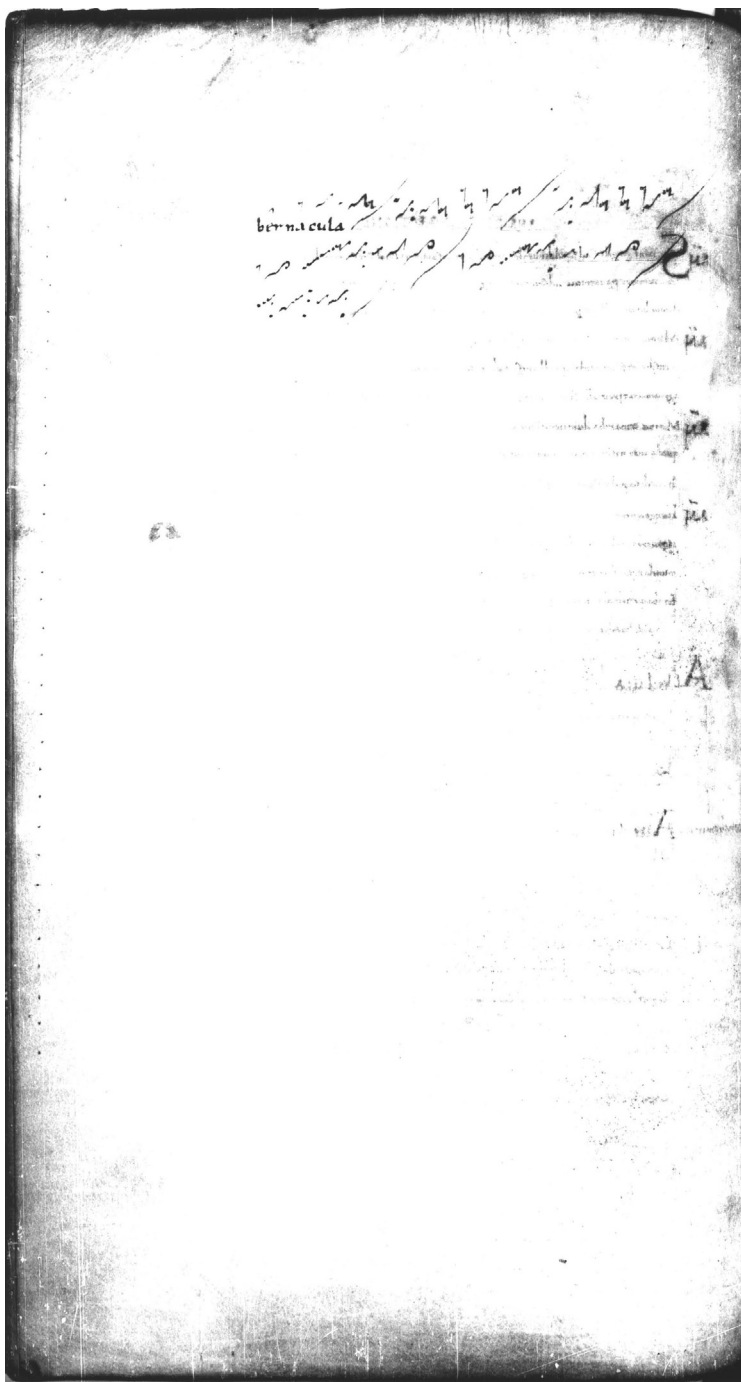


Plate 5. Sequences in the Antiphoner of Charles the Bald, BnF lat. 17436, fol. 29^v.

30

Fulgent Alle luia

Rex in æter num suscipe benignus prece
 niā nostra Victor ubiq; morte superata aq;
 triumphasti
 Orsus de tribulacū leo potens surrexisti
 in gloria Regna potens supera iustis reddens
 premia in ocula
 Ergo pietate acpe nobis a peccamina
 tecum resurgere ad beatam gloriam

Gloria Alleluia

Euried Alle luia

Plate 6. Sequences in the Antiphoner of Charles the Bald, BnF lat. 17436, fol. 30^r.



Plate 8. *Codex aureus* of Charles the Bald, Munich,
 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, c.l.m. 14000, fol. 6^r.

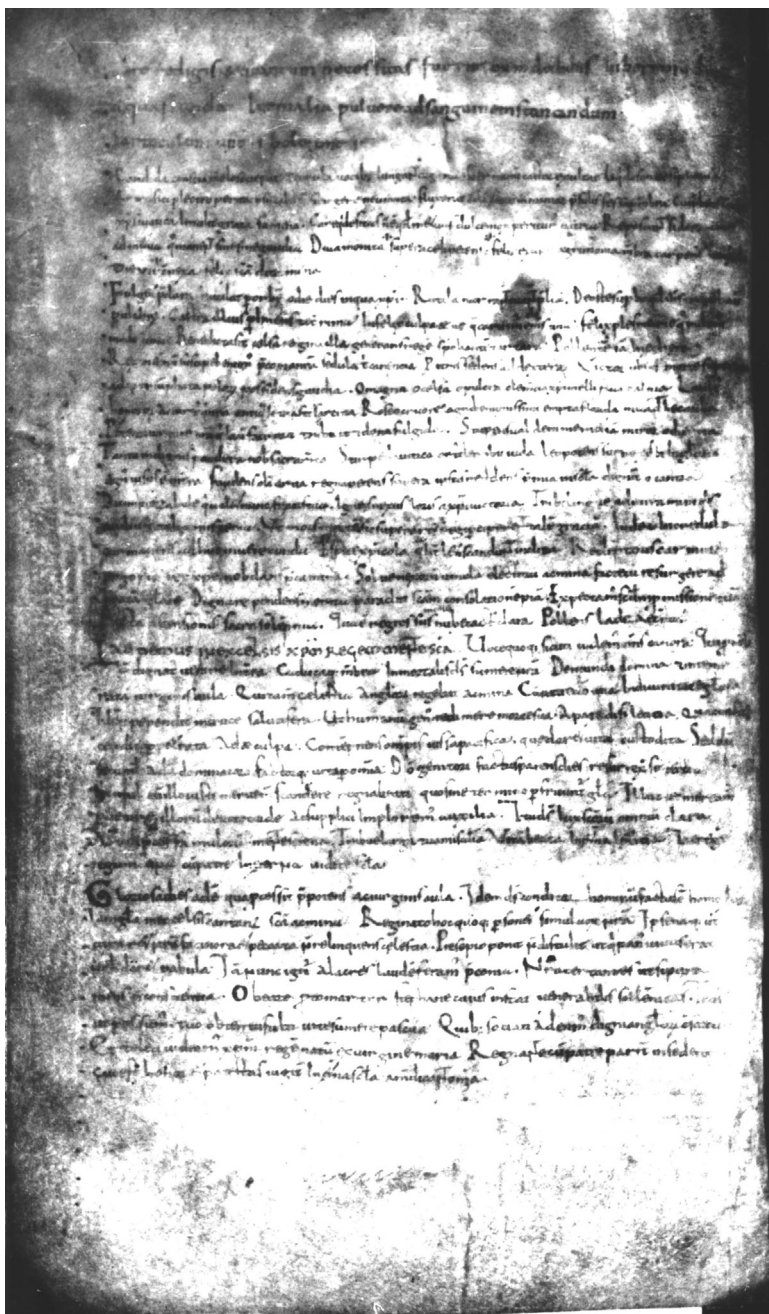


Plate 9. Prose for St Germain of Auxerre,
Candida contio, in BnF lat. 2373, fol. 2^v.

Brotherton Library, Ripon Cathedral MS 4, fol. 62^v.

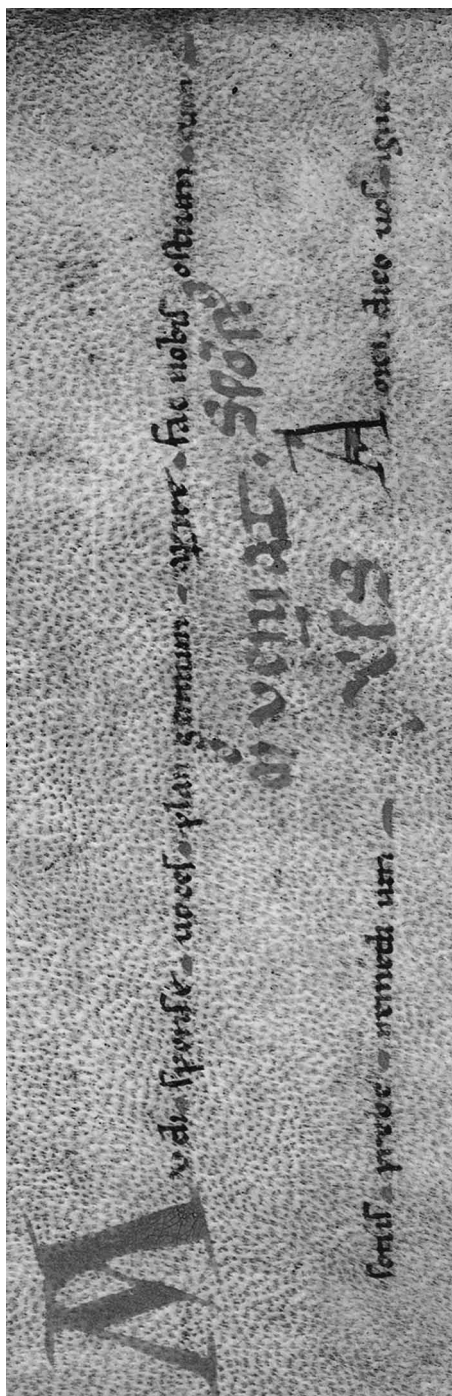


Plate 13. Detail from Plate 12 showing the rubric
 'Modo veniat Sponsus', BnF lat. 1139, fol. 55^v.

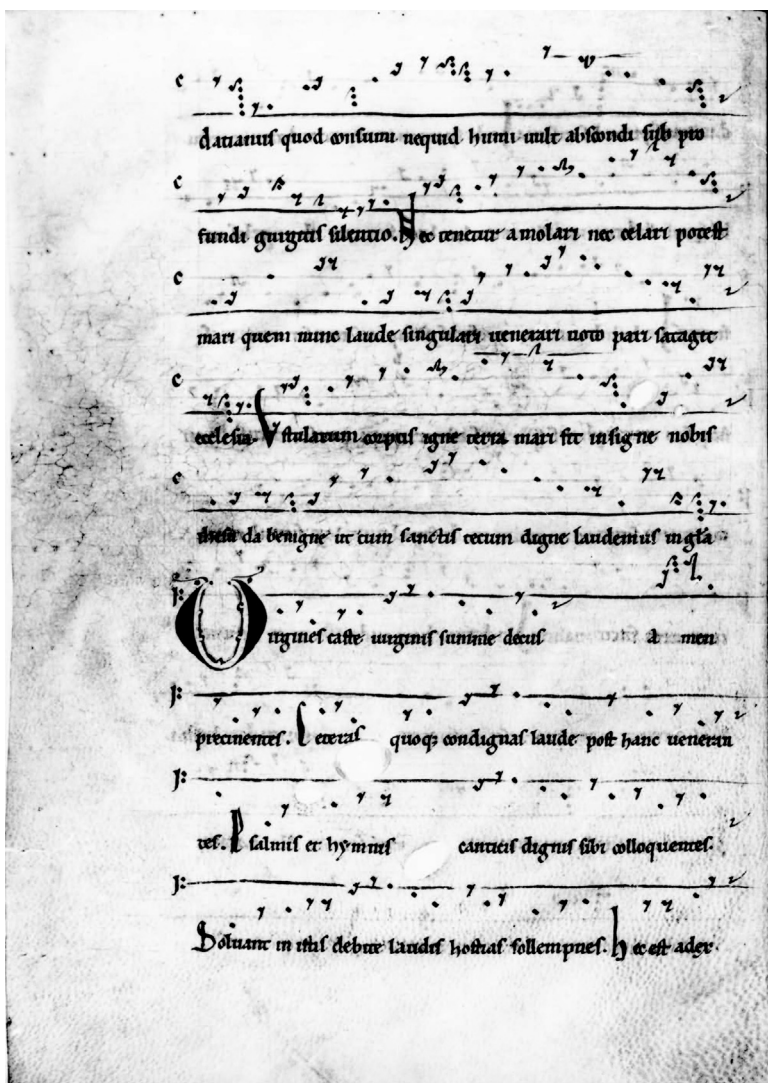


Plate 14. The opening of *Virgines caste* in BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fol. 84r.



Plate 15. The Crucifixion, Uta Codex, Munich,
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, c.l.m. 13601, fol. 3^v.



Plate 16. Sequence commentaries in Oxford,
Bodleian Library MS Auct. F. 6. 8, fol. 62^r.

BIBLICAL RECEPTION, REPRESENTATIONAL RITUAL, AND THE QUESTION OF 'LITURGICAL DRAMA'

Nils Holger Petersen

This chapter is concerned with certain kinds of poetic texts which have been subsumed under the overall generic indication of 'liturgical drama'. Since the mid-nineteenth century, and in particular since the work of Charles Edmond Henri de Coussemaker, this term has been in common use for describing certain texts which nineteenth-century scholarship clearly saw as being a direct precedent to modern drama. Many scholars in the second half of the twentieth century have, however, been critical of the use of a concept of drama for such texts.¹ The texts in question are generally found, at least in the earliest sources, in liturgical manuscripts for the Mass and Office, such as ordinaries, antiphoners, and tropers, or in monastic customaries. The earliest of the *Quem queritis* ceremonies, which from the tenth and eleventh centuries provided a narrative and bodily representation of the women at Christ's grave on Easter

¹ For modern accounts that deal with the history of scholarship of this field, see O. B. Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1965); C. Clifford Flanigan, 'Comparative Literature and the Study of Medieval Drama', *Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature*, 35 (1986), 56–104; C. Clifford Flanigan, 'Medieval Latin Music-Drama', in *The Theatre of Medieval Europe: New Research in Early Drama*, ed. by Eckehard Simon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 21–41; Michal Kobialka, *This Is My Body: Representational Practices in the Early Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999); and Nils Holger Petersen, 'Liturgical Drama: New Approaches', in *Bilan et perspectives des études médiévales (1993–1998): actes du 2^{ème} congrès européen d'études médiévales*, ed. by Jacqueline Hamesse (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 625–44.

morning and the angelic announcement of the Resurrection in a liturgical devotional ceremony, may be better understood as integrated parts of a larger religious ritual than as representational plays.² Even so, few would deny the continuity between such phenomena. These devotional ceremonies, at once serving ritual and representational functions, sometimes seem to have given rise to spiritual entertainment, or to have been received as spectacles.³ It is probably as difficult to maintain a strong separation between these two different perceptions as it would be to make a pronouncement of when music in the liturgy was heard as an integral part of the religious ritual and when as a sensual pleasure in its own right, a problem raised towards the end of the fourth century by St Augustine in Book X of his *Confessions*. In order to elucidate this problem at an early stage of a phenomenon that may only in the course of time be said to have been established as a kind of genre, I shall discuss an example from around 1100 that has often been received in modern literature as an early example of 'liturgical drama'. This will form a background to my discussion of the phenomenon of liturgical representation in the Middle Ages, a phenomenon which, as will become clear, has lately been taken up in a new way combining intellectual and institutional history with the history of liturgy, music, and drama.

'Liturgical Drama'?

The text in question, known simply as *Sponsus*, is found in the manuscript miscellany BnF lat. 1139 (fols 53^r–55^v), where it is placed between a *Quem queritis* dialogue (fol. 53^r) and a 'procession of prophets' (fols 55^v–58^r), neither of which

² See Nils Holger Petersen, 'The Representational Liturgy of the *Regularis Concordia*', in *The White Mantle of Churches: Architecture, Liturgy, and Art Around the Millennium*, ed. by Nigel Hiscock (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 107–17.

³ See C. Clifford Flanigan, 'The Fleury Playbook, the Traditions of Medieval Latin Drama, and Modern Scholarship', in *The Fleury Playbook: Essays and Studies*, ed. by Thomas P. Campbell and Clifford Davidson (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1985), pp. 1–25 (pp. 4–15), and C. Clifford Flanigan, 'Medieval Liturgy and the Arts: *Visitatio sepulchri* as Paradigm', in *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of C. Clifford Flanigan*, ed. by Eva Louise Lillie and Nils Holger Petersen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1996), pp. 9–35 (pp. 29–31). See also Nils Holger Petersen, '*Danielis ludus* and the Latin Music Dramatic Traditions of the Middle Ages', in *The Past in the Present: Papers Read at the IMS Intercongressional Symposium and the 10th Meeting of the Cantus Planus, Budapest & Visegrád, 2000*, ed. by László Doboszay, 2 vols (Budapest: Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music, 2003), II, 291–307 (pp. 293–96).

has been received unequivocally in modern scholarship as a dramatic text.⁴ I shall point out some of the problems involved in applying a general notion of drama to this particular representation of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (Matt. 25. 1–13). The *Sponsus* has generally been considered by scholars (from Coussemaker to the present) to be a dramatic text.⁵ In the manuscript itself, however, there are neither indications of performance context nor any clues to the social environment in which it might have been performed.

In the following I quote the recent text edition and translation of Peter Dronke and refer to Coussemaker's early edition of text and music.⁶ The oldest portion of the manuscript, including the section with the *Sponsus*, has traditionally been dated in the last years of the eleventh century — a dating now revised by Marie-Noël Colette to the first years of the twelfth century.⁷ The manuscript seems to be corrupt in places, rubrics are seemingly missing (or

⁴ The *Sponsus* is edited (without its music) and discussed in what must still be considered the standard reference work on 'liturgical drama' as a whole, in spite of its outdated historiography, Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933, repr. 1967), II, 361–69; concerning the surrounding texts, see also I, 213 and II, 138–45. Young judges both to belong to the pre-stages of 'genuine drama'. Susan Rankin, 'Liturgical Drama', in *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, ed. by Richard Crocker and David Hiley, New Oxford History of Music, 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 310–56 (p. 348), conversely takes the grouping together of the *Sponsus* with two 'dramatic texts' to indicate that *Sponsus* may have been understood as a similar kind of text; see also David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 266–67.

⁵ *Sponsus* was edited by Edmond de Coussemaker in his *Drames liturgiques du moyen âge (texte et musique)* (Rennes: Vatar, 1860; new edn, Paris: Librairie archéologique de Victor Didron, 1861), pp. 1–10, with a transcription of the music; see also Peter Dronke's recent edition of the text (n. 6, below). See further Rankin, 'Liturgical Drama', pp. 325 and 348; Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, pp. 194 and 267; Nils Holger Petersen, 'Les Planctus d'Abélard et la tradition des drames liturgiques', in *Pierre Abélard: colloque international de Nantes*, ed. by Jean Jolivet and Henri Habrias (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2003), pp. 267–76 (p. 273); Lynette R. Muir, *The Biblical Drama of Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 29 and 261; and Michel Zink, 'Les Deux Sens du *Sponsus*: la leçon de la glose et le langage du drame', *Revue de musicologie*, 86 (2000), 29–35.

⁶ '*Sponsus: The Bridegroom from Limoges*', in *Nine Medieval Latin Plays*, ed. by Peter Dronke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 3–23 (introduction, pp. 3–12; edition and translation, pp. 14–23).

⁷ See Marie-Noël Colette, '*Jerusalem mirabilis*: la datation du manuscrit Paris, BnF latin 1139', in *Saint-Martial de Limoges: ambition politique et production culturelle (X^e–XIII^e siècles)*, ed. by Claude Andraut-Schmitt (Poitiers: Pulim, 2006), pp. 469–81. For the earlier dating, see, *inter alia*, *Sponsus: The Bridegroom*, p. 11; in Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques*, p. 312, the relevant section was dated to the eleventh century.

misleading, possibly only because of others that are missing), and any assumptions about the genre represented by the text are difficult to make. The manuscript itself does not give much help in a discussion of genre: the word 'Sponsus' is given on the bottom of folio 53^r (abbreviated) on the same line as the start of the first song ('Adest Sponsus qui est Christus'), at the end of the representation (fol. 55^v) there is another rubric ('Modo accipiant eas demones et precipitentur in infernum'), and towards the end another rubric indicates the arrival of the bridegroom ('Modo veniat sponsus') at the point when his condemnation of the Foolish Virgins begins (also fol. 55^v). This rubric was displaced in Dronke's edition — as it had been in Karl Young's, but not in Coussemaker's — to stand before the lines of the Foolish Virgins beginning 'Audi sponse voces plangentium'; the main text of the manuscript places the rubric after this prayer, as will be discussed below.⁸

These are the only rubrics indicating that something more than singing takes place. All the other rubrics are ascriptions of songs to persons of the narrative. In other words, there are few, if any, clear indications of a staging of the text. Although one cannot draw conclusions from the absence of rubrics, it is possible to imagine that only a very limited amount of role-playing was carried out, and that the representational devices aside from role ascriptions of songs (which are not carefully or systematically carried out in the manuscript, as has often been pointed out) may have been very rudimentary.

In any case, the question must be raised of whether a staging of the *Sponsus* was of any importance for the scribe or the institution for which it was copied. Nothing points to any special awareness of this being a 'drama', unless that notion is considered to be identical with 'representation'. The means chosen to represent the parable involve the narrative construction, making use of both Latin and Old Provençal, the attribution of lines to various persons of the narrative, and the construction of the songs with regard to the relation of music and words. The last of these not surprisingly involves features common to the 'new songs' (or *nova cantica*) that were appearing more generally at this time (and which are represented in the same manuscript to a high degree): such concerns include syllable counting and accents, and rhymes, refrains, and regularity of melodic phrases, independent of the words of the song.⁹ Peter Dronke has drawn attention to

⁸ *Sponsus: The Bridegroom*, p. 20; Young, *The Drama*, II, 364; Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques*, pp. 6 and 10; see further n. 34, below.

⁹ See Andreas Haug, 'Musikalische Lyrik im Mittelalter', in *Musikalische Lyrik*, ed. by Hermann Danuser, *Handbuch der musikalischen Gattungen*, 8, 2 vols (Laaber: Laaber, 2004),

such features in the Latin part of the text, for instance in the structure of the opening song (lines 1–10, fol. 53^{r-v}), which he attributes to the figure of Ecclesia, as 4p + 4p + 7pp.¹⁰ The same form is found in the Latin part of the concluding words of Christ (lines 83–84, fol. 55^v) which, like his concluding lines in the vernacular, 85–88, are not neumed in the manuscript. Dronke points out that all the remaining Latin strophes are composed of 4 + 6pp verses and notes that the vernacular verses generally are lines of 4 + 6 syllables, thus corresponding to the majority of the Latin verses (although without their systematic paroxytone endings). The repeated use of only a few melodies in the *Sponsus*, all of them written in Aquitanian diastematic notation, confirms the impression of regularity, control, and melodic self-sufficiency.

In general, the narrative follows the short biblical parable, but the text has been expanded and framed, and some details appear in a somewhat different light. The narrative is carried out through the dialogue and includes lines for the merchant to whom the Foolish Virgins must go to try (in vain as it turns out) to get the oil they desperately need.

In the parable all fall asleep, Wise and Foolish alike. The difference between the two groups in the parable is that the Wise have made provisions to have enough oil whereas the Foolish have not. The Foolish, of course, ask the Wise for help when the bridegroom is announced at midnight, but the Wise refuse by the rational argument that there would not be enough for them all. So the Foolish Virgins have to go to the merchant; in the meantime the bridegroom comes and the parable concludes with the Foolish Virgins not being admitted to the wedding (Matt. 25. 12).

In the *Sponsus*, the situation is much less clear. After the celebratory lines of introduction announcing the arrival of the bridegroom who is Christ ('Adest sponsus qui est Christus', lines 1–10), a second introduction explains to the Wise Virgins (according to the rubric before line 11) that they need to be attentive to the bridegroom. These lines (11–27) are clearly attributed to the Archangel Gabriel, who is not mentioned by any rubric in the *Sponsus*, through a remark in line 25: 'Gabriels soi' (I am Gabriel). The narrative point of the parable that there

1, 59–129 (pp. 109–25), and 'Ritual and Repetition: The Ambiguities of Refrains', in *The Appearances of Medieval Rituals: The Play of Construction and Modification*, ed. by Nils Holger Petersen and others, Disputatio, 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 83–96.

¹⁰ *Sponsus: The Bridegroom*, p. 10. Following Dag Norberg's classification of accent patterns, p = paroxytone and pp = proparoxytone. The attribution to Ecclesia is not indicated in the manuscript.

would not be enough oil if they all shared the oil of the Wise Virgins is not taken up in the *Sponsus*. Instead, Gabriel's admonitory refrain 'Gaire noi dormet' (Don't fall asleep) and the refrain written once and indicated by its incipit to be repeated throughout the following exchange of strophes between the Foolish and Wise Virgins, 'dolentas, chaitivas, trop i avem dormit' (We, wretched in our grief, have slept too long), seem to correspond to the conclusion in Matthew 25. 13 (to watch, 'vigilare' in the Vulgate).¹¹ This is clearly not the narrative point of the parable, however, as they all had fallen asleep.

Not having enough oil for the arrival of the bridegroom, the Foolish Virgins are sent to the merchants to purchase oil (in both texts, but in the *Sponsus* the merchants refer them back to the Wise Virgins). Since in the *Sponsus* the Wise Virgins are not reproached for their sleeping, and since there is no mention of extra supplies of oil as in the biblical text, the question arises of whether only the Foolish Virgins had fallen asleep and whether their lack of oil was a consequence: they could have slept with lit lamps or spilt oil as they woke up, a motive brought up in their songs. However, the fact that the refrain quoted above is indicated at the end of the strophes of the Wise as well as the Foolish Virgins rather confuses the issue. Dronke solves this problem by suggesting that the refrain should be sung everywhere only by the Foolish Virgins, and accordingly inserts rubrics editorially. As rubrics occasionally seem to be missing, this is a reasonable solution.¹² Also in the *Sponsus*, the Foolish Virgins are not allowed to enter the wedding hall at the end.

In his reading of the text, Dronke emphasizes the very sharp rejection of the Foolish Virgins by the Wise and the fervent prayers of the Foolish towards the end of the narrative, to the extent that he sees these as subversive figures with respect to the official biblical church morale of the parable. For him, the Foolish Virgins have turned into the heroes of the representation:

[T]his playwright gives full emotional weight to the vulnerable victims, and shows the ugliness of the well-provided, who can 'endure to the end'. At the same time he faces the harshness of the parable without extenuation: he dwells on it unflinchingly, or even

¹¹ *Sponsus: The Bridegroom*, pp. 16–20.

¹² *Sponsus: The Bridegroom*, before lines 47, 52, and 66. A rubric for the Foolish Virgins would otherwise be missing before line 53 and is missing before line 75. Zink proposes a different solution based on harmonizing the narrative with the parable (in spite of these differences); 'Les Deux Sens du *Sponsus*', pp. 30–33. Coussemaker gave yet a third solution, expanding the refrain differently when sung by the Wise ('avet' instead of 'avem'); except for the first occurrence, which belongs to the Foolish Virgins, the refrain is shown only by the incipit 'Dol' or 'Do'; *Drames liturgiques*, pp. 4–5, 8–9. Karl Young follows Coussemaker in this; *The Drama*, II, 363–64.

heightens it, establishing a keen tension between the human perspective and the divine. He lets the Foolish Virgins show a contrition and repentance for their negligence (54–6) that has no equivalent in the gospel, and that, if it were thought through in theological terms, would ensure their pardon. He then gives an even more contemptuous vernacular strophe to the Wise Virgins (63–5), who, as they see their sisters making their way to the Merchants, are determined to be rid of these importunate siblings once and for all.¹³

As mentioned, this sorrowful refrain is indicated after each of the lines of the Virgins (Foolish as well as Wise). In the biblical narrative, the refrain would have been as relevant for the Wise Virgins as the Foolish, but it would seem not to work in the narrative build-up in the *Sponsus*. This may, though, be a case where a preconceived idea of genre complicates matters. Taking the assumption that the *Sponsus* is a drama as one's point of departure may trigger a demand for roles and dramaturgical consistency which is informed by later understandings of what constitutes a dramatic text. The way the manuscript was copied does not point in such a direction. The role ascriptions may all have been put in simply to clarify whose voice in the narrative is heard. Nothing indicates that the refrain has to be a part of a 'dramatic line' for a role. Could the refrain possibly have been read as a more general response, acknowledging that the congregation or audience should also participate in the contrition and repentance shown by the Foolish Virgins? Could they then have been seen to represent not just the biblical figures but maybe some kind of 'everyman' in need of redemption and in danger of damnation?

If so, the seeming problem of a dramatic inconsistency disappears, as does the urgency of Dronke's rather intense reading. It would also then seem unnecessary to decide which person must sing the opening lines (1–10). Dronke points out that it cannot be Gabriel and consequently proposes Ecclesia as a relevant character;¹⁴ but if we abandon the idea of a drama then a specific dramatic role need not have been assigned to these very general lines joyfully summarizing the Christian Gospel in an eschatological perspective.

The displacement of the rubric announcing the arrival of the *Sponsus* also seems unnecessary if we do not think in terms of a dramatic representation of a scene. Dronke justifies this intervention by reference to a marginal citation of the rubric before the call of the Foolish Virgins in line 80, 'Audi sponse' (Hear, O bridegroom), and by claiming that the position of the rubric which stands in the body of the text is wrong, and it would seem that there is a perceived need for the

¹³ *Sponsus: The Bridegroom*, p. 6.

¹⁴ *Sponsus: The Bridegroom*, p. 3, since the person includes himself among those redeemed by Christ (lines 6 and 8); a different reading is proposed by Zink, 'Les Deux Sens du *Sponsus*', p. 31.

Foolish Virgins to face the bridegroom when they say their final prayer.¹⁵ But since the bridegroom has from the outset been identified with Christ, it is not a problem if he is not physically present when spoken to: the *sponsus* might just as well have been announced in the manuscript only when he had to sing or possibly may have simply appeared at that point in order to answer the prayer of the Foolish Virgins.

Indeed, the rubric in question is written minutely in the extreme left margin so as to be difficult to see. In the extreme left margin of the following line where the words of Christ occur, 'Amen dico, vos ignosco' (Amen I say, I know you not), there is likewise an equally small abbreviation indicating the word *Christus*, not mentioned by Dronke. Karl Young, who notes both of these and other marginal additions, suggests that they were written 'presumably as a guide to the rubricator'.¹⁶ Thus, on Young's account, the rubric 'Modo veniat Sponsus' in the body of the text was copied after the indication in the margin, and the marginal notes were not corrections — something which accords well with their extremely small size — but indications for the scribe who would enter the rubrics. The rubric 'Modo veniat Sponsus' in the body of the text might just as easily (in terms of space) have been placed above the line where the marginal note seems to indicate it as above the following line where it is actually found (see Plates 12 and 13). The placement in the manuscript may be deliberate or accidental; there is little to support the idea that the figure who was supposed to sing Christ's lines should have been thought of as a role in a modern dramatic sense, or at least that the scribe who entered the rubrics was aware of that. The only reason to put priority on the marginal note over the rubric in the body of the text is the idea that it makes more sense dramatically, by way of a preconceived idea of the genre of the piece. If that idea is given up then the problem of a wrongly placed rubric disappears and what remains is a quite normal, if insoluble, question of which indication in the manuscript to use, neither of which may point to an idea of dramaticity. After all, the marginal 'Modo veniat Sponsus' could just as well have been prompted by the word *Sponse* in the 'Audi, Sponse' without any idea of sustained role-playing. Altogether, the use of rubrics in the *Sponsus* is not consistent or unequivocal enough to justify the conclusion that it may be described as a drama. This leaves only one rubric to discuss in this connection, the final rubric about the demons that ends the representation of this parable.¹⁷

¹⁵ *Sponsus: The Bridegroom*, p. 20.

¹⁶ Young, *The Drama*, II, 364 nn. 4 and 7.

¹⁷ *Sponsus: The Bridegroom*, pp. 20–21.

Although the *Sponsus* follows the overall structure of the parable, it has a much sharper tone, as Dronke has rightly observed. The strophes of the Foolish Virgins are uncomfortably human and easy to identify with. They are treated in a way that from a modern perspective is well suited to make the listener, the congregation, or the audience indignant of the seemingly arbitrary way their ultimate fate is decided. This is Dronke's point, but another possible effect could be to make the listener feel that 'this could happen to me'. In a brief remark about the *Sponsus* in connection with a discussion of the *planctus* of Peter Abelard, I have claimed that it is not necessary to see the explicit identification of the bridegroom with Christ (made in the very first line of the *Sponsus*) in terms of Young's use of the concept of impersonation. Young never clarified the intended meaning of this word, but we may see it as incorporating concepts of imitation, role-playing, identification, and realistic representation; it may well be a means of making the allegorical understanding of the narrative (and thus its anagogical implications) unavoidable.¹⁸

The intention of the Christological identification could be to let a congregation, audience, or listener experience in some way a kind of spiritual transfer to the transcendent place where the biblical scene seems to point in an anagogical sense. This is not necessarily a dramatic technique; it would seem rather to be a ritual technology, taking as a point of departure for a practical definition of a ritual the idea that the ritual should form a bridge between the basic theoretical understanding of life, or a fundamental religious ideology, and the practical life experiences of the participants in the ritual.¹⁹ Through some kind of identification with a figure of the represented parable, the representation may be understood to transpose the listeners to a situation where they are confronted with a judgement which surpasses understanding. A relevant biblical context to this may be the parable following shortly after that of the Wise and the Foolish Virgins about the judgement of the world where no one present, whether sentenced to hell or invited into heaven, seems to understand why they have been chosen (Matt. 25. 31–46). The parable about the Wise and Foolish Virgins, and its representation in the

¹⁸ Petersen, 'Les Planctus d'Abélard', p. 273.

¹⁹ This understanding is grounded in the writings of Clifford Geertz, especially *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 112–13. See also Catherine Bell's *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 27, and *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 159–64, 224, and my discussion of this in the introduction of *Genre and Ritual: The Cultural Heritage of Medieval Rituals*, ed. by Eyolf Østrem and others (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2005), pp. 9–26 (pp. 18–24).

Sponsus, calls for a certain anxious energy in being awake and keeping the lamp filled with oil rather than for a rational understanding of how the Foolish Virgins went wrong. I would suggest that the possibility of condemnation was what could have most attracted the attention of those present at a performance of the *Sponsus* in whatever way such a performance would have been carried out.

This points more in the direction of a ritual participation than to a play before an audience, and also has a bearing on the demons mentioned towards the end, in which Dronke may be right in seeing something of the grotesque.²⁰ Whether halfway or completely comical, a critical or a serious attempt at a ritual transposition of the listeners to what amounts to some representation of the Final Judgement, this could be seen to correspond to traditional rituals of the early Middle Ages where — to cite an example argued by Flanigan — the congregation of St Martial in the tenth century may be understood to have been spiritually transposed during a trope version of a *Quem queritis* ceremony before the introit of the Mass of Easter Day to the heavenly throne in order to witness the return of the resurrected Son to the Father.²¹ The *Sponsus* may have been able to achieve something similar, maybe in a way that also corresponds to certain basic features of the *nova cantica*. Just as the ‘new songs’ exhibit characteristics readily seen as artistic by a modern observer, which seem to function in a playful interaction with the traditional rituals forming the stable background for the unfolding of the new invention, so one may see in the *Sponsus* a playful transformation of what might be termed a sacramental representational practice.²² Such an idea will be further elucidated below.

Sacramental Representational Practice

The theatre historian Michal Kobiálka has recently shed new light on the phenomena traditionally subsumed under the notion of ‘liturgical drama’ by viewing them as representational practices that experiment with ways of representing the body of Christ in the liturgy. Kobiálka claims that before the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) there was no stable concept of representation, but that such a

²⁰ *Sponsus: The Bridegroom*, p. 9.

²¹ C. Clifford Flanigan, ‘The Liturgical Context of the *Quem queritis* Trope’, *Comparative Drama*, 8 (1974), 45–62, especially pp. 57–60; see also my ‘Representational Liturgy’, pp. 113–14.

²² Andreas Haug has emphasized this aspect of the *nova cantica* in ‘Ritual and Repetition’, p. 96.

concept was in a process of negotiation through these practices. Based on recent critical scholarship of liturgical drama, notably that of O. B. Hardison and C. Clifford Flanigan, Kobiálka has inscribed the practice of devotional biblical representations as preserved from the tenth century onwards into an intellectual context of the relationship between liturgical practice, theological ideas, and church doctrine.²³

Debates on the nature of the Eucharist, especially in the ninth and eleventh centuries, form an important background for Kobiálka's historical construction. The question of how to understand Christ's real or symbolic presence in the Eucharistic elements had become of increasing importance in the centuries before the doctrinal statement of the transubstantiation in the first constitution, *De fide catholica*, that was conceived as a 'new profession of faith' of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.²⁴ Kobiálka sees liturgical or devotional representations as visualizations of ecclesiastical theology. In this reading, the fragmentarily preserved twelfth-century Norman *Jeu d'Adam*, for instance, represents the biblical salvation history of Creation, Fall, and Redemption in such a way that the role of the church and its ritual procedures through Lent and Easter are strongly emphasized as making a bridge between Latin dogmas and rituals and vernacular life experiences of a lay population in the twelfth century:

By giving visibility outside the textual theology, these sections return the experience of the dogma to the field of the visible institution. They clearly enunciate what should be seen and how it should be seen.²⁵

The authoritative statement of the doctrine of transubstantiation in the constitutions of the ecumenical council in 1215 was connected to the statement that only a properly ordained priest can effect the sacramental presence, and attests to

²³ Kobiálka, *This Is My Body*; see also the works listed in nn. 1–3, above, and Nils Holger Petersen, 'Representation in European Devotional Rituals: The Question of the Origin of Medieval Drama in Medieval Liturgy', in *The Origins of Theater in Ancient Greece and Beyond: From Ritual to Drama*, ed. by Eric Csapo and Margaret C. Miller (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 329–60.

²⁴ *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. by Norman P. Tanner, 2 vols (London: Sheed & Ward and Georgetown University Press, 1990), I, 228; for the text of the first constitution (with an English translation), see pp. 230–31. On this subject see also Alexander André's contribution to the present volume, pp. 141–42, above.

²⁵ Kobiálka, *This Is My Body*, pp. 180–194, building on Wendy Morgan, "Who was then the Gentleman?": Social, Historical, and Linguistic Codes in the *Mystère d'Adam*, *Studies in Philology*, 79 (1982), 101–21, and Stephen Justice, 'The Authority of Ritual in the *Jeu d'Adam*', *Speculum*, 62 (1987), 851–64.

an increasingly centralized ecclesiastical control in doctrinal formulation and sacramental practice. Kobialka sees this centralization at work in other ways in liturgical and devotional representational practices. Writing about negotiations and modifications of the notion of representation in the early Middle Ages, Kobialka concludes:

[T]he notion of representation in the early Middle Ages (970–1215) was never homogeneous. It was always in flux and modified by different modes of seeing and materiality. Thus, the famous Easter morning exchange of the *Quem quaeritis* could only ask: ‘Quem quaeritis?’ The answer to this question, though invariably the same, was always already modified by a representational practice that, at that moment, shaped the mode of seeing and materiality of ‘Ihesum Nazarenum’.²⁶

Treatises on the Eucharist by two ninth-century monks of Corbie, Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus, have often been seen as the first preserved disagreement concerning the understanding of the consecrated bread and wine.²⁷ Paschasius’s treatise was written between 831 and 833 and emphasized the idea of ‘real presence’. In 843 or 844 he presented a revised (extended) edition to Emperor Charles the Bald. Ratramnus’s treatise in contrast, which was instigated by the Emperor, highlights the spiritual nature of the claim of the presence of Christ’s body in the Eucharistic elements. However, scholars have been divided about

²⁶ Kobialka, *This Is My Body*, p. 217.

²⁷ Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine domini*, ed. by Beda Paulus, CCCM, 16 (1969); Ratramnus, *De corpore et sanguine domini: texte original et notice bibliographique*, ed. by J. N. Bakhuizen van den Brink, Verhandlungen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde Nieuwe Reeks, 87 (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing, 1974). For discussions of the positions, the later debates and the theological, philosophical, and cultural consequences, see Jean-Paul Bouhot, *Ratramne de Corbie: histoire littéraire et controverses doctrinales* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1976); Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 12–82; Charles M. Radding and Francis Newton, *Theology, Rhetoric, and Politics in the Eucharistic Controversy, 1078–1079: Alberic of Monte Cassino Against Berengar of Tours* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 1–121, supplemented with an edition and translation of Alberic’s treatise recently identified by the authors, who also contextualize and summarize the various stages of the debates, which involved many more theologians than are mentioned here. See further David Ganz, ‘Theology and the Organisation of Thought’, in *The New Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995–2005), II: c.700–c.900, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick (1995), pp. 758–85 (pp. 777–80); Richard W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer: A Study of Monastic Life and Thought, 1059–c.1130* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), pp. 20–26; and Kobialka, *This Is My Body*, pp. 68–72, 101–25, 147–60, and 201–17.

the dating of Ratramnus's work and whether it was written as a refutation of Paschasius (who was Abbot of Corbie from 843 to 847). Ratramnus does not mention Paschasius or refer directly to his treatise. The question has influenced the dating of Ratramnus's treatise, potentially moving it outside of Paschasius's time as abbot.

Jean-Paul Bouhot has rejected the claim that Ratramnus refuted Paschasius's treatise. He argues that Ratramnus's work should be dated to 843, connecting its instigation to a visit of the Emperor to Corbie. I shall not go into his intricate historical arguments but merely point out that the importance of Bouhot's interpretation lies in its attempt to establish that Paschasius and Ratramnus may not directly disagree but rather emphasize two different sides of the same coin.²⁸ There was little acceptance of Paschasius's position in his time. Among others, Hraban Maur wrote a now lost treatise against the physical presence of Christ's body in the consecrated bread. Whereas the ninth-century debate does not seem to have had any ecclesiastical consequences, the situation was different in the eleventh century, where the balance had changed in support of the Paschasian emphasis. The strife between Berengar of Tours and Lanfranc of Canterbury and the condemnations and forced retractions of Berengar at various councils (1050, 1059, 1078–79) underline this. Berengar had developed the position of Ratramnus (believing that treatise to have been written by John Scottus), refuting a real presence, except when forced into the opposite position. The question had become a matter of ecclesiastical ruling, paving the way for the decree of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.²⁹

As a background for the discussion below of biblical representational practices in the Latin medieval church, I will discuss the notion of representation in a few statements about the Eucharistic elements and their representation of Christ's body by Paschasius Radbertus, Ratramnus, Alberic of Monte Cassino (in his treatise against Berengar written in connection with the condemnation of the latter in 1079), and Rupert of Deutz (writing in the early twelfth century).

Ratramnus, in his treatise, initially made the distinction between *figura* and *veritas* clear: the 'figure' shows what it intends to show, veiled under a certain shadow ('obumbratio quaedam, quibusdam velaminibus quod intendit ostendens'), whereas 'truth' points to manifest reality not hidden by shadowy pictures, but plain

²⁸ See especially Bouhot, *Ratramne*, pp. 77–88 and 147–158.

²⁹ Radding and Newton, *Theology, Rhetoric, and Politics*, pp. 99–100, emphasize how what had previously been a matter for philosophical scholars was by the time of Berengar's last condemnation in 1079 handled by prelates.

and open ('rei manifestae demonstratio, nullis umbrarum imaginibus obvelatae, sed puris et apertis').³⁰

Ratramnus argues his point largely through the careful selection of passages from the Church Fathers, supplemented by his own words. I shall quote two short passages used in Ratramnus's argument against those 'qui nihil hic figurate volunt accipere, sed totum in veritatis simplicitate consistere, secundum quid demutatio facta sit', that is, those who will not accept anything figuratively here, but all to appear in the simplicity of truth, according to which a change has been made:

Vinum quoque quod sacerdotali consecratione christi sanguinis efficitur sacramentum, aliud superficietenus ostendit, aliud interius continet. Quid enim aliud in superficie quam substantia vini conspicitur? Gusta, vinum sapit. Odora, vinum redolet. Inspice, vini color intuetur. At interius si consideres iam non liquor vini, sed liquor sanguinis christi, credentium mentibus, et sapit dum gustatur, et agnoscitur dum conspicitur, et probatur dum odoratur. Haec ita esse dum nemo potest abnegare, claret quia panis ille vinumque figurate christi corpus et sanguis existit. Non enim secundum quod videtur, vel carnis species in illo pane cognoscitur, vel in illo vino cruoris unda monstratur, cum tamen post mysticam consecrationem nec panis iam dicitur nec vinum, sed christi corpus et sanguis.³¹

(The wine also becomes the sacrament of the blood of Christ through priestly consecration. Superficially, it shows one thing; yet, inwardly, it contains something else. What else can be seen on the surface than the substance of wine? Taste it: it has the flavour of wine; smell it: it has the aroma of wine; look into it, contemplate the colour of wine. But inwardly, if you contemplate, then it is not the liquid of wine but the liquid of the blood of Christ, in the minds of those who believe, and it has a flavour while it is tasted, and it is recognized while it is perceived, and it is approved while being smelled. This is the way things are as no one can deny: it is clear that this bread and wine figuratively appear as the body and blood of Christ. Certainly, neither is the form of the flesh recognized in this bread nor the fluid of blood shown through what is seen when nevertheless after the secret consecration it is no longer called bread or wine but the body and blood of Christ.)

And:

At quia confitentur et corpus et sanguinem esse christi, nec hoc esse potuisse nisi facta in melius commutatione, neque ista commutatio corporaliter, sed spiritaliter facta sit, necesse est iam ut figurate facta esse dicitur, quoniam sub velamento corporei panis corporeique vini spiritale corpus christi spiritalisque sanguis existit. Non quod duarum sint existentiae rerum inter se diversarum corporis videlicet et spiritus, verum una eademque res secundum aliud species panis et vini consistit, secundum aliud autem corpus est et sanguis christi. Secundum namque quod utrumque corporaliter contingitur, species sunt creaturae

³⁰ Ratramnus, *De corpore*, VII–VIII, p. 44; see also Bouhot, *Ratramne*, pp. 147–53.

³¹ Ratramnus, *De corpore*, X, p. 45. For the quotation of the formulation of the opposed statement, see XIV, p. 46. Translations are mine unless stated otherwise.

corporeae, secundum potentiam vero quod spiritaliter factae sunt, misteria sunt corporis et sanguis christi.³²

(Moreover, since they acknowledge that both body and blood belong to Christ, this could not be possible unless done in a change for the better, and this change could not be physical but must be made spiritually; indeed it is necessary that it is said that it is done figuratively, because the spiritual body and the spiritual blood of Christ appear under the physical covers of bread and wine. It is not as if these existences were divided in two different matters, one bodily, the other spiritual; truly one and the same thing in one way appears as bread and wine, but in another way it is Christ's body and blood. For according to what concerns both physically they are bodily creations, but, in truth, according to the efficacy in that they are made spiritually, they are mysteries of Christ's body and blood.)

Ratramnus's text is difficult for the modern mind to understand since he does not seem to subscribe to a mutually exclusive distinction between the figurative and the true.³³ He argues that one needs to describe what happens in the Eucharist with the notion of the figurative, since he denies that a physically perceptible change in the Eucharistic elements has occurred.³⁴ But he also insists in the above quoted passage that the Eucharistic elements — and therefore their *res* — 'are Christ's body and blood'. He does not speak metaphorically in such statements but refers to the inner truth that one should be careful not to understand in terms of a modern (metaphorical) distinction between inward and outward. For Ratramnus, the experience of the believer seems to be as clear as and more truthful than a physical perception, not 'veiled under a certain shadow', just as Christian truth after the revelation in Christ is no longer considered in Christian exegesis as 'veiled' but rather as the fulfilment of what was prophesied under a 'veil' in the Old Testament.

Paschasius, who has often been said to have an opposite understanding to that of Ratramnus, did claim that the consecrated bread and wine become the body and blood of Christ. But he also stated that the Eucharistic elements represent Christ figuratively, even in such a way that their main effect is on the believer who receives the sacrament:

Vnde quia mysticum est sacramentum, nec figuram illud negare possumus. Sed si figura est, quaerendum quomodo ueritas esse possit. Omnis enim figura alicuius rei figura est et semper ad eum refertur, ut sit res uera cuius figura est. Nam figuras Veteris Testamenti umbras fuisse, nemo qui Sacras Litteras legit ambigit. Hoc mysterium aut ueritas est aut

³² Ratramnus, *De corpore*, XVI, p. 47.

³³ See also Bouhot, *Ratramne*, p. 152.

³⁴ Ratramnus, *De corpore*, XIV, p. 46.

figura ac per hoc umbra est. Aut certe quaerendum hoc totum utrum ueritas dici queat sine falsitatis umbra, quamuis mysterium huiusmodi res appellari debeat. Sed figura esse uidetur dum frangitur, dum in specie uisibili aliud intelligitur quam quod uisu carnis et gustu sentitur, dumque sanguis in calice simul cum aqua miscetur. Porro illud fidei sacramentum iure ueritas appellatur. Veritas ergo dum corpus Christi et sanguis uirtute Spiritus in uerbo ipsius ex panis uinique substantia efficitur, figura uero dum sacerdos [sacerdote] quasi aliud exterius gerens [gerente] ob recordationem sacrae passionis ad aram quod semel gestum est, cotidie immolatur agnus.³⁵

(Since the sacrament is mystical we cannot deny that it is a figure. But if it is a figure the question arises in which way it can be true. For any figure is the figure of some thing and always refers to that thing in order for that to be a thing of which it is a true figure. For no one who reads the sacred scriptures doubts that the Old Testament figures were shadows. This mystery is either true or a figure, in that case a shadow. Or at least it must be asked whether the whole thing can be said to be truth without a shadow of falseness however much the thing ought to be called a mystery of that kind. But it seems to be a figure when it is broken and the blood similarly is mixed with water in the chalice while something different is understood from the visible form than what can be experienced through the bodily sight and taste. Further, that sacrament of faith is rightly called truth. Thus, it is truth in so far as the body and blood of Christ is produced out of the substance of bread and wine by the capacity of the Spirit through his word, but a figure in so far as — while the priest seems to be doing something else outwardly — the lamb is sacrificed daily on the altar for the sake of the remembrance of the holy Passion which happened once.)

The *anamnesis* thus seems to occur as a consequence of the figurative representation in the Eucharist.

A later passage refers to the contrast in John 6. 48–50 between the manna in the desert and the bread of life, including the idea of Christ as the bread of life ('Ego sum panis vitae'; John 6. 48), which, in agreement with a long-standing Christian tradition, he takes to be a reference to the Eucharistic bread. Paschasius writes: 'Nos autem dum nihil carnale in eo sapimus, immo spirituales totum spiritualiter intelligentes in Christo manemus' (We, on the other hand, who do not taste anything carnal in it, but on the contrary are spiritual and understand the whole thing in a spiritual way, we remain in Christ).³⁶ In the overall context, it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that although it is a major theological point for Paschasius to emphasize the reality of the presence of Christ in the Eucharistic elements, he insists that the real presence is something spiritual which, under the guise of the material substances of bread and wine, has been brought

³⁵ Paschasius, *De corpore*, IV, p. 28.

³⁶ Paschasius, *De corpore*, V, p. 33.

about through the efficacious and ineffable action of God.³⁷ Paschasius's reasoning comes very close to what Ratramnus seemed to say in the above quoted passages; the point is to maintain that the figurative and the real do not exclude each other, as he also demonstrates by reference to Colossians 2. 9 ('in ipso inhabitat omnis plenitudo divinitatis corporaliter') since at the same time he can refer to the fundamental doctrine of the two natures of Christ: Christ both is a figure of God and is God.³⁸

The sacraments were not necessarily delimited to the later canonical seven before Peter Lombard's famous *Sententiae* from the mid-twelfth century; the notion seems to have been more generally applied to sacred things or acts following St Augustine's use of the term in his *De doctrina Christiana*.³⁹ Peter Abelard gave a short definition of the concept of sacrament in his *Theologia 'Scholarium'* from the 1130s: 'Sacramentum uero est uisibile signum inuisibilis gratie dei', a visible sign of the invisible grace of God. In Hugh of St Victor's *De sacramentis Christiane fidei*, also from the 1130s, a similar definition, 'Sacramentum est sacrae rei signum', is referred to the 'doctors' but is immediately followed by his own qualification introducing the notion of a 'sacrament proper' through a narrower definition (approaching the idea of 'special' sacraments as ecclesiastical means for conveying salvation) based on notions of (biblical) institution and (priestly) consecration.⁴⁰

In Alberic's treatise of 1079 a sacrament may be real or figurative

Fit autem sacramentum aliquando in figura, ut illius agni in veteri lege immolate;
aliquando in re, ut istius qui cotidie in ecclesia manducatur.⁴¹

³⁷ Kobialka, *This Is My Body*, p. 70, describes Paschasius's position with the expression that 'the substance of the bread and the wine was changed *internally* into the flesh and blood of Christ' (my emphasis).

³⁸ Paschasius, *De corpore*, IV, p. 29. A reference to Col. 1. 15 ('qui est imago Dei invisibilis') would have been equally relevant. See also the passage from John Scottus cited by Gunilla Iversen, pp. 38–39, 55–57, above.

³⁹ For St Augustine, see his *De doctrina Christiana*, ed. by J. Martin, CCL, 32 (1962), III, 13, pp. 85–86. Concerning the Carolingian period and the possible idea of music as a 'sacrament', see further Anders Ekenberg, *Cur cantatur?* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1987), pp. 43–44, and Nils Holger Petersen, 'Carolingian Music, Ritual, and Theology', in *The Appearances of Medieval Rituals* (see n. 9, above), pp. 13–31 (pp. 20–21).

⁴⁰ Peter Abelard, *Theologia 'Scholarium'*, in *Petri Abaelardi Opera theologica*, III, ed. by Éloi Marie Buytaert and Constant J. Mews, CCCM, 13 (1987), pp. 309–549 (p. 321); Hugo of St Victor, *De sacramentis Christiane fidei*, PL, LXXXVI, cols 317–18.

⁴¹ Radding and Newton, *Theology, Rhetoric, and Politics*, pp. 126–27 (translation also quoted from here).

(Now a sacrament takes place at times figuratively, as the sacrament of the well-known lamb sacrificed under the Old Law; and at times in reality, as the sacrament of him who is daily eaten in the Church.)

Later on, Alberic even claims that the transformations of the bread and wine in the Eucharist at the consecration take place both figuratively and in reality. He lists three different ways in which transformations of substances may take place in general: in seeming and in reality; in seeming and not in reality; and in reality, but not in seeming. For the Eucharist he then states:

Quam igitur harum trium mutationem suscipit panis et vinum in sacrificio commutate? Eam utique, quam et specie et re fieri diximus.⁴²

(Therefore, of these three changes, which do the bread and the wine, when transformed in the sacrifice, undergo? Why, it is the one that we said takes place in seeming and in reality.)

Alberic, as with Paschasius and Ratramnus, does not posit that the figurative should exclude reality.

The Benedictine monk Rupert from the Monastery of St Lawrence of Liège, better known as Rupert of Deutz — to whose ideas on liturgical representation in the context of processions I shall return in the following section — also discussed the meaning of the Eucharistic elements in his *Liber de divinis officiis* from the beginning of the twelfth century. Rupert's understanding operates with a double characteristic: referring to the two natures of Christ, he describes the matter of the sacrifice in the following way:

Materia uel substantia sacrificii, quod erat tunc et nunc est in minibus pontificis nostri, non simpla est, sicut nec pontifex ipse solius diuinae uel solius humanae substantiae est. Est enim tam in pontifice quam in sacrificio diuina substantia, est et terrena. Terrena in utroque est, id quod corporaliter uel localiter videri potest, diuina in utroque Verbum inuisibile est, quod *in principio erat Deus apud Deum*. Nam cum diceret idem magnus pontifex panem et uinum tenens: *Hoc est corpus meum, hic est sanguis meus*, uox erat Verbi incarnati, uox aeterni principii, uerbum antiqui consilii. Verbum, quod humanam acceperat naturam, idem in carne manens, panis et uini accipiebat substantiam; uita media panem cum sua carne, uinum cum suo iungebat sanguine. Quemadmodum in corporis sensibus menti et corpulento aeri media lingua interuenit et utrumque coniungens unum sermonem efficit, quo in aures demisso id, quod audibile est, cito absumitur et transit, sensus autem sermonis et in dicente et in eo, qui audit, integer permanet et inconsumptus, sic Verbum Patris carni et sanguini, quem de utero Virginis assumpserat, et pani et uino, quod de altari assumit, medium interueniens unum sacrificium efficit, quod cum in ora

⁴² Radding and Newton, *Theology, Rhetoric, and Politics*, pp. 158–59 (translation also quoted from here).

fideliū sacerdos distribuit, panis et uini species absumitur et transit, partus autem Virginis cum unito sibi Verbo Patris et in caelo et in hominibus integer permanet et inconsumptus.⁴³

(The matter or substance of the sacrifice which was then and is now in the hands of our High Priest is not simple, just as the High Priest himself is neither of only divine or of only human substance. For there is a divine substance in the High Priest and in the sacrifice, and there is an earthly. The earthly substance in both is that which can be seen bodily or in a particular place; the divine in both is the invisible 'Word' which 'in the beginning was God with God'. For when this same High Priest, holding bread and wine, spoke: 'This is my body, this is my blood', it was the voice of the incarnate Word, the voice of the eternal beginning, the word of the old counsel. The Word which had taken on a human nature, this same Word remaining in the flesh, took on the substance of bread and wine. Life united the bread with its flesh, the wine with its blood. Just as the tongue in the bodily senses intervenes between the mind and the air of the body and uniting both produces one speech, of which that which is sent down in the ears because it is hearable is fast consumed and disappears, whereas the meaning of the speech, both in the person speaking and in the person hearing, stays intact and unconsumed, so the Word of the Father intervening between the flesh and the blood, which it had taken on from the womb of the Virgin, and the bread and wine, which it takes on at the altar, produces one sacrifice so that when distributed into the mouth of the believers the appearance of bread and wine is consumed and disappears, whereas the offspring of the Virgin united with the Word of the Father remains intact and unconsumed both in heaven and in human beings.)

Rupert's thoughts were critically received, however, as contradicting the idea of transubstantiation, among others by William of St Thierry, since they seemed to let the substance of bread and wine co-exist with the body and blood of Christ after the institution.⁴⁴

This short presentation of certain aspects of the discussions of the Eucharistic elements that survive from the ninth to the twelfth century is directed towards the context of so-called liturgical drama, informed by Kobialka's attempt to understand these representational practices in the light of the discussion of how Christ was represented in the Eucharistic elements. Indeed, it seems possible to imagine that the early *Quem queritis* ceremonies — and by extension also other representational devotional practices where Christ or other sacred persons are

⁴³ Rupert of Deutz, *Liber de divinis officiis*, ed. by Hrabanus Haacke, CCCM, 7 (1967), II, sec. 9, p. 41; see also Rupert of Deutz, *Liber de divinis officiis/Der Gottesdienst der Kirche*, ed. and trans. by Helmut and Ilse Deutz, 4 vols (Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1999), I, 274–75.

⁴⁴ *Liber de divinis officiis*, ed. and trans. H. and I. Deutz, I, 280–81 n. 57, and 344–57, especially 344 n. 1. See also John H. van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983), esp. chap. 4, 'The Eucharistic Controversy', pp. 135–80, and Rubin, *Corpus Christi*.

represented bodily, both visually and audibly — could have been conceived as sacramental at the time. Flanigan's interpretations of these practices, which in his later publications were based on Clifford Geertz's anthropological understanding of the concept of ritual, emphasized the idea of a 'ritual grammar' as the significant background for the construction of the texts and the processional movements in the performances.⁴⁵ The idea of how a past mytho-historical event is made present and efficacious for the congregation in these practices may explain features of individual early texts. This is how Flanigan's interpretation of the very earliest preserved *Quem queritis* text (from St Martial) works, and my own interpretation of the *Regularis concordia* version similarly aims among other things to explain the statement in the text of the prior's 'rejoicing in the triumph of our King' more in ritual terms than psychological.⁴⁶ In both cases, the texts may be read to emphasize how an invisible (or no longer visible) sacred act was made visible for the assembled congregation. This fits Abelard's sacramental definition and also in some respects corresponds to the way in which Paschasius Radbertus, Ratramnus, Alberic, and Rupert viewed the Eucharist as an act that both figuratively and in truth, in body as well as in spirit, made a past event (the Lord's sacrifice at the Crucifixion) present and efficacious for the believer.

The early *Quem queritis* practices may possibly be further elucidated by the ideas of sacramental representation touched upon in the above brief discussion of Ratramnus, Paschasius, Alberic, and Rupert. The insistence on the simultaneity of figural and real presence in the Eucharist corresponds to Alberic's quoted statement about the sacraments more generally. A sacrament may represent the divine figuratively, in reality, or both. This corresponds well with the understanding of *Quem queritis* ceremonies referred to above where the importance lies in the congregation's spiritual witnessing of the Resurrection through a material (bodily) representation in a ceremony carried out on Easter morning before a congregation. The spiritual understanding of the ceremony in no way stands in conflict with the physical act; in such an understanding, what the representation does may be interpreted spiritually as reality. Physically, the act may at the same time be seen as a figurative representation of the divine miracle of the historical Resurrection.

⁴⁵ See the publications cited in nn. 1, 3, and 22, above. For the use of the notion 'ritual grammar', see Flanigan, 'Quem quaeritis', p. 15; for Geertz, see n. 19, above.

⁴⁶ See n. 21, above, and my 'Representational Liturgy', p. 113; see also Gunilla Iversen, 'Aspects of the Transmission of the Quem Quaeritis', *Text*, 3 (1987), 155–82 (p. 163).

Monastic Processions and Representation

In this section I shall present some thoughts regarding the interpretation of medieval monastic processions by the Benedictine monk Rupert of Deutz, based on statements from his *Liber de divinis officiis*.⁴⁷ This liturgical commentary was written between 1108 and 1111, before Rupert became Abbot of St Maria and St Heribert in Deutz (1120 or 1121) after first having moved to Siegburg in 1116. Rupert was probably born around 1076; he was given as a child oblate to the St Lawrence monastery in 1082 or 1083 and as a young man became indirectly involved in the investiture conflict as his abbot, Berengar, was sent away in 1092 by the new bishop, Otbert of Liège, who had close ties with Emperor Henry IV, the emperor who was famously banned by Pope Gregory VII (and by later Gregorian popes). The incident was resolved through the intervention of Pope Urban II to the extent that Abbot Berengar could return to Liège together with his followers, including Rupert. Rupert wrote a long poem directed against the emperor; in other words, he belonged to the supporters of the Gregorian papacy. In 1106 the Monastery of St Lawrence was reformed by Cluny; it is not known, however, to what extent the liturgy was changed. Rupert was ordained priest in 1108 and seems to have begun composing his liturgical commentary in order to teach his fellow monks to understand the (possibly new or reformed) liturgy. In the preface to the *Liber de divinis officiis* he states: 'Haec vero sacramenta celebrare et causas eorum non intelligere quasi lingua loqui est et interpretationem nescire' (To celebrate these sacraments, indeed, and not to understand their reasons, is similar to speaking in tongues and not knowing an interpretation of it).⁴⁸ He refers, of course, to St Paul's critique of speaking in tongues in the First Letter to the Corinthians (14. 1 and 14. 15). Rupert's aim is thus to explain the liturgy of the church, which he sets out to do in great detail, as regards both the Mass and the Divine Office. Along the way, he comments on a number of different ceremonies and even occasionally on individual liturgical items, such as chants. Processions are also mentioned a number of times. Rupert's liturgical commentary influenced Johannes Beleth, Sicardus of Cremona, and William Durandus, and he is considered the first major liturgiologist after Amalarius of Metz, whose so-called rememorative exegesis of the liturgy Rupert may be said to build upon to

⁴⁷ See n. 43, above. For biographical information about Rupert, see Helmut and Ilse Deutz, 'Einleitung', in *Liber de divinis officiis*, I, 21–130, sec. 1: 'Rupert, Mönch in Lüttich', pp. 21–57, and van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz*.

⁴⁸ *Liber de divinis officiis*, ed. Haacke, Prologus, p. vii.

some extent, but from which he also departs in his more systematic programme of manifold and typological interpretation of the Holy Offices of the church in the light of salvation history.⁴⁹

In a section headed *De ornatu altaris et templi* (On the embellishment of the altar and the church), he remarks, concerning processions on feast days, that 'Solemus enim in huiusmodi festis omnes in albis stare uel procedere: qua ueste nouam sanctorum uitam designari superius expositum est' (On such feast days we all have the practice of standing or walking in procession dressed in albs: through this clothing the new life of the holy ones is marked, as has been explained above).⁵⁰ Although this remark is not particularly meant to discuss processions as such, it does note this practice as a general, prevalent, and important one, worthy of emphasis.

Rupert's comments on processions mainly concern specific processions, understanding them in relation to the character of the day. Typical in this respect is his reference to the Rogation processions on the three days before Ascension: quoting the statement 'advocatum habemus' (we have a spokesman; I John 2. 1), he draws on the historical memory of how in the fifth century Bishop Mamertus of Vienne had introduced this practice during hard times in order to use these three days as a time to beseech the Lord even more intensely, immediately prior to his ascension into heaven:

Et ut rememorata sponsoris potentia fida petentium spes roboretur, in iisdem processionibus triumphatoris caelos ascendentis insignia scilicet cruces atque uexilla praeferuntur.⁵¹

(In order to strengthen the faithful hope of those who pray through the renewed memory of the power of the bridegroom who gives it, the signs of honour of him who triumphantly ascends into heaven, namely crosses and banners, are carried along in these processions.)

Rupert gives us certain scattered pieces of information in this way, but it is often difficult to draw a precise line between traditional general accounts and precise information concerning his own monastery and its practices.

That Rupert's discussions have wider significance than for the practices of his own monastery becomes clear when he gives a fairly involved description of the

⁴⁹ H. and I. Deutz, 'Einleitung', especially sec. 2: 'Heilsgeschichtliche Deutung der Liturgie: Stundengebet, Messe, Kirchenjahr', pp. 58–129.

⁵⁰ *Liber de divinis officiis*, II.23, ed. Haacke, p. 59.

⁵¹ *Liber de divinis officiis*, IX.5, ed. Haacke, p. 312.

Easter Vespers processions with the neophytes' visit to the font where they had been baptized during Easter night. Such processions were carried out in many cathedrals at Vespers every afternoon during Easter week, a Roman tradition that was not normally used in monasteries. Rupert accordingly states that the practice is something one should not wish to have in a monastery.⁵² At other times, indeed most of the time, it is clear from his formulations that he is addressing practices from his own community, as when he discusses the procession before Mass on Easter Day and the processions before Mass on all Sundays, the latter processions derived from the former. Rupert writes that the fact that a procession is held on these occasions is founded in the Gospel message of the angel announcing to the women at the empty grave to go and tell his disciples and Peter that Christ would go before them to Galilee (Mark 16. 7, Matt. 28. 10), 'quod mandatum illud hac die cunctisque per annum dominicis memoria celebri, id est processione frequentamus solemniter' (which command is celebrated in remembrance on this day [i.e. Easter Day] as well as on every Sunday throughout the year as we come together in a solemn procession).⁵³ Rupert connects this practice with the command to go out into the world to convert the gentiles and he sees the mention of Galilee in the biblical texts as signifying how the church was constituted through this *transmigratio* from the *salus ex Iudaeis* (John 4. 22) to the gentiles:

Totum hoc ad nos, id est ad ecclesiam de gentibus respicit, ad quam salus ex Iudaeis hoc praecepto transmigravit. Recte igitur et merito in primi huius mandati commemorationem, quod statim, ut uisus est Dominus noster post resurrectionem: 'Nuntiate', inquit, 'fratribus meis, ut eant in Galilaeam, ibi me uidebunt', nos processionem agimus solemnem nosque et loca nostra aspergimus aqua benedicta in honorem huius diei, quod iussi sumus baptizari in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti.⁵⁴

(All this regards us, that is the Church of gentiles [...]. We do right in carrying out a commemoration of this first command which immediately was shown to us by our Lord after his Resurrection. 'Tell my brothers', he said, 'that they must go to Galilee, for there they shall see me'. Thus we carry out a solemn procession and sprinkle our localities with holy water in honour of this day because we have been commanded to be baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.)

The descriptions of the Easter procession are detailed only in the description of the last station, the so-called 'Galilea' where the procession ends. This is so for both the general Sunday procession and the specific Easter procession:

⁵² *Liber de divinis officiis*, VIII.2–3, ed. Haacke, pp. 261–65.

⁵³ *Liber de divinis officiis*, VII.21, ed. Haacke, p. 250.

⁵⁴ *Liber de divinis officiis*, VII.21, ed. Haacke, p. 251.

Huius diei statio, qua processio terminanda est, in medio templi splendide ordinata, rem ipsam, de qua dictum est, pulchre commendat, dum sacer ecclesia chorus totus festius sexus utriusque populo circumstante totis uiribus in uocem exsultationis et salutis feliciter erumpit cantando antiphonam: 'Sedit angelus ad sepulchrum Domini.' Haec enim antiphona rem ipsam patenter exprimit, quam perdocere omnes gentes iussi sunt apostoli, scilicet quod Deus homo factus 'mortem nostram moriendo deuicit et uitam nobis resurgendo reparauit'. Cui rei valde et ipsa, quae dictis insita est, congruit melodia.⁵⁵

(The station of this day, where the procession ends, and which is arranged in the finest way in the middle of the church, in a splendid way recommends the cause about which it has been spoken. Meanwhile the holy and all-festive choir bursts out in song for the people [of both sexes] who are standing around as all men sing the antiphon *Sedit angelus ad sepulchrum Domini* with a voice which is marked by overwhelming joy, singing happily because of the salvation. For this antiphon expresses this cause, which the apostles were commanded to teach all people, in a very clear way, in truth that God who became man defeated our death through dying and restored our life through his resurrection. The melody is highly fitting to this cause through the similarity to what was introduced through its statements.)

This description is remarkable in several ways. It sets out not only to discuss the meaning of the Easter procession, but to do this through an interpretation of a particular chant which retells the basic Easter story of the Resurrection and the way in which it was announced to the women at the empty grave. Interestingly, however, mention of Galilee is absent from this chant, which instead of following the Resurrection narratives in this respect lets the angel conclude in a doctrinal formula of praise: the women should have no fear since Christ is resurrected ('iam vivit'; he lives now) and the life of man has risen with him. This leads to a three-fold Alleluia ('vita hominum cum eo surrexit'; the life of men resurrects with him). Rupert does not comment on this, but one might say that the meeting with Christ that the biblical text localizes to Galilee takes place spiritually in this textual conclusion of the *Sedit angelus*. The procession to the station of Galilee where the singing of the *Sedit angelus* takes place may be said to represent this part of the biblical message.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ *Liber de divinis officiis*, VII.24, ed. Haacke, pp. 254–55; see also the discussion in Nils Holger Petersen, 'Sedit angelus ad sepulchrum: Reading the Words and Music of a Processional Easter Chant', in *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the 9th Meeting, Esztergom & Visegrád, 1998*, ed. by László Dobszay (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2001), pp. 611–24.

⁵⁶ The text and melody of the antiphon are discussed in Petersen, 'Sedit angelus', which also includes an English translation of the text. The text is edited in CAO, III, 472 (no. 4858). Concerning the musical tradition, see Charlotte Roederer, 'Can we Identify an Aquitanian Chant Style?', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 27 (1974), 75–99 (pp. 75–77) and Franz

My final mention of Rupert's comments on processions concerns the Palm Sunday procession, which is unfortunately not discussed in detail. An interesting remark, however, is worth noting. Rupert states that it is important not to count the Palm Sunday procession as one of the regular Sunday processions — in other words it should not be carried out instead of the regular Sunday procession. Rupert insists that the traditional Sunday *Asperges* procession before Terce, which commemorates the Resurrection and is interpreted (as already mentioned) as a sign of the congregation following Christ to Galilee, must not be left out. After Terce, the Palm Sunday procession then recalls the suffering of Christ:

Diligentibus euangelicae auctoritatis inspectoribus recte complacuit, ut cum hodierna processione palmarum, qua procul dubio redemptoris nostri recolimus passionem, non computent illam, quae dominicalis est, qua singulis dominicis gloriosam eiusdem commemoramus resurrectionem. Constat enim, quod contraria siue repugnantia non possint simul eodemque actu conuenienter exhiberi. Haec autem manifeste dissident sibiue contraria sunt. Quid enim magis contrarium quam tristitiae gaudium, morti uita, occasui resurrectio?⁵⁷

(Those who diligently observe the authority of the Gospel are rightly pleased not to count today's procession of Palms with which we without doubt celebrate the Passion of our redeemer with the dominical ones through which we commemorate his glorious Resurrection every Sunday. It is agreed that opposites or contradictions cannot suitably be shown through the same act. Now these [processions] clearly disagree and are opposites. For what may be more opposed than sorrow against joy, death against life, destruction from resurrection?)

Rupert goes on to mention the understanding of the Sunday procession as following Christ to Galilee, whereas:

Hanc uero annuam palmarum processionem nemo, qui nesciat, passionis esse praeconium, et illud nobis ob recreationem deuotionis actu renouari, quod 'pueri Hebraeorum tollentes ramos oliuarum obuiauere Domino clamantes et dicentes: Hosanna in excelsis'.⁵⁸

(Everybody knows, indeed, that this annual Palm procession is the proclamation of the Passion which is renewed for the sake of our restoration through an act of devotion because 'the children of the Hebrews went to meet the Lord carrying Palm branches, shouting and singing Hosanna in excelsis'.)

Few people would question the ritual character of the processions mentioned here. Religious processions are also so much of a historical commonplace that

Körndle, *Das zweistimmige Notre-Dame-Organum 'Crucifixum in carne' und sein Weiterleben in Erfurt* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1993), pp. 15–49.

⁵⁷ *Liber de diuinis officiis*, v.8, ed. Haacke, p. 158.

⁵⁸ *Liber de diuinis officiis*, v.8, ed. Haacke, p. 158.

few would feel the need for precise definitions of such ceremonies. Rupert certainly never defines the act of procession in his commentary. Still, it may be useful to question to what degree the concept is well defined. The procession of the Pope to the stational church in the *Ordo Romanus I* has not traditionally been considered as a liturgical procession since no liturgical chants are sung. Only the introit procession after the arrival at the stational church and on certain days the *collecta* procession from the *collecta* church to the stational church are normally considered as liturgical processions when dealing with the stational Roman liturgy.⁵⁹

This simply points to the fact that in the tradition of the church, and certainly in the tradition of which Rupert is a part, a procession consists of more than simply walking or moving. It is a religious, ritual act, spatial and temporal as the physical act takes place in space and time. But the physical act cannot be separated from its interpretation. What constitutes a ritual is also a commonly agreed understanding of the physical movement. To the physical space and time this understanding adds a spiritual, ritual space and time that can sometimes seem to be represented in the music and words sung during the ritual act, as indicated in Rupert's interpretation of the Easter Day procession and the *Sedit angelus*.

The understanding of the concept of 'ritual' has not achieved a general scholarly consensus.⁶⁰ Unsurprisingly, medieval descriptions of church ceremonial and, more specifically, Rupert's liturgical descriptions and commentaries, do not rely on any such concept. They can, however, be interpreted in the light of ritual theories, not the least because of the importance of traditions of repetition according to certain norms; this is what Clifford Flanigan termed 'ritual grammar'. Such a 'grammar' amounts to an understanding achieved by ritual practice, whether liturgical or devotional, a practice which at the same time is thought to carry signification, since in Christian ritual interpretation is always assumed.⁶¹

In this context, Rupert of Deutz's commentaries may be seen to constitute a conservative — and to some extent Cluniac — understanding of the liturgy, emphasizing the necessity of embellishments as signs of the importance and significance of the celebrations. There are two main aspects at work in his understanding. First, he points to the celebratory aspect of the ceremonies. The perspective of direct intercession or jubilation can be seen when Rupert discusses the purpose of

⁵⁹ On this matter, see Richard Hierzegger, 'Collecta und Statio: die römischen Stationsprozessionen im frühen Mittelalter', *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, 60 (1936), 511–54.

⁶⁰ Bell, *Ritual Perspectives*, pp. 1 and 21.

⁶¹ Flanigan, 'Visitatio Sepulchri', p. 15; see also Petersen, 'Carolingian Music, Ritual, and Theology', pp. 18–19.

three days of Rogation processions in order to place more emphasis on the intercession, and similarly how the main purpose of the Easter procession and even the general Sunday processions is to give thanks.⁶² Another aspect concerns representation. In a certain sense, of course, everything in the liturgy may be said to be representational. The intercession, for instance, may be said to be represented in particular chants, processional movements, and so on. Rupert's primary understanding is based on the idea that liturgical processions are carried out in order to obtain an effect in the eyes of God. Even so, he does also highlight the idea of representation. The idea of memorization is mentioned several times, as in his emphasis of the biblical move towards Galilee, as well as the memory of the Passion.

In the context of his recent study of politico-religious medieval rituals for coronations and other royal occasions, Philippe Buc has emphasized that written accounts of rituals — which of course constitute the basis for any knowledge of medieval ritual practice — are literary documents formulated with certain authorial intentions and agendas that may not always be straightforwardly acknowledged by the author.⁶³ In other words, the documents render literary or authorial constructions of the rituals discussed. In the case of church celebrations, where the ceremonial aspect is generally acknowledged, this methodological problem is less likely to be important than in the case of politico-religious rituals where the authors of documents may often have political reasons to take a particular stance rather than to relate what is common knowledge. That said, the church procession is a ceremony details of which came to be recorded in separate books only in the twelfth century and about which very little is known with any certainty before the tenth and eleventh centuries.⁶⁴ The influence of Cluniac ways of thinking about the Offices of the church or a monastery may have been controversial, and seen as political, in many situations. Thus one should be wary of taking Rupert's understanding simply as a general understanding of his time, though I am not sure that the difference in this respect between for instance the Cistercian understanding and Rupert's own stands out as remarkable for a modern observer. In any case, the idea of representation, and a certain kind of spiritual or at least abstract interpretation, comes to the fore in Rupert's understanding of processions.

⁶² *Liber de divinis officiis*, VII.24, ed. Haacke, p. 254.

⁶³ Philippe Buc, 'Ritual and Interpretation: The Early Medieval Case', *Early Medieval Europe*, 9 (2000), 183–210; see also his *The Dangers of Ritual* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

⁶⁴ Eric Palazzo, *Le Moyen Âge: des origines au XIII^e siècle*, Histoire des livres liturgiques (Paris: Beauchesne, 1993), pp. 236–37.

This can be seen in the way the Easter Day procession is understood as being represented in a chant that recounts the underlying basic narrative of the day, and to some extent even represents the meaning of the procession (as is stated directly by Rupert). Rupert seems to interpret the procession as representing how the believers go to Galilee to meet Christ in its construction of a kind of meeting point between the Resurrection and the lives of the processing monks.⁶⁵

The distinction made between the Sunday procession (which in its own right represents the Easter Day procession) and the Palm Sunday procession constitutes another example of how the idea of representation surfaces in Rupert's interpretations. The Palm Sunday procession is seen as pointing to the Passion. It would be difficult to see the Palm Sunday procession as it is known from many places and texts (among them, for instance, the Romano-German Pontifical of the tenth century to which Rupert sometimes refers) as representing the Passion in any direct way. In a straightforward sense, of course, it represents Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem — which led to his Passion. However, Rupert's distinction between the two processions indirectly acknowledges the refuted possibility of linking these two 'opposite' processions and may even be intended to deflect the arguments of those who would prefer to see them as having the same function and therefore wish to substitute the Palm Sunday procession for the regular Sunday procession. It is not clear in the Romano-German Pontifical whether a Sunday *Asperges* procession was carried out on Palm Sunday, whereas in the *Regularis concordia* (recording the agreement of the Winchester Synod around 970) only one priest is prescribed to carry out the *Asperges* procession because of the greater procession to come.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ It would be interesting to compare this with the contemporaneous Cistercian understanding of the Palm Sunday procession with its representational interpretation combining various degrees of spiritualization; see Mette Birkedal Bruun, 'Procession and Contemplation in Bernard of Clairvaux's First Sermon for Palm Sunday', in *Appearances of Medieval Rituals* (see n. 9, above), pp. 67–82.

⁶⁶ See *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, ed. by Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, 3 vols (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1963–72), II, 40–42. The *Regularis concordia* is edited by T. Symons and S. Spath in *Consuetudinum saeculi X/XI/XII monumenta non-Cluniacensia*, ed. by K. Hallinger, Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum, 7.3 (Siegburg: Schmitt, 1984), pp. 61–147 (p. 105); also *Regularis concordia*, ed. and trans. by Thomas Symons (London: Nelson, 1953), p. 34. See also David Chadd, 'The Ritual of Palm Sunday: Reading Nidaros' and 'Appendix II: Palm Sunday at Nidaros; Anthology of Sources', in *The Medieval Cathedral of Trondheim: Architectural and Ritual Constructions in their European Context*, ed. by Margrete Syrstad Andås and others, Ritus et Artes, 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 253–78, 319–54.

Rupert's distinction between the two processions constitutes an idea of letting processions represent different 'liturgical moods' — the mood of the Passion based on the feelings of sorrow and compassion as opposed to the mood of the Resurrection based on joy and the feeling of fulfilment. If one takes as one's point of departure the physical procession as a fundamentally celebratory ritual procedure, a physical as well as spiritual ritual of transition repeated in supplication and praise as a collective manifestation, then Rupert's interpretations show signs of transforming such a ritual practice into an intellectual, emotional cultural heritage, a transformation of rituals that would come to be taken much further in later centuries. There are indications here of a mental separation between the physical representation involved in the processions and their spiritual interpretation, since Rupert's interpretation seems to be based on the dichotomy between the liturgy of Holy Week and that of Easter Week rather than on the content and form of the procession itself.

Processions may be taken to be sacraments in the understanding of Rupert's time. They visibly manifest the collective efforts of the Christian community, the Church, the monastery, the believers—in other words, the body of Christ.⁶⁷ What is to be seen and understood by such manifestations is regulated by way of institutional and theological control. Rupert's understanding of processions shows how the sacramental presence of the Divine is drawn into a process of interpretation that seems to move away from the direct experience of the sacramental in favour of representing the identity, at least in part institutionally defined, of the accepted body of Christ.

'Dramaticity' and Representational Ceremonies

The Fleury Playbook (Orléans, Bibliothèque de la Ville, 201, pp. 176–243) may — as Clifford Flanigan pointed out many years ago — be taken to indicate an early interest in dramaticity as a genre characteristic.⁶⁸ The probably twelfth-century collection of ten Latin musical representations consisting of four St Nicholas plays, two representations belonging to the Christmas cycle, two to the Easter cycle, a Conversion of St Paul, and a Raising of Lazarus has been discussed more than most other sources of Latin 'music drama'. The narratives of some of these representations have obvious links with liturgical Offices for the same feasts: the texts from the Christmas and Easter cycles make use of traditional liturgical

⁶⁷ Compare I Cor. 12. 27; Eph. 1. 23.

⁶⁸ Flanigan, 'The Fleury *Playbook*', pp. 4–15.

texts, for example. Others, such as some of the St Nicholas texts, display no such connection. The collection does not generally specify a performance context for its texts, but the use of a liturgical chant from a relevant feast — or a more generally used liturgical text such as the *Te Deum* — may in some cases point to a particular position within the services for that feast. This situation formed the background for Flanigan's observation.

As mentioned at the start of this chapter, the texts which scholarship has generally understood as 'liturgical dramas' were usually found in liturgical books for the Divine Office or the Mass, copied at the appropriate place for the feast to which they relate. In contrast, the ten representations in the Playbook seem to belong to completely different parts of the liturgical year: the order in which they appear is St Nicholas (6 December), the Epiphany (6 January), Holy Innocents (28 December), two for Easter Day, the Conversion of St Paul (25 January), and possibly the Feast of St Lazarus (17 December). A number of these attributions to the calendar are rather uncertain.⁶⁹

The main principle behind the composition of the collection, in other words, is not liturgical. The *Ordo ad repraesentandum herodem*, or 'Service for representing Herod', combines the traditional Christmas texts of an *ordo pastorum* (based on Luke 2. 8–18) with the narrative of the encounter of the Magi with Herod and the adoration of the Magi (Matt. 2. 1–12), and thus belongs to Epiphany. This is a fairly normal situation: a number of medieval Latin representations concerned with the Magi found in liturgical books for Epiphany include an *ordo pastorum*.⁷⁰ In the 'Playbook', this text is followed by the *Ad interfectionem puerorum* — the Massacre of the Innocents, connected with the Feast of Holy Innocents (Matt. 2. 13–23).

As already discussed, the idea that modern drama developed from 'liturgical drama' is a construction of nineteenth-century scholarship. O. B. Hardison provided a useful critique of this notion of a development, which was carried further by Flanigan and has been taken up in various ways by other scholars in various disciplines, notably John Stevens, Johann Drumbl, Susan Rankin, and Michal Kobialka.⁷¹

⁶⁹ See the overview in *The Fleury Playbook*, 'Appendix', p. 164, with page references to Young, *The Drama*, where these issues are discussed for each of the ten texts.

⁷⁰ Young, *The Drama*, II, 59.

⁷¹ See nn. 1–3 and 23, above. In addition to the publications mentioned there, see also John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), especially pp. 308–71; Johann Drumbl, *Fremde Texte* (Milan: Unicopli, 1984), especially pp. 11–76; and Rankin, 'Liturgical Drama'.

Using the terminology of the Old Testament exegete André LaCocque and the theologian-philosopher Paul Ricœur, the *Sponsus* may be said to form part of the 'foreground' of Matthew 25. 1–13, since it constitutes a reception of this biblical text. The idea of the foreground of a text — the readings that in interpretative communities (such as particular congregations or religious groups or traditions) are added to the commonly accepted understanding of a text — may be characterized as a parallel to the idea of the 'background' of a text, orientated towards the reader's response to it.⁷²

In the same way, the extant representations of the Magi and the Shepherds (including the Herod text in the Fleury Playbook) belong to the foreground of the biblical narratives of Luke 2 and Matthew 2. In contrast with the *Sponsus*, however, we are here dealing with a situation where several different (but broadly similar) versions survive. There are not the numbers surviving that are found with the Easter dialogues, but still enough that a special core of items can be said to have been constructed for texts of this kind.⁷³

Comparison of the Fleury Herod *ordo* with another Magi ceremony in the early-thirteenth-century manuscript BL Add. 23922, fols 8^v–11^r, from Strasbourg Minster, confirms the idea of a common core and at the same time serves to question the usefulness of this idea. As with the Easter texts, the dissemination of the Magi ceremonies (and those for the adoration of the shepherds) shows a pattern of individual transmitted elements being brought together in traditional yet individual ways, sometimes with rarer or even newly composed items added to more familiar material.

In the case of the Fleury text, there is first a full representation of the shepherd narrative (Luke 2. 8–18), which includes a traditional dialogue between the shepherds and two women who keep watch over the manger, shaped in a way that resembles the Easter dialogue *Quem queritis in sepulchro*.⁷⁴ The scene concludes

⁷² André LaCocque and Paul Ricœur, *Thinking Biblically* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), especially pp. ix–xix.

⁷³ See William L. Smoldon, *The Music of the Medieval Church Dramas*, ed. posthumously by Cynthia Bourgeault (London: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 127–29.

⁷⁴ See Young, *The Drama*, II, 3–29. See also the edition of the Fleury text in II, 84–89, and the discussion of the 'play' on pp. 89–92, as well as the edition with English translation in *Medieval Drama*, ed. by David Bevington (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1975), pp. 57–66. The shepherds' part alone is edited in Susan K. Rankin, *The Music of the Medieval Liturgical Drama in France and in England*, 2 vols (London: Garland, 1989), II, 120–21, with a discussion in I, 175–78. The words and music of the whole of the Magi representation is transcribed diplomatically in *The Play of Herod*, ed. by Noah Greenberg and William L. Smoldon (New York: Oxford University Press,

unusually with an invitation to the *populus* standing around to participate in the adoration.⁷⁵ At this point the Magi appear. There are a number of rubrics in this text indicating places and directions, and also making it clear that the performance is to take place in a church. Here the traditional core of the piece (as constructed by Smoldon) begins. Very soon it is supplemented by a uniquely rich variation giving a detailed account of how the Magi come to Jerusalem, ask for directions, are led to King Herod and in a dialogue with him reveal who they are and what they want, while the King commands his learned scribes to find information from the Old Testament, their answer being a reflection of a traditional Christmas or Advent antiphon, *Bethleem, non es minima* (based on the quotation from Mic. 5. 1 in Matt. 2. 6).⁷⁶

While Herod, following the biblical narrative, tries to fool the Magi into coming back after visiting the child in Bethlehem — with the intention, as becomes clear later in the story, of killing his rival — they follow the star and arrive at the manger where they meet the shepherds who are now returning from their adoration. Here follows what would seem to be the climax of the representation, and of the biblical narrative, as they approach the manger, after a brief exchange with the midwives to whom they again present themselves as kings from the East, adore the child, and hand over their traditional gifts to him. They receive a warning in their sleep from an angel and return by another route, while chanting the Christmas antiphon *O admirabile commercium*.⁷⁷ They end in the choir of the church where the cantor intones the *Te Deum*.

The Strasbourg version is much shorter and is copied into a book described by Walther Lipphardt as a processional.⁷⁸ It is placed between the Magnificat

1965), followed by the Innocents' text (also from Fleury) on pp. 82–91 ('Herod') and 92–97 ('Innocents'). The performance edition in the main part of the publication gives a rhythmicized version of these two 'plays', pp. 2–74; the diplomatic transcription also includes a small facsimile of the manuscript pages. *The Fleury Playbook*, ed. by Campbell and Davidson (see n. 3, above) includes a facsimile of the whole book. The complete 'Fleury Playbook' is transcribed and edited in Coussemaker's *Drames liturgiques*; 'Herod' is found on pp. 143–65. A new performing edition of the Fleury Playbook ceremonies for Christmas and Easter, with translations of the texts and new transcriptions of the melodies by Nick Sandon, has appeared recently: *Plays for Christmas and Easter: The Play of Herod; The Massacre of the Innocents; The Visit to the Sepulchre*, ed. by Wyndham Thomas (Moretonhampstead: Antico Edition, 2001).

⁷⁵ *Medieval Drama*, p. 10.

⁷⁶ CAO, III, 89 (no. 1737).

⁷⁷ CAO, III, 362 (no. 3985).

⁷⁸ *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele*, ed. by Walter Lipphardt, 9 vols (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1975–90), VI, 451.

for Vespers of the Octave of Epiphany and the Feast of St Hilarius (28 February), which, as Young mentions, gives many possibilities for the occasion on which the representation may have been performed, if indeed it was determined at all.⁷⁹ In this version the Magi begin as in Fleury, singing 'Stella fulgore nimio rutilat' (This star radiates with exceeding splendour).⁸⁰ The narrative construction is similar, with some blocks of text in common and occasional different lines or changed orders of lines. The representation goes on to show the Magi at King Herod's court, the biblical antiphon *Bethleem, non es minima* is sung as before, but in the Strasbourg version the ensuing rage of Herod is omitted. The two versions are similar in idea and general construction, but different enough that it is difficult to imagine one to be a direct reception of the other, or for both to be direct descendants of a common ancestor.⁸¹ They are clearly different texts constructed by means of the same kind of narrative and representational technique, using traditional, sometimes identical elements, but often diverging in details. Each remains completely faithful to the biblical story. The meeting between the Magi and the shepherds is constructed in the same way, but shaped differently in the individual lines. From the encounter of the Magi with the midwives, the two versions are again on common ground (and basically agree with Smoldon's 'core version'). At the very end, though, after the warning of the angel, the Strasbourg version gives only a very brief indication of what would normally be included in the representation of the Massacre of the Innocents. Two abrupt lines move the scene back to Herod's court, where he is told that the Magi have deluded him by going home by a different route, and the King vents his rage with the words 'incendium meum ruina extinguam' (fol. 11^r).⁸² The same line is found in the Fleury *Ad interfectionem puerorum*.⁸³

⁷⁹ The words of the Strasbourg version are edited with a short discussion in Young, *The Drama*, II, 64–68. Young suggests the end of Matins for Epiphany as a possible placement for this ceremony because of the concluding *Te Deum* and in view of the seeming freedom in the placement.

⁸⁰ BL Add. 23922, fol. 8^v. Young, *The Drama*, II, 64; and *Medieval Drama*, p. 58, from which this translation is quoted.

⁸¹ The music of the Strasbourg version, which is given in adiastematic neumes, also seems mostly to be traditional, to judge from cases where the lines are found in other places; see Smoldon, *Music of the Medieval Church Dramas*, p. 200.

⁸² Young, *The Drama*, II, 66.

⁸³ *Medieval Drama*, pp. 67–72 (p. 68): Bevington translates Herod's exclamation as 'Let me quench my burning vehemence by destroying myself'; see also *The Play of Herod*, p. 93.

In terms of the biblical foreground, the two versions discussed here provide overlapping contributions, but the Fleury version is clearly more concerned with the staging and physical arrangements in the church where the representation took place. It is thus a witness to the conscious development of an emphasis on a special and bodily orientated foreground to the biblical text. The Strasbourg version has no indications of action or movement at all; rubrics indicate only who is singing, while the Fleury ceremony specifies, for example, that Herod in his anger throws the scriptures to the ground at the point where his scribes have just read about Bethlehem.⁸⁴

This does not mean, however, that the Fleury text should be considered to be any further removed from familiar biblical or liturgical traditions. It does not seek to move away from a representation of the details of the biblical story, and the few narrative additions that occur are also found in the Strasbourg version as well as many other such texts in Young's editions. The emphasis on traditional items of liturgical praise is just as pronounced in Fleury as in Strasbourg. So the relative preoccupation with dramaticity in the Fleury Playbook has not in this case led to a foreground that has moved away from the devotional framework of this type of ceremony. A ritual, sacramental function may be seen in the way the shepherds invite the congregation to participate so that — as in the *Sponsus* and the St Martial *Quem queritis* — they may be led to be present at the very moment when the shepherds adore the infant. The same may be said to apply to the moment when the angel announces the birth of Christ, singing the Gloria with its associations from the Mass, albeit sung to an Office antiphon melody,⁸⁵ as well as to the adoration of the Magi, which stands out in its tripartite 'Salve' addressed to the child, followed by lines for their individual offerings:

Magi: Salve, rex saeculorum!
 Salve, Deus deorum!
 Salve, salus mortuorum!

Tunc procidentes Magi adorent puerum et offerent.
Primus dicat: Suscipe, rex, aurum, Regis signum.
Secundus: Suscipe myrrham, signum sepulturae.
Tertius: Suscipe thus, tu vere Deus.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ *Medieval Drama*, p. 63.

⁸⁵ Rankin, *Music of the Medieval Liturgical Drama*, I, 176; II, 121.

⁸⁶ *Medieval Drama*, p. 65.

(*The Magi*: Hail, king of the ages! Hail, God of gods! Hail, deliverance of the dead! *Then, prostrating themselves, let the Magi worship the boy and make their offerings. Let the first say*: Receive, O king, gold, the token of a king. *The second*: Receive myrrh, the token of burial. *The third*: Receive frankincense, you who are truly God.)

The Strasbourg version is somewhat shorter, with only individual lines for the three Magi:

Tunc cantet unus magorum:
 Salve princeps seculorum.
 Suscipe rex aurum.
Secundus: Tolle thus, tu uere Deus.
III: Myrram signum sepulture.⁸⁷

(*Then let one of the Magi sing*: Hail, king of the ages. Receive, O king, gold. *The second*: Take frankincense, you who are truly God. *The third*: Myrrh, the token of burial.)

In both cases — but more emphatically in the Fleury version — one can interpret this such that those who see and hear this scene in the ceremony are mentally (and ritually) transposed to be witnesses at the actual places of the underlying myth of the adoration of the Magi. This would seem to be true of both versions. In the Fleury version, the processional movements of the Magi also encourage the congregation to follow them (at least with the eye) on their way to the manger. This further encourages a mental transposition.

The figure of Herod provides a contrast to the focus on adoration and praise, both in the biblical text and in the two representations, and can be seen to have the function of indicating how God makes sure to lead his flock to the true adoration even in spite of evil and contradictory circumstances, an aspect which would doubtless also invite individual participants to identify with the story.

What both of these representations, and indeed all other surviving examples, add to the biblical narrative is primarily the actual carrying out of praise: whereas the biblical narrative can only make reference to praise, as with the adoration of the Magi, the physical representation can use the opportunity to display it. Here as with the representational techniques found in the Easter ceremonies, the praise is brought about in concrete form: the representation turns to a traditional ritual mode, assisted by the use of familiar music, bringing the congregation into the *hic et nunc* of worship and effecting a direct link between heaven and earth.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ BL Add. 23922, fol. 11^v; see also Young, *The Drama*, II, 66.

⁸⁸ See the discussions of this aspect in my '*Danielis ludus*' and 'Carolingian Music, Ritual, and Theology'.

Whether one should refer to the Strasbourg version or the texts of the Fleury Playbook as dramas is not in itself a question of great interest. The relationship between the various parts of the biblical narrative and their counterparts in the representations sometimes brings to light an emphasis on physical movement and spatial settings in the representations. This foreground to the biblical text on the whole shows finely nuanced ways of representing a biblical text physically; this seems to be a more adequate description than to talk about dramatization. Certainly, such features in many ways lie in a continuing tradition with later ideas of drama. But just as clearly, one may point to features that emphasize the devotional, ritual representation of the biblical text — the visible, sacramental manifestation of holy history — allowing members of a congregation to engage vividly but in a traditionally ‘liturgical’ way with fundamental mythical narratives basic to a contemporary understanding of life (both theoretical and practical). What one might see at work here is the reworking of a biblical narrative through traditional ritual practices, with small additions and changes that serve to supplement the narrative in ways we may see in the *longue durée* as dramatic or in a shorter perspective as devotional and ritual.

A transformation of the sacramental quality of a liturgical representation may be seen in the possibility of visualizing or manifesting the scriptural account in different ways. In the Fleury Epiphany representation, there seems to have been a greater interest in the physical display of features from the narrative — the staging, as it were. Although it does not seem possible to point to a particular ideology behind the various ways of staging or shaping the holy action, the two Epiphany representations underline what we have seen at work in the *Sponsus*: the conscious work on visualizing the body of Christ, the Church, the identity of the Christian community. The agendas that lie behind the way this was manifested in such texts are not easy to find; that would require much more concrete knowledge than we are likely to be able to obtain about the texts themselves and the institutions and authorities behind their writing.

What is clear, though, is that the representations must have been carried out with some consciousness of what was being done. The details obviously had importance to those who made the texts and staged the ceremonies. The sacraments, the manifestations of holy history, were made visible and audible in ways we may no longer always be able to envisage, but where some kind of control over how the story would appear to the congregation was obviously carried out, whether individually or institutionally.

In general, the relationship of the various kinds of representation under consideration in this chapter to particular sacramental actions and biblical narratives is not just one of engendering awe and of trying to visualize a biblical text as close

to the textual information as possible; rather, different ways of manifesting biblical and mythological events are at work. This is seen in Rupert's views on processions, in the techniques employed in the *Sponsus* as well as the Herod or Epiphany ceremonies, and also in the creativity with which the action of the communion is interpreted. The piecing together of the early *Quem queritis* dialogues shows the same picture, albeit at a more elementary level, of playful interactions between the senses, the understanding, and the institutional requirements that have conditioned it.

In all of these various representational practices and understandings, some level of distance between the elementary narratives and their visualizations and physical manifestations seems to be at work. Biblical narratives were received, represented, and transformed. Until a genre of drama was recognized such transformations could not have been seen as innocent; they would have manifested the lack of control exerted by the church and its authoritative representatives over the biblical foundational narratives. A recognized dramatic genre would render representational devices less controversial since they would then be contained within the generic criteria and no longer be seen to compete with the sacraments of the church. A lack of sharp distinction between playfulness and institutionalized 'truth' or sacramentality could potentially threaten ecclesiastical control.

To claim such a potential conflict in these representations is more than mere speculation, since we know of ecclesiastical cautions against what were understood as theatrical plays, *ludi teatrales*, for instance in a letter written by Pope Innocent III on 8 January 1207 to the Archbishop of Gniezno in Poland.⁸⁹ A common modern understanding of ecclesiastical prohibitions or warnings against theatrical activities would see this as fear of excess and a way of protecting the liturgy from a secularizing influence.⁹⁰ This is one possible way to see these reactions, but they may also be understood in a slightly different light.

⁸⁹ The text is quoted in the context of critical ecclesiastical statements about what are called 'dramatic performances' in Young, *The Drama*, II, 410–21 (p. 416); the full letter is printed in PL, CXXV, cols 1070–71.

⁹⁰ Karl Young (*The Drama*, II, 410) mentions the pervasive condemnations of 'the *ludi* of the folk, the liturgical buffoonery of the *clerici*, and the disorderly conduct of spectators', going on to say, 'By no means so numerous, however, and by no means so uniform in their character, are the responsible pronouncements upon the serious dramatizing of sacred subjects. It is with these alone that we are concerned here.' See also E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1903; repr. in one volume, Mineola, NY: Dover, 1996), I, 279, and *The Medieval European Stage, 500–1500*, ed. by William Tydeman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), sec. B, v ('The Church's View of Theatrical Activity'), pp. 113–17, including a quotation from Innocent's letter (in English translation), p. 114.

Rainer Warning has claimed, citing Joseph Jungmann, that scholasticism had no influence on the liturgy or on the interpretation of the Mass before the Council of Trent.⁹¹ It seems, however, that what went on in the process of negotiating representations of Christ in the liturgy — whether in liturgical processions, in the understanding of the Eucharistic elements, or in the ceremonies subsumed by modern scholarship under the heading ‘liturgical drama’ — can be seen as processes that would increasingly ensure that the ways Christ was met with, visually, audibly, and by other material or physical means, were in accordance with both intellectual and institutional ideologies. The Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, and the pontificate of Innocent III in general, stands as representative of the alliance of intellectual and ecclesiastical power in the Middle Ages. It is no coincidence that this is also approximately the time that the ecclesiastical concerns about such dramatic ceremonies occur. It could well be that this was a time where experiments were becoming more radical, but it is equally possible that experiments were increasingly considered by the authorities to be radical.

Exactly what Innocent III was hinting at in his remarks about theatrical abuses is not known, but his comments were incorporated into the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX in the first half of the thirteenth century, and were glossed sometime later in the century in the following way:

Non tamen hoc prohibetur representare presepe Domini, Herodem, Magos et qualiter Rachel plorat filios suos, et cetera, que tangent festiuitates illas de quibus hic fit mentio, cum talia potius inducant homines ad compunctionem quam ad lasciuiam vel voluptatem, sicut in Pasca sepulcrum Domini et alia representantur ad deuotionem excitandam.⁹²

(By this, however, it is not forbidden to represent the stable of the Lord, Herod, the Magi, and how Rachel wept for her children, etc., which are associated with these feasts about which mention is made here, when such things lead men rather to devotion than to licentiousness or sensual pleasure — as at Easter, the sepulchre of the Lord and other things are represented for the exciting of devotion.)⁹³

The balanced and fairly positive attitude to liturgical representations in this gloss may have had the primary function of defining what was acceptable, just as Innocent’s condemnation showed what was not. Thus it is possible, and seems to accord with the findings in the various areas of representation in the

⁹¹ Rainer Warning, *Die Ambivalenzen des geistlichen Spiels* (Munich: Fink, 1974); published in English as *The Ambivalences of Medieval Religious Drama*, trans. by Steven Rendall (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), p. 217.

⁹² Quoted from Young, *The Drama*, II, 416–17.

⁹³ Translation quoted from *The Medieval European Stage*, p. 114.

period up to the thirteenth century, that the actual delimitation of what was theatre and what constituted acceptable liturgical representation had the function of curbing an area where experiments in ways of encountering Christ by the various means discussed were ongoing. The distinction between drama and liturgy, as with the distinctions between canonical understandings of the Eucharist and of liturgical procedures, could be seen to have been constructed at this time and to have been deeply connected to institutional concerns. From that time onwards, it seems justifiable to consider the borders between the genres of 'liturgical representation' and 'religious drama' as established, and to a high degree controlled by ecclesiastical authority.

FROM *JUBILUS* TO LEARNED EXEGESIS: NEW LITURGICAL POETRY IN TWELFTH-CENTURY NEVERS

Gunilla Iversen

In a previous chapter we observed how interpretations of the Hebrew word *Alleluia* and the poetics of the Psalms coloured the texts of the early sequences or proses. We saw how the ninth-century authors developed the symbolic meaning of the act of singing together in one voice with a pure heart, and how the king enthroned in the church on earth is used as a figure and visible image of the invisible, heavenly king. In this ninth-century monastic liturgical poetry, singing in itself as part of the liturgical celebration constitutes a central theme that is expressed verbally in the texts.

The texts produced and used in the liturgy in the twelfth century, when many new institutions and new ways of reading, singing, and teaching were being established, are generally seen in another light. Since the days of Charles Homer Haskins in the 1920s we have usually regarded this century as a period of renaissance and cultural renovation in monastic and cathedral milieux, as well in the milieu of the new schools.¹ It was a time when a wealth of new biblical

¹ Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927; repr. 1955); *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982); *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, ed. by Peter Dronke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Jean de Ghellinck, *L'Essor de la littérature latine au XI^e siècle*, 2 vols (Brussels: Desclée, De Brouwer, 1946; repr. (in 1 vol.) 1954); *Rhetoric and Renewal in the Latin West, 1100–1500: Essays in Honour of John O. Ward*, ed. by Constant J. Mews, Cary J. Nederman, and Rodney M. Thomson, *Disputatio*, 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

commentaries represented a considerable part of the new literature, when new generations of masters provided more or less systematic glosses and commentaries on the Law and the Prophets, on the Song of Songs and the Gospels, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse.² We recall how Bernard of Clairvaux devoted many years of his life to commenting upon the Song of Songs, how Hugh of St Victor in his *Didascalicon* presented a thoroughly developed programme for biblical studies using the Law as his fundamental starting point. This was the time when not only the Song of Songs but also the Lamentations become important texts for commentaries and as textual inspiration. Gilbert the Universal's commentary on Lamentations based on the ninth-century commentary of Paschasius Radbertus, described in Alexander Andrée's chapter above, constitutes an example of this tradition;³ Hugh of St Victor provides another in his own commentaries.⁴

As Jacques Verger has wisely remarked in one of his studies of twelfth-century culture, 'it is difficult to place research on cultural history within a strict chronological frame, especially for this period'.⁵ When it comes to liturgical poetry this observation seems singularly pertinent, since these repertories often bring together old and new pieces representing archaizing as well as modernizing ambitions, combining the 'monastic' with the 'prescholastic' and the 'scholastic'. In twelfth-century France, for instance, a new generation of poets and musicians in such places as St Martial in Limoges, St Victor and Notre Dame in Paris, Chartres, Cluny, and Nevers were obviously deeply engaged in questions concerning the poetic and musical forms and functions of liturgical poetry. Peter Abelard, who created material for very different audiences, writing dialectics and theology for students and sermons and hymns for monastic liturgical use, might be seen as one example of these changes.

² See Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: les quatre sens de l'écriture*, 2 vols (Lyon: Aubiers, 1959; repr. Paris: Cerf, 1993).

³ See Gilbert the Universal, *Glossa ordinaria in Lamentationes Ieremie Prophete, Prothemata et Liber I*, ed., intro., and trans. by Alexander Andrée, SLS, 52 (2005), and his chapter in the present volume.

⁴ Hugh of St Victor, *Ad notatiunculae in Lamentationes Ieremiae*, PL, CLXXV, cols 255–322.

⁵ Jacques Verger, 'Une étape dans le renouveau scolaire du XII^e siècle?', in *Le XII^e siècle: mutations et renouveau en France dans la première moitié du XII^e siècle* (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 1994), pp. 123–45, p. 125: 'Il est vrai que, de toute façon, il est difficile d'enserrer une recherche d'histoire culturelle dans un cadre chronologique strict, surtout pour cette époque'; see also p. 133: 'Le milieu du XII^e siècle a vu la fin ou, en tout cas, le déclin définitif de ce qu'on pourrait appeler les critiques radicales des écoles nouvelles'; and Jacques Verger, 'Le Cloître et les écoles', in *Bernard de Clairvaux: histoire, mentalités, spiritualité*, Sources chrétiennes, 380 (Paris: Cerf, 1992), pp. 459–73.

In the search for a fuller understanding of the literary and theological criteria adopted by those involved in the renewal of liturgical repertories in the twelfth century, we must compare the attitudes of various authors to this process. If we cite Abelard's writings in this context, or those of his contemporaries, such as Peter the Venerable in Cluny or Bernard of Clairvaux, then it is not with the intention of identifying any of them as a possible author of one of these generally anonymous liturgical pieces. Rather, it will show the orbit in which such pieces came into being, and will reflect their attitudes concerning the meaning, function, and ideal forms of liturgical poetry.

We must also analyse the liturgical poetry itself, and in this context a fine example of a renewed repertory is found in a manuscript written for the Augustinian abbey of Nevers in Burgundy around the middle of the twelfth century (BnF n.a.lat. 3126). At a time when the schools of Paris attracted much interest, this manuscript presents a renewed liturgical repertory distinct from that of Paris, for a central location a short day's travel from Cluny and Châlon-sur-Saône, from Auxerre and Autun, and closely related to Limoges.

*The Ideal Liturgical Poetry according to Abelard,
Bernard, and Peter the Venerable*

Throughout this century many authors were engaged in discussions of the function, meaning, and ideal forms of liturgical poetry. Bernard of Clairvaux was deeply involved in the reformation of the Cistercian hymnary;⁶ Peter Abelard formulated his programme and ambitions for the hymns and sermons for the Paraclete; and Peter the Venerable set the rules for a revised repertory in the Benedictine monastic family under Cluny.⁷ From what little survives we are offered glimpses of the discussions at the time when Abelard had his dwelling

⁶ Claire Maître, *La Réforme cistercienne du plain-chant: étude d'un traité théorique* (Paris: CNRS/Brecht, 1996).

⁷ See Giles Constable, 'The Monastic Policy of Peter the Venerable', in *Pierre Abélard, Pierre le Vénérable: les courants philosophiques, littéraires et artistiques en Occident au milieu du XII^e siècle*, ed. by René Luis and Jean Jolivet, Actes et mémoires du colloque international, 546 (Paris: CNRS, 1975), pp. 119–38; and R. Folz, 'Pierre le Vénérable et la liturgie', in *ibid.*, pp. 143–61. See also Pascale Bourgain, 'La Poésie à Cluny sous Pierre le Vénérable (1122–1156)', in *Poesía latina medieval (siglos V–XV): actas del IV Congreso del 'Internationales Mittellateinerkomitee', Santiago de Compostela, 12–15 de septiembre de 2002*, ed. by Manuel Díaz y Díaz and José María Díaz de Bustamante (Florence: SISMEL/Edizioni del Galuzzo, 2005), pp. 551–64.

under the protection of Peter the Venerable in Cluny and in St Marcel at Châlon-sur-Saône during the last year of his life, from 1141 to his death in 1142.⁸ Earlier in the century Gilbert the Universal, the master from Auxerre, was working in Laon together with Anselm, collecting material and creating a more systematic commentary and gloss on the books of Bible in a huge scholarly enterprise that was followed up by the Victorines in Paris and elsewhere.⁹ Through his Gloss on Lamentations, based on the ninth-century commentary of Paschasius Radbertus, Gilbert evidently conceived of the biblical poetry of Lamentations as a complement to the Song of Songs, which had been the subject of so many interpretations in this period. It seems that the same idea as expressed in Gilbert's opening declaration that 'there are Songs of Songs, but there are also Lamentations of Lamentations' — 'Sunt cantica canticorum, sunt et lamentationes lamentationum'¹⁰ — influenced other writers not only of glosses and commentaries, but also of liturgical poetry. In the liturgical repertoires we can observe the fruits of this renewal, for instance, in the new poetry of sequences and tropes for the Ordinary of the Mass. New systematic biblical exegesis in line with the precepts provided by the Victorines had various effects on the poetic forms and thematic contents of the new repertoires.

In general terms, the repertoires written down in the twelfth century tend to retain large numbers of traditional pieces dating from the ninth. Pieces belonging to the oldest layers were faithfully copied as part of a liturgical corpus along with the new compositions. Dramatic innovations nevertheless took place: older liturgical poetry, such as the proses indicated in the ninth century in the Antiphoner of Charles the Bald, are found side by side with new sequences that provide systematic exegetical comments on Old Testament texts. Interpretations of the Law as the foreshadowing of the New Testament are expressed, for instance, in the Victorine sequence *Zima vetus*: 'Lex est umbra futurorum' (to be discussed below). Other new sequences represent personal and emotional texts,

⁸ Éloi Marie Buytaert's suggestion that Abelard may have died in 1144 ('À cause de la correspondance entre Pierre Vénérable et Héloïse concernant le dernier temps d'Abélard, ainsi que les lettres de Pierre le Vénérable au Pape Lucius II (pape entre le 12 mars 1144 et le 15 février 1145)'; Peter Abelard, *Opera theologica*, I: *Commentaria in epistolam Pauli ad Romanos*; *Apologia contra Bernardum*, ed. by Éloi Marie Buytaert, Constant J. Mews, and others, CCCM, 11 (1969), p. xii) is convincingly refuted by Constant Mews, who also makes it clear that the move to Cluny must have taken place in 1141 ('The Council of Sens (1141): Bernard, Abelard and the Fear of Social Upheaval', *Speculum*, 77 (2002), 342–82); see also Mews, *Opera theologica*, III, 23.

⁹ See, for instance, Gilbert the Universal, *Glossa ordinaria*, pp. 12–27.

¹⁰ Gilbert the Universal, *Glossa ordinaria*, p. 162.

the sorrow of the night and the joy of the day of Resurrection expressed in such phrases as ‘risi mane, fleui nocte’. These two approaches — the systematic biblical interpretation of the Old Testament opposed to the New, the darkness of ignorance to the clarity of truth, expressed in such words as ‘Advenit veritas, umbra preteriit’ or ‘transacto flebili de morte vespere’, and the interpretation of the Song of Songs, opposing the tearful sorrow of the night to the joyful brightness of day, of the risen Light — can be seen combined in other texts, for instance in Abelard’s hymn for Lauds for the sisters of the Paraclete:

Advenit veritas, umbra preteriit:	Transacto flebili de morte vespere
Post noctem claritas diei subiit:	Cum vita redditur mane letitiae,
Ad ortum rutilant superni luminis	Resurgit Dominus, apparent angeli,
Legis mysteria, plena caliginis [...]	Custodes fugiunt splendore territi. ¹¹

(The day of truth has come; the shadow of the night is gone; after the night the clarity of the day has come; when the highest Light arises, the obscure mysteries of the Law become clear [...]. When the tearful night of death has passed and life returns in the morning of joy, the Lord arises and the angels come forth; the guards flee, terrified by the light.)

Abelard is an interesting example, since he was obviously very much aware of questions of the style and form to be adapted for specific liturgical uses and audiences. He was a writer who devoted different periods of his life to writing poetry of different kinds.¹² From one of the best known of Heloise’s letters we have the information that he was once, in the years 1114–16, a famous author of love lyrics written in rhythmic metre, ‘pleraque amatoria metro vel rithmo composita relequisti carmina’:

Duo autem, fateor, tibi specialiter inerant, quibus feminarum quarumlibet animos statim allicere poteras, dictandi videlicet et cantandi gratia, que ceteros minime philosophos assequutos esse novimus. Quibus quidem, quasi ludo quodam laborem exercitii recreans philosophici, pleraque amatorio metro vel rithmo composita relequisti carmina, que pre nimia suavitate tam dictaminis quam cantus sepius frequentata, tuum in ore omnium nomen incessanter tenebant, ut illiteratos etiam melodie dulcedo tui non sineret immemores esse.¹³

¹¹ Josef Szövérfy, *Peter Abelard’s Hymnarius Paraclitensis*, 2 vols (Albany: Classical Folia, 1975), II, 36, 38, 39. All translations are mine unless stated otherwise.

¹² Michel Huglo, ‘Abélard, poète et musicien’, *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 22 (1979), 349–61. See also, for instance, Constant J. Mews, ‘General Introduction’ to Abelard, *Opera theologica*, III, and M. T. Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997).

¹³ The letter *Domino suo immo patri*, in *La Vie et les epistres Pierres Abaelart et Heloys sa fame: traduction du XIII^e siècle attribué à Jean de Meun*, ed. by Eric Hicks, Nouvelle bibliothèque du moyen âge, 16 (Geneva: Slatkine, 1991), p. 51.

(I admit that there were two things in you that were particularly attractive to women and that we seldom see in other philosophers, namely your gifts to compose poems and to sing. With these talents you rested from the exercise of philosophy as if in a kind of play, creating many love songs composed in metre and rhyme. Because of the exquisite sweetness of both the poem and the melody they became very popular and kept your name constantly on everybody's lips, so that the sweetness of the melody didn't even allow those who were illiterate to forget them.)

When in 1132–37 Abelard turned to writing poetry of another kind, he composed more than 130 hymns for the entire liturgical year to be sung in the Divine Office by the sisters of the Paraclete.¹⁴ In the letter accompanying the first book of sermons addressed to Heloise, Abelard mentions 'a little book of hymns or sequences' that he had written at her demand ('libello quodam hymnorum vel sequentiarum a me nuper precibus tuis consummato').¹⁵ Chrysogonus Waddell has even wondered if there might not be some sequences written by Abelard among the anonymous sequences already edited.¹⁶ We also know him as the author of songs of lamentation of biblical personae, generally known as *planctus*.

Abelard's contemporary Bernard of Clairvaux, was, as we know, strongly opposed to all extravagance, not only in the architecture and decoration of the churches, but also in the celebration of the liturgy.¹⁷ As in the rule of Benedict, the Cistercian communities did not have particular schools. Wisdom, *sapientia* (a word found more than a thousand times in Bernard's texts) could be gained only in solitude and away from distraction.¹⁸ The real school for Bernard was not in a classroom with a teacher and his students but in solitude, reading, meditating, and ruminating upon the words of the Bible and the Church Fathers.¹⁹ According to Dom Wilmart, the library in Clairvaux in Bernard's days contained around 350 volumes: six Bibles, the works of Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Hilarius, Gregory the Great, the homilies of Origen translated into Latin, John Chrysostom, Isidore

¹⁴ Szövérfy, *Hymnarius Paraclitensis*.

¹⁵ PL, CLXXVIII, cols 379–80.

¹⁶ Chrysogonus Waddell, 'Epithalamica: An Easter Sequence by Peter Abelard', *Musical Quarterly*, 72 (1986), 239–71: 'Is it possible that among sequence texts already known and edited, there are some that might reasonably be by Abelard?' (p. 241).

¹⁷ Chrysogonus Waddell, 'Chant cistercien et liturgie', in *Bernard de Clairvaux* (see n. 5, above), pp. 287–306.

¹⁸ Verger, 'Le Cloître et les écoles', pp. 466, 469; René Locatelli, 'L'Expansion de l'ordre Cistercien', in *Bernard de Clairvaux*, pp. 103–40.

¹⁹ Jean Leclercq, 'L'Écrivain', in *Bernard de Clairvaux*, pp. 520–56; Bruno Michel, 'La Philosophie: le cas du *De consideratione*', in *ibid.*, pp. 579–603.

of Seville, and the Venerable Bede. Beside the Fathers there were the Carolingian writers, Hraban Maur, Paschasius Radbertus, and Florus of Lyon.²⁰ We recall Bernard's *Liber de conversatione* exhorting the young to choose the monastic life leaving the masters and schools in Paris, and his famous declaration: 'I am grateful to Peter and Paul, not because they have taught me to read Plato, nor because they have taught me to read Aristotle, but because they have taught me to live.'²¹

As Étienne Gilson once said, Bernard was a monk who had resigned from everything save the art of writing.²² Still he obviously had a very complex attitude towards writing. A compelling urge forced him to write. Driven by inspiration and devotion, he writes in the *excusatio* in the beginning of his praises to the Virgin, 'devotion urges me to write something in praise of the Virgin mother' (in laudibus virginis matris scribere me aliquid devotio iubet).²³ Far from explaining the biblical text in a pedagogical way, he is led by delight to write what the Bible text inspires him to write, 'ex Evangelio sumere occasionem loquendi quod me loqui delectabat'.²⁴ Bernard's early studies in grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics, as well as his deep knowledge of the works of such authors as Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Cicero, left clear marks on his own writings. As Erich Auerbach has said, Bernard is one of the greatest masters in Christian rhetoric.²⁵ This is clearly seen in his eighty-six sermons on the Song of Songs, the *Sermones in Cantica canticorum* begun in 1135 and written for the rest of his life; but already in his first large work, from 1118–23, the sermons in praise of the Virgin — *In laudibus Marie virginis* — we recall how he uses alliteration, assonance, and rhyme, how he plays with prefixes, cryptograms, and acrostics. Christine Mohrmann has demonstrated his use of rhetorical devices in his second sermon in praise of the Virgin, where he excels in an elegant, rhetorically structured prose.²⁶ The result often transcends the border between rhetoric and poetry, as in the following lines:

²⁰ Jean-Paul Bouhot, 'La Bibliothèque de Clairvaux', in *Bernard de Clairvaux*, pp. 141–53.

²¹ *Sermo I in Festivitate SS Petri et Pauli*, 3: SBO, v, 190. See also Christine Mohrmann, 'Observations sur la langue et le style de Saint Bernard', in SBO, II, pp. ix–xxxiii (p. x); and Pietro Zerbi, 'Les Différends doctrinaux', in *Bernard de Clairvaux*, pp. 429–58 (p. 452).

²² Étienne Gilson, *La Théologie mystique de saint Bernard* (Paris: Vrin, 1934), p. 19.

²³ SBO, IV, 13; see Leclercq, 'L'Écrivain', p. 530.

²⁴ SBO, IV, 58; Leclercq, 'L'Écrivain', p. 531.

²⁵ Erich Auerbach, *Literatursprache und Publikum in lateinische Spätantike und im Mittelalter* (Bern: Francke, 1958), p. 207.

²⁶ Mohrmann, 'Observations sur la langue'.

Si insurgant venti tentationum
 si incurras scopulos tribulationum
 respice stellam

voca Mariam.

Si iactaris superbiae undis
 si ambitionis
 si detractationis
 si aemulationis
 respice stellam

voca Mariam.

Si iracundia
 aut avaritia
 aut carnis illecebra
 naviculam concusserit mentis
 respice Mariam.

Si criminum immanitate turbatus
 conscientiae confusus
 iudicii horrore perterritus
 baratro incipias absorbere tristitiae
 desperationum abysso
 cogita Mariam.

In periculis
 in angustiis
 in rebus dubiis

Mariam cogita

Mariam invoca.²⁷

(If the winds of temptation arise, if you run upon the rocks of tribulation, look to the star, call on Mary. If you are thrown by the waves of pride, of ambition, of competition, look to the star, call on Mary. If anger or avarice, or desires of the flesh have shaken the ship of the soul, look to Mary. If troubled by the fierceness of your crimes, confused by your conscience, frightened by the horror of the judgement, you are about to be swallowed in the gulf of sorrow and the abyss of desperation, think of Mary. In dangers, in difficulties, in uncertainties, think of Mary, call on Mary.)

The writing of poetry, even liturgical poetry, was, as we know, not generally accepted in Cistercian monasteries. No verses were to be added to the chants, and the worst of all was the writing of metrical verse. Poetry should belong to the

²⁷ *Homilia II in laudibus Virginis Matris*, 17: SBO, IV, 35.

schools and not to a Cistercian monastery, according to the Cistercian Chapter: 'monks who write verses should be sent away to other houses and are not to return unless this is permitted through a general Chapter' (Monachi qui rythmos fecerint ad domos alias mittantur, non redituri nisi per generale Capitulum).²⁸

Still, Bernard himself, at the request of Abbot Guido of Montiéramey, wrote an Office for its patron saint, St Victor, who was of course also patron of the Victorines in Paris.²⁹ For this Office he also wrote hymns in Sapphic metre, about which he commented, 'I composed a hymn without having any knowledge in metre' (hymnum composui metri negligens). In his *excusatio* in the letter to Guido, he expresses his firm conviction that it is not right to write liturgical poetry and thereby to add new words to the texts of the Fathers. But at the same time he explains, in phrases reminiscent of Smaragdus or of Paschasius Radbertus in the ninth century, that poetry sung in the liturgy should be 'sweet but not trivial; it should delight the ear so that it moves the heart. Liturgical poetry should console sorrow and mitigate anger, not efface the meaning of the word but fertilize it':

Quantulus ego in populo christiano, cuius litterae in ecclesiis lectitentur? aut quantula mihi ingenii eloquiive facultas, ut a me potissimum festiva et plausibilia requirantur? Quid? quem caeli habent laudabilem et laudatum, ego de novo laudare incipio super terram? Supernis velle addere laudibus, detrahere est [...] in solemnitate celebri/solemni/, non novella audire decet vel levia, sed certe authentica et antiqua, quae et Ecclesiam aedificent, et ecclesiasticam redoleant gravitatem. Quod si nova audire libet, et causa requirit; ea, ut dixi, recipienda censuerim, quae cordibus audientium, quo gratiora, eo utiliora reddat et eloquii dignitas et auctoris. Porro sensa indubitata resplendeant veritate, sonent iustitiam, humilitatem suadeant, doceant aequitatem: quae etiam lumen veritatis mentibus pariant, formam moribus, crucem vitiis, affectibus devotionem, sensibus disciplinam. Cantus ipse, si fuerit, plenus sit gravitate; nec lasciviam resonet, nec rusticitatem. Sic suavis, ut non sit levis; sic mulceat aures ut moveat corda. Tristitiam levet, iram mitiget; sensum litterae non evacuet, sed fecundet.³⁰

(Who am I among Christians that my words should be pronounced in churches? and what is my faculty of invention and eloquence that festive and approvable texts should be

²⁸ *Epistola 178, Ad Dominum Papam Innocentium*: SBO, VII, 398; *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, ed. by J.-M. Canivez, 8 vols, Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, 9–14 (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1933–41), I, 232.

²⁹ *Officium de Sancto Victore*: SBO, III, 501–08; see also the word concordance edited in *CETEDOC Library of Christian Latin Texts: CLCLT3*, 2 CD-ROMs (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996).

³⁰ Leclercq, 'L'Écrivain', p. 538; 'S. Bernard écrivain d'après l'Office de S. Victor', SBO, II, 19–168 (letter 398).

required precisely from me? What? Should I on earth invent new praises to the one to whom the heavens bring lauds and praises? If you dare to add to the heavenly praises you will diminish them [...]. It is not decent to hear new and trivial innovations in the solemn celebration but only what is authentic and old, which builds up the church and diffuses its gravity. But if it is pleasing to hear something new, and if the situation demands it, I have found such texts acceptable which the dignity of the eloquence and of the author make more beneficial the more pleasing they are in the hearts of those who listen. Yes, they should make thoughts of undoubted truth shine forth, make justice sound out, persuade to humility, teach moderation: which brings the light of truth to the minds, brings beauty to the character, annihilates the vices, brings devotion in the senses, discipline to the mind. If it is a song the melody should be full of gravity, and not resound with lascivity or rusticity. It should be sweet yet not trivial and it must delight the ear so that it moves the heart. It should console sorrow and mitigate anger; not efface the meaning of the word but fertilize it.)

It is notable that just as with Bernard in Clairvaux, his colleague and friend Peter the Venerable in Cluny prescribed that the *Salve regina*, the antiphon that came to inspire many new liturgical poems at the time, should be sung in the Divine Office at numerous feasts of the year:

Statutum est, ut antiphona de sacra matre domini facta, cuius principium est *Salve regina misericordiae*, in festo Assumptionis ipsius, dum processio fit, a conventu cantetur: et insuper in processionibus, quae a principali ecclesia apostolorum ad eiusdem matris virginis ecclesiam ex more fiunt, exceptis illis sanctorum festivitibus in quibus mos antiquus exigit ad eosdem sanctos pertinentia decantari. Causa instituti huius fuit nulla alia quam summus et maximus amor, ab omni rationali creatura, quibuscumque modis rationabiliter fieri potest, exhibendus post auctorem omnium matri auctoris universorum.³¹

(It has been constituted that the antiphon of the holy mother of the Lord that begins *Salve regina misericordiae* is to be sung by the convent in the procession of the feast of her Assumption. Furthermore, it is to be sung in processions that traditionally take place from the church of the Apostles to the church of the Virgin Mother, except at the feasts of saints where antiphons pertaining to these saints are to be sung according to the old tradition. The reason for this arrangement was no other than that, after the creator of all, the highest and largest love should be exhibited in the most sensible way from all creation to the mother of the creator of the universe.)

Likewise, Peter the Venerable declared that he had prescribed that the verses *Crux fidelis*, *Flecte ramos*, and *Sola digna* should be sung at the *Inventio crucis*

³¹ Peter the Venerable, *Statuta Petri Venerabilis Abbatis Cluniacensis*, ed. by Giles Constable, *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum*, 6 (Sieburg: Schmitt, 1975), p. 103. On the poetry of Peter the Venerable, Peter of Poitiers, Peter Abelard, and Bernard de Morlas, see Pascale Bourgain, 'La Poésie à Cluny', pp. 553–54.

instead of the hymn *Vexilla regis* from the *Exaltatio crucis*, because it seemed more devotional and elegant to vary the songs of praise than tediously to repeat the same over and over again:

Causa instituti huius fuit quia devotius et elegantius visum est, in iam dictis salvatricis crucis solemnitatibus, laudes ipsius continentes hymnos variari iucunde, quam easdem iterare fastidiose. Canabatur enim prius hymnus, cuius principium est *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*, ad utriusque festi utrasque laudes vespertinas, et rursus iterabatur ad matutinas.³²

(The reason for this arrangement was that it seemed to be more devotional and elegant in the feast of the cross of salvation to vary the songs of its praise in a pleasing way than to repeat the same fastidiously. Earlier the hymn that begins *Vexilla Regis prodeunt* was sung at Lauds as well as Vespers of both feasts and was repeated again at Matins.)

In this context, we recall Abelard's reaction when he heard of Bernard's visit to the Paraclete and accounted Bernard himself responsible for some of the new inventions that he had instituted for the novitiates at the Paraclete. Bernard had rejected some old songs and prescribed some new, unknown, and less relevant texts: 'hymnos solitos respuistis, et quosdam apud nos inauditos, et fere omnibus Ecclesiis incognitos, ac minus sufficientes, introduxistis.' Abelard too pleaded for variety and opposed the tedious repetition of certain pieces time after time, such as the hymn *Aeterne rerum conditor*, recalling Cicero's words that identical repetition is the mother of disgust: 'ut Tullius meminit, identitas in omnibus mater est satietatis':

Quorum ut pauca commemorem pace uestra, hymnos solitos respuistis, et quosdam apud nos inauditos et fere omnibus ecclesiis incognitos ac minus sufficientes introduxistis. Vnde et per totum annum in uigiliis tam feriarum quam festiuitatum uno hymno et eodem contenti estis, cum ecclesia pro diuersitate feriarum uel festiuitatum diuersis utatur hymnis, sicut et psalmis, uel caeteris quae his pertinere noscuntur, quod et manifesta ratio exigit. Vnde et qui uos die Natalis seu Paschae uel Pentecostes et caeteris solemnitatibus hymnum semper eundem decantare audiunt, scilicet 'Aeterne rerum conditor', summo stupore attoniti suspenduntur, nec tam admiratione quam derisione mouentur [...]. Nonnullam enim oblectationem haec diuini cultus uarietas habet, quia, ut Tullius meminit, 'identitas in omnibus mater est satietatis'.³³

³² PL, CLXXXIX, cols 1046–47.

³³ Abelard, *Epistola 10*, in *Letters IX–IV*, ed. by Edmé Renno Smits (Groningen: Rijks-universiteit, 1983), pp. 245, 247 (PL, CLXXVIII, cols 339, 340); see Chrysogonus Waddell, 'Peter Abelard's Letter 10 and Cistercian Liturgical Reform', in *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History* 2, ed. by John R. Sommerfeldt, Cistercian Studies Series, 24 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1976), pp. 75–86.

(To recall some of these, with your peace, you rejected traditional hymns and introduced others that we have never heard of, and that are unknown to nearly all churches, and less fitting hymns. You restricted yourself to one and the same hymn to be sung in the Vigils all the year around, at ferial and festive days alike, when the church uses different hymns as well as psalms and other forms that are known to belong to these, something that clear reason demands. Thus, those who hear you singing always the one and same hymn, namely at Nativity, or Easter or Pentecost and at other feast, are most astonished and become more taken by laughter than by admiration [...]. The variety in the Divine Office has no little delight, since, as Tully reminds us, identity is the mother of disgust.)

Giles Constable has written of the complexity in the mixture of old and new in the twelfth century, that 'the forms of monastic life in this century do not simply concern the spectre of old and new with Cluny in one end and Clairvaux in the other, as can be seen in the friendship and alliances between the leaders'. In this he underlines that Peter the Venerable was eager not only to preserve the old, traditional repertoires, but also to adapt them to the needs of a new era.³⁴ Abelard is also very sensitive to matters of form in the sermons and hymns for the sisters of the Paraclete: the textual form should be plain and clear and the literal sense should not be disturbed by rhetorical extravagance ('insisto planitiem, non eloquentiae compositionem: sensum litterae, non ornatum rhetoricae'). He wants the text to be easily understood yet not lacking in elegance. At the same time, the hymns should be adapted to be performed in song by the sisters:

Libello quodam hymnorum vel sequentiarum a me nuper precibus tuis consummato, veneranda in Christo et amanda soror Heloissa, nonnulla insuper opuscula sermonum, iuxta petitionem tuam, tam tibi quam spiritalibus filiabus tuis in oratorio nostro congregatis, scribere praeter consuetudinem nostram utcunque maturavi. Plus quippe lectioni quam sermoni deditus, insisto planitiem, non eloquentiae compositionem: sensum litterae, non ornatum rhetoricae. Ac fortasse pura minus quam ornata locutio quanto planior fuerit, tanto simplicium intelligentiae commodior erit; et pro qualitate auditorum ipsa inculti sermonis rusticitas quaedam erit ornatus urbanitas, et quoddam condimentum saporis parvulorum intelligentia facilis.³⁵

(After having completed the little book of hymns and sequences on your demand, Heloise, my venerable and beloved sister in Christ, as you have asked me, I have now hurried to write a certain number of sermons for you and for the sisters congregated in our abbey. This is something that is far from my habits, since I am more used to lecture than to preach. I insist more on simplicity than on an eloquent composition, on the literal sense without the ornaments of rhetoric. And perhaps the plain speech and less ornate, since the plainer it is, the easier it is to understand. Considering the character of the audience, the

³⁴ Constable, 'The Monastic Policy', p. 136.

³⁵ Abelard, *Sermones*, PL, CLXXVIII, cols 379–80.

mere rusticity of the uncultivated language will be smoothed by a certain elegance and a certain pleasing seasoning to make it easily understood by the young sisters.)

Around 1141, Abelard was staying with Peter the Venerable at Cluny, where he may have corrected passages in his *Theologia 'Scholarium'*.³⁶ It seems that the discussions on the ideal forms of liturgical chant continued, as with Abelard's discussion on the proper way of singing hymns.³⁷ This is the same time at which Peter the Venerable writes to his secretary Peter of Poitiers concerning the terrible poetry and bad performance of a hymn for St Benedict in which he had been forced to take part:

Nosti quantum me pigeant falsa in ecclesia Dei cantica, quantumque nugae canorae michi odibiles sint. Inter quas, nam plurimae sunt, cum nuper in festo magni patris Benedicti hymnum praeter sententias, metricam legem, seriemque verborum peroptimum, et cantari audirem, et cantare cogere nimium, sed non tunc primum, aegre tuli, et tanti viri veras laudes, mendaciter proferri erubui [...] in laude omnipotentis Dei ipsiusque iam dicti patris, eiusdem metri hymnum composui [...]. Accipe igitur et si dignum videtur, ceteris que transcribere soles adiunge.³⁸

(You know how I detest false canticles to God in church and how hateful trifling songs are to me. When, a short time ago, at the feast of the great father Benedict, I had to hear and participate in singing such songs — and they were many, among them a hymn without any meaning, grammar, or metre, a series of exquisite words, and this was not the first time — I could not stand it, and I blushed with shame that the true praises of such a great man were performed with so much falsity [...]. I composed a hymn to the Almighty God and to this same father in the same metre [...]. So please take it and, if it seems worthy, add it to the others that you usually transcribe.)

It is interesting to note that Peter the Venerable himself wrote one of his hymns to St Benedict in Sapphic verse, as a reaction to the bad one he had been forced to sing. As can be seen from the opening and closing strophes below, the content is traditional but he allows himself to play with the name of Benedict's sister Clara:

³⁶ Abelard, *Opera theologica*, III: *Theologia 'Summi boni'*; *Theologia 'Scholarium'*, ed. by Éloi M. Buytaert and C. J. Mews, CCCM, 13 (1987), p. 290.

³⁷ Josef Szövérfy, "False" Use of "Unfitting" Hymns: Some Ideas Shared by Peter the Venerable, Abelard and Heloise', *Revue Bénédictine*, 89 (1979), 187–99.

³⁸ Peter the Venerable, *Selected Letters*, ed. by Janet Martin in collaboration with Giles Constable, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts, 3 (Toronto: Hunter Rose, 1974), p. 68; see also Giles Constable, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), I, Letter 124; Szövérfy, "False" Use of "Unfitting" Hymns', p. 192.

Mortuum vite revocas precando,
 Corda multorum penetras propheta,
 Cernis ad celos animas levare
 Clarificatus.

Laudet exsultans, deitas creatrix,
 Te chori nostri iubilus perennis,
 Quem poli iungas superis choreis,
 Quesumus omnes.³⁹

(In preaching you recall the lives of the dead; as prophet you penetrate the heart of many; clarified you see the souls return to heaven. / Divine creator, we all beseech you, let the jubilant song of ours sing your praises for ever, and let it be joined with the choirs of heaven above.)

Abelard also composed a hymn to St Benedict in Sapphic verse, but takes a different approach, playing with Benedict's name by opposing *maledictus* and *benedictus* in describing how the cursed 'earth of the soul' will give fruit when cultivated with the tools of Benedict's Rule and the true wisdom, 'vera philosophia'. Underlining the fruitful dialogue between Abelard and Peter the Venerable, Joseph Szövérfy has proposed that Abelard, who was all his life a very competitive person, wrote his hymn for Benedict in some sort of competition with Peter, and that it was not until later that it was included in the Paraclete repertory. Strophes 6 and 7 are as follows:

Terra delictis maledicta nostris
 Proferens spinas tribulosque nobis
 Uberes fructus benedicta reddit
 Per Benedictum.

Ad quod et quendam quasi spiritalem
 Sarculum mira fabricavit arte,
 Regulam vitae speculumque verae
 Philosophiae.⁴⁰

(The earth that was at fault for the sake of our sins, bringing us spines and thorns, gives rich fruits when blessed through Benedict. To achieve this, he fabricated with wonderful art a kind of spiritual hoe, a rule for life, and a mirror of the true Philosophy.)

As noted above, Bernard also wrote hymns for St Victor in Sapphic verse, as in the following strophes for Lauds, where he plays with one of his frequently used images, that of the wine-press, *torcular*:

Vina de fonte, non de vite manant,
 Musta pro rivis colorata fluunt
 Benedicentis manu bene usa
 Pro torculari.⁴¹

³⁹ AH, x, 257; also edited in Peter the Venerable, *Selected Letters*, p. 70.

⁴⁰ Szövérfy, *Hymnarius Paraclitensis*, II, 239–41; see also *The Paraclete Breviary: The Sanctorale Cycle*; Chaumont, *Bibl. municipale MS 31*, ed. by Chrysogonus Waddell, CLS, 6 (1983), pp. 242–43.

⁴¹ Bernard, *Officium de S. Victore*, pp. 501–08; *Hymnus in laudibus*, p. 506.

(The wines spring out from the source not from the plant, and the colourful musts flow like rivers when the blessed Benedict's hand (the Rule) is used well as a kind of wine-press.)

Texts of Abelard, Peter, and Bernard such as those cited above may be seen as reflections of ongoing intellectual debates during this period on the meaning and function of the poetry that was written to be sung within the liturgy.⁴² They might illustrate the interest in writing new liturgical poetry, and questions concerning repertoires of liturgical poetry in the twelfth century.

The New Repertory in Nevers

The new repertory put together in Nevers in the middle of the twelfth century reflected the ambitions of renewal of the liturgy in interesting ways and provides a fruitful mixture of old and new compositions of very varied form and content. For Nevers we are in the fortunate situation of having three extant manuscripts of liturgical poetry from the same place.⁴³ Dating from different periods, they represent old and new preferences for how to handle liturgical poetry. The earliest and best known of these manuscripts (BnF lat. 9449) was written under the direction of Bishop Hugh the Great in 1059–60. A century later, all the texts provided with neumatic notation in this old manuscript were faithfully copied into another well-known Nevers manuscript, the combined gradual, troper, proser, and tonary BnF lat. 1235. It seems that one of the main reasons for copying out an entire

⁴² Mohrmann, 'Observations sur la langue', pp. ix–xxxi.

⁴³ The Nevers manuscripts and their contents have been the subject of several studies. For studies on BnF lat. 9449 and 1235, see, for instance, Nancy van Deusen, 'The Sequence Repertory of Nevers Cathedral', *Forum musicologicum*, 2 (1980), 44–59; Nancy van Deusen, 'Aspects of a Medieval Cultural Context: Milieu and Manuscript Transmission at Nevers Cathedral', *Musicology (Australia)*, 7 (1982), 30–40; Ellen Reier, 'The Introit Trope Repertory at Nevers: MSS Paris B.N. lat. 9449 and Paris B.N. lat. 1235' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1981). For the manuscript BnF n.a.lat. 3126, see Michel Huglo, 'Un nouveau prosaire nivernais', *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 71 (1957), 3–30 (repr. in Huglo, *Chant grégorien et musique médiévale*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 814 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), art. XII). For an inventory of the contents of this manuscript compared with the other two Nevers manuscripts, see Gunilla Iversen, 'Continuité et renouvellement à Nevers: réflexions sur le répertoire du prosaire-tropeaire nivernaise Paris B.N. lat. 3126', in *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, ed. by Wulf Arlt and Gunilla Björkvall, SLS, 36 (1993), pp. 271–308. See also Margot Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 98–105.

repertory afresh a century later was a musical one, in the ambition to preserve the old melodies by means of a new medium, a musical notation with staves and clefs, and in connection with a tonary. The content of this manuscript has been interpreted as evidence of a particularly conservative, static usage characterizing the liturgy in Nevers.⁴⁴

It is possible, however, that another strong reason for providing a new version of the old repertory might have been an ambition to defend the old repertory against a vital activity in the renewal of the liturgy, as witnessed by the great number of novel compositions in a manuscript contemporary with this, BnF n.a.lat. 3126. Different opinions have been expressed as to which of these more or less contemporary twelfth-century manuscripts is the older; it is clear that both were written sometime in the middle of the century.⁴⁵ BnF n.a.lat. 3126, the source containing the newer repertory, was probably made for the abbey of St Martin in Nevers in connection with its transformation into an Augustinian abbey in 1143.⁴⁶

This manuscript is of particular interest for our present purposes. Although the entire repertory has already been presented in earlier studies, we will here concentrate on some of the pieces found towards the end of the original part. In contrast with the other twelfth-century manuscript, BnF n.a.lat. 3126 presents a new, 'updated' twelfth-century repertory. The redactor has made distinct choices in rejecting large parts of the old traditional repertory and introducing a large number of new pieces into a repertory adapted to the demands of a new era.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Nancy van Deusen, *Music at Nevers Cathedral: Principal Sources of Medieval Chant*, 2 vols, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen, 30 (Henryville: Institute of Mediæval Music, 1980), I, 6.

⁴⁵ Huglo assumes that BnF n.a.lat. 3126 is later than lat. 1235 since on several occasions it substitutes old sequences with new ('Un nouveau prosaire nivernais', p. 22). The picture may, however, be more complex, as it seems just as possible that the anachronistic and old-fashioned manuscript lat. 1235 might have been produced in order to preserve and defend the old tropes and sequences against a new Augustinian repertory.

⁴⁶ See Iversen, 'Continuité et renouvellement', pp. 272–74.

⁴⁷ The redactor of BnF n.a.lat. 3126 rejected all 120 trope verses for Proper chants found in the earlier Nevers repertory. He retained only very few of the older Ordinary tropes and introduced a few new ones. Eleven of the old sequences were rejected (of which five had been written without musical notation in BnF lat. 9449 and were therefore already rejected in the twelfth-century copy lat. 1235), and some thirty-two new sequences were introduced in the earliest layer of the new manuscript, in addition to which seven new sequences were later inscribed. This process is more fully described in Iversen, 'Continuité et renouvellement'.

In the renewed Nevers repertory, the first observation to make is that the old sequence for the Blessed Virgin, *Clariss vocibus*, as well as the old Easter sequence *Fulgens preclara* and *Gloriosa dies* for St Stephen, both of which we have seen in the earlier chapter were part of the ninth-century repertory in the Antiphoner of Charles the Bald, are still to be found in their old liturgical placements in the twelfth-century repertory of Nevers. Likewise, the early proses *Alma chorus*, *Alle celeste*, and *Ad celebres rex* are all retained in the new repertory.⁴⁸ On the other hand, most of the older tropes to the Gloria, and all of the tropes to the Proper of the Mass, have been rejected in the renewed repertory. Thus, for instance, the revised repertory discards the older Marian tropes to the antiphon *Gaudeamus*, texts that recollect very closely the words of the sequence *Clariss vocibus* in their elaboration of the theme of the meaning of the musical performance, of singing in high-sounding voices — ‘vocibus altissonis’, ‘concinentes’, ‘eia canendo’, ‘sonos vasto modulamine dulces’, ‘presonet ore’, ‘pangamus laudes’. Conversely, the repertory of tropes to the Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus is still rich. It is also interesting to see that *Clemens rector aeterne*, the first Kyrie trope in Nevers, is also prescribed by Peter the Venerable to be sung at five different feasts in Cluny in order to create more variation and a higher degree of festivity:

Statutum est, ut illud *Kyrie eleison*, cuius cantus habet prosaicos versus, quorum principium est *Clemens rector aeterne*, *pater immense eleison*, qui in multis monasteriis ad Cluniacum pertinentibus usu antiquo cantabatur, etiam Cluniaci in quinque praecipuis festis cantetur [...]. Causa instituti huius fuit, ut et solemnioribus diebus magis congrueret solemnior cantus et ut ipsa cantuum variatio maior esset cantantium devotio.⁴⁹

(It is decided that the *Kyrie eleison* with the prose verses beginning with *Clemens rector aeterne*, *pater immense eleison*, that was sung according to an old custom in many monasteries depending on Cluny, should also be sung in Cluny at five greater festivities [...]. The reason for this statute was that a more festive song would be more fitting to a greater festivity, and that the devotion of the singers would be greater through the variation of the chants.)

Among the novelties in BnF n.a.lat. 3126, we find the following group of new pieces on folios 78^v–103^r:

<i>Mater clemens</i>	‘Prosa de sancta Maria’
<i>Salve mater salvatoris</i>	‘Prosa de sancta Maria’
<i>Orbis totus unda lotus</i>	‘Prosa de sancta Maria’
<i>Ecce dies preoptata</i>	‘Prosa de sancto Vincentio’

⁴⁸ For these three proses, see the anthology below, nos VIII, IX, and X, and Erika Kihlman’s edition of a later commentary on these texts, pp. 396–455, below.

⁴⁹ Peter the Venerable, *Statuta*, p. 105.

<i>Virgines caste</i>	(no title)
<i>De profundis ad te</i>	(no title)
<i>Dolorum solatium</i>	(no title)
<i>Epithalamica dic sponsa</i>	(no title)
<i>Rex Salomon fecit</i>	'Prosa in Dedicatione'
<i>Quam dilecta tabernacula</i>	'Prosa in Dedicatione'
<i>Quam admirabile est</i>	'Prosa de sancto Cirico'
<i>Profitentes unitatem</i>	'Prosa de sancta Trinitate'
<i>Zima vetus expurgetur</i>	'Prosa de Resurrectione Domini'
<i>O Redemptor sume carmen</i>	(no title)
<i>Iesse virgam humidavit</i>	(no title)
<i>Hodierne lux diei</i>	(no title)
<i>Fons et ortus pietatis</i>	(no title)
<i>Quem ut daret</i>	(no title)
<i>Qui de patre genitus</i>	(no title)

In the following, we will consider some of these new pieces in relation to contemporary discussions of the form, function, and meaning of poetry in the liturgy. Here we find written in side by side, by the same hand, sequences connected with the Paris schools and with St Martial de Limoges, such as *Salve mater salvatoris*, attributed to Adam of St Victor. We also see several of the new sequences that have been studied and edited by scholars from Raby to Jollès and Fassler.⁵⁰ Here are found the so-called 'Victorine' Easter sequence *Zima vetus* and the new sequences for the dedication of a church, *Rex Salomon* and *Quam dilecta*, to which we will return below. Among these new sequences are also found *Orbis totus*, attributed to Peter the Venerable, and *Mater clemens*, as well as the unique series of tropes on the Kyrie (*Fons et ortus pietatis*), Sanctus (*Quem ut daret*), and Agnus (*Qui de patre genitus*), all of them more or less thematically and verbally reflecting the hymns and sermons of Abelard.⁵¹

⁵⁰ See Margot Fassler, *Gothic Song*; Adam of St Victor, *Quatorze proses du XII^e siècle à la louange de Marie*, ed. by Bernadette Jollès, *Sous la règle de Saint Augustin*, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994); F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian Latin Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953); and Jean Grosfillier, *Les Séquences d'Adam de Saint-Victor: étude littéraire (poétique et rhétorique)*, *Bibliotheca Victorina*, 20 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).

⁵¹ See Gunilla Iversen, 'Abélard et la poésie liturgique', in *Pierre Abélard: colloque international de Nantes*, ed. by Jean Jolivet and Henri Habrias (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2003), pp. 233–60; Nicolas Bell, 'Les Planctus d'Abélard et la tradition tardive du planctus', in *ibid.*, pp. 261–76; Marie-Noël Colette, 'Un ensemble de planctus attribuées à Abélard dans un prosaire nivernais (manuscrit Paris, BNF, nal 3126)', in *ibid.*, pp. 277–94.

Furthermore, in the midst of these ‘modern’ twelfth-century pieces, there are four songs that have been associated with Abelard, *Virgines caste*, *De profundis ad te*, *Dolorum solatium*, and *Epithalamica*, that have sometimes been referred to as *planctus* but will here be given the generic title of ‘Latin *lais*’.⁵² This group of four pieces placed together in the manuscript could be said to illustrate the words of Gilbert the Universal in the opening of his commentary on the Book of Lamentations: ‘Sunt Cantica canticorum, sunt et Lamentationes lamentationum.’

‘*Orbis totus*’

Orbis totus is a Marian sequence attributed to Peter the Venerable.⁵³ The presence of this sequence in Nevers can be seen as another circumstance connecting Nevers with Cluny in the twelfth century. It is written in the Nevers repertory directly after the Victorine sequence *Salve mater salvatoris*. Like many other sequences of the time it is composed in strophes of 4p+4p+7pp — that is, a rhythmic trochaic septenar.⁵⁴ Opening with an exhortation to praise the Virgin Mother, the text constitutes a prayer directly addressing the Virgin Mary and imploring her to address the Son:

1a	Orbis totus	1b	Ad Mariam
	munda lotus		matrem piam,
	preciosi lavacri		voce clamet alacri.

The poet describes the Virgin Mother in the new Chartrian designation as *Maria lactans*, ‘the mother who suckled the Highest’, here and later in the sequence at strophe 9a (‘ancilla, cuius stilla te tactavit parvulum’):

⁵² See Iversen, ‘Abélard et la poésie liturgique’, pp. 233–60. In a recent study to which we will return below, Peter Dronke rightly questions the description of *Virgines caste* and *Epithalamica* as *planctus*, as well as questioning the attribution of *Virgines caste* to Abelard; see Peter Dronke and Giovanni Orlandi, ‘New Works by Abelard and Heloise?’, *Filologia mediolatina*, 12 (2005), 123–77.

⁵³ AH, XLVIII, 253; for text, music, and translation, see the anthology below, no. X. According to Huglo (‘Un nouveau prosaire nivernais’, p. 19), the melody of *Orbis totus* is nearly identical to that used in the Cluniac abbey of St Martin des Champs; see also Huglo, ‘Abélard, poète et musicien’.

⁵⁴ Dag Norberg, *Introduction à l’étude de la versification latine médiévale*, SLS, 5 (1958), pp. 21–122; English translation: *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification*, trans. by Grant C. Roti and Jacqueline de La Chapelle Skubly, ed. and intro. by Jan Ziolkowski (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2004), pp. 170–72.

2a	Matrem illam, que mamillam prebuit altissimo,	2b	Collaudemus, decantemus cantu iocundissimo.
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In strophe 6a, the Virgin is addressed directly in the prayer to implore her son for us:

6a	Natum ora et implora, ne plebs eius pereat,	6b	Sed ductrice genitrice te ad vitam redeat.
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From strophe 7a to the end, the words are placed dramatically in the mouth of the Virgin: 'Say, say to him: "Son of God, but also my only son, my son but also God, see to me when I am praying to you"':

7a	Dic, dic ei: 'Fili Dei, sed et meus unice,	7b	Nate meus sed et Deus, exorantem respice.'
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In its emotional and psychological approach, this sequence seems rather close to the Marian text exhorting one to call upon Mary for help expressed by Bernard of Clairvaux in Ciceronian rhetorical prose, in his sermon cited above.⁵⁵ The poet makes Mary address the Son as the one who in his childish body provides a tangible clothing of the Godhead ('puerili Deum tegens tegmine'; 12a), whom she had cherished as God hidden in human form ('latentem sub homine'; 12b).

Despite its modern rhyme and metre, this new sequence still has nothing of the learned exegesis about it, nor does the author enumerate figures and metaphors describing the Virgin, of the sort we meet in many Marian poems and liturgical poetry of the time, as already in the two sequences that precede it in the Nevers manuscript, both of them filled with cumulative figures of the Virgin birth, the Victorine sequence *Salve mater salvatoris* and *Mater clemens*, which is unique to this manuscript.

'*Mater clemens*'

On first appearance, *Mater clemens* reminds one of many twelfth-century texts describing the Virgin, but it is also a unique text with several original traits, and seems closely associated with a group of unique Ordinary tropes in the same section of the manuscript, the Kyrie *Fons et ortus pietatis*, Sanctus *Quem ut daret*,

⁵⁵ See p. 210, above.

and Agnus *Qui de patre genitus*.⁵⁶ The text of *Mater clemens* reflects a multivalent textual origin, with a biblical foundation in the Song of Songs, the Law and the Prophets, but also showing the influence of Abelard's writings and of the newly established antiphon *Salve regina*. The general form of the strophes of rhymed verses of 4x8p is familiar as the first part of a rhythmic trochaic septenar, the most common versification of the time, while strophe 4b offers a variation in the form of 4x7pp, the second part of a trochaic septenar.⁵⁷ This is also used in Abelard's *planctus De profundis*, found in the same section of the manuscript.⁵⁸

The Virgin is first described as the beloved of the Song of Songs: she is the rose in flower, 'rosa vernans' (1b), full of aromatic fragrance, 'unguentorum odor bonus' (5a); she is the sweet dove, 'dulcis columbina' (5b); she is the one who rescues us from the storms of life, 'maris fluctus ac procelle tempestates procul pelle' (2a), as in Bernard's text cited above. At the same time, Mary is the one who comes from the stem of David, 'David regis stirpe sata' (4a). The Virgin is described by Old Testament figures as the one who brings us back to the ark of Zion, as the flowering rod of Aaron, the door of Zion, 'porta Sion decorata' (4a), and the shining throne of Solomon, 'Salomonis fulgens thronus' (5a). All are well-known images used in numerous contemporary sequences, including those of Adam of St Victor.

5a	Salomonis fulgens thronus, Bablonis frangens honus, unguentorum odor bonus, angelorum laus et sonus,	5b	Surge, dulcis columbina, imperatrix et regina, infirmorum medicina, plagis nostris funde vina.
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In addition to these standard frames of reference, the Virgin is presented in more far-fetched terms as Rachel served by Leah (1b), as the star of Jacob (2b), the cistern of Joseph (3a), the lantern of Israel (3a), and as the one who can take away the threat against the old Babylon (citing Gen. 37. 2, II Reg. 21. 17, and Isa. 13. 1). She is the mother of the highest king, who purifies the old leavened bread of the Law (6a). Furthermore, the use of the rare Greek word *teophilo* in the first strophe — 'theofilo reddens signa' — is part of the philosophical and theological language describing the learned Christian as 'philochristus', 'theosophus', and 'philosophus'.

⁵⁶ For text, music, and translation, see the anthology below, no. XI; see also Iversen, 'Continuité et renouvellement', pp. 291–94, and Iversen, 'Abélard et la poésie liturgique', pp. 239–44.

⁵⁷ See Norberg, *Introduction à la versification*, p. 118.

⁵⁸ 'Ve, ve nobis miseris | sero penitenibus | et de neglegenciis | tarde iam gementibus.'

The poet makes new combinations of common metaphors: the familiar appellations ‘imperatrix et regina’ and ‘puerpera summi regis’ (5b), recalling the antiphon *Salve regina*, are here paired with the image of the bride lying corporally close to her groom, ‘iuncto latere’, from the Song of Songs. This strophe is constructed out of the same terms as were found in the sermon of Abelard for the Annunciation: ‘in te caelestis regis sponsam effici spiritualem, ut quasi regina caelorum ei iuncto latere assistas.’ They are familiar too from *Virgines caste*, to which we will return below (‘iuncto latere | sola cum rege | procedit ipsa’), as well as from Abelard’s letter to Heloise, *Sponse Christi*:

In quarum quidem typo regina illa et summi regis sponsa diligenter describitur, cum in Psalmo dicitur: *Astitit regina a dextris tui*, etc. Ac si aperte dicatur: Ista iuncto latere sponso familiarissime adheret et pariter incedit, ceteris omnibus quasi a longe absistentibus vel subsequenteribus.⁵⁹

(In this image the queen is accurately described as the bride of the highest king, when it is said in the Psalm, ‘the queen is on your right side’, etc. [Ps. 43. 10] It is as if it is said plainly: she is close to his side in the most familiar way and lies down with him whereas the others are assisting or following at a distance.)

The author of the sequence takes up the image of the earth as the valley of tears from the *Salve regina*, an image again also used by Abelard, for instance in his sermon for Septuagesima:

Sion mons est in quo civitas Jerusalem est. Post hunc ergo montem celsitudo supernae patriae, in qua est Jerusalem, id est continua visio vera pacis, exprimitur. Cuius desiderio fideles accensi ad illam iugiter quasi flentes suspirant, et de hac valle lacrymarum tanquam de captivitate Babylonica quo amplius conscendere cupiunt, differri ab illa gravius gemunt.⁶⁰

(The mountain of Zion is where the city of Jerusalem is. From this mountain on which Jerusalem is, the height of the heavenly Fatherland is expressed, that is, the continuous vision of peace. Burning with desire to reach this the faithful ones are constantly sighing and crying and the more they desire to ascend there from this valley of tears as if from the Babylonian captivity the deeper they sigh to be far away from it.)

The common figures of the flowering branch and the rod of Jesse, ‘virga florens’ (2a) and ‘virga Iesse’ (2b), are also paired by Abelard, for instance in his sermon for the Annunciation, where he combines the words of the prophet and the Song of Songs:

⁵⁹ Abelard, Letter 5, *Sponse Christi*, in *La Vie et les epistres* (see n. 13, above), p. 71; PL, CLXXVIII, col. 200.

⁶⁰ Abelard, Sermo 4, PL, CLXXVIII, col. 428A.

Hodie flos conceptus est a virga, de quo Isaias predixerat: *Egredietur virga de radice Iesse, et flos de radice eius ascendet*. Qui etiam de semetipso ait: *Ego flos campi, et lilium convallium*. Ut ergo hunc florem virga illa producat, ad Virginem ipsam angelus mittitur, qui eam ad hoc praeparet, et quasi quodam suae annuntiationis sarculo ad fecunditatem excolat.⁶¹

(Today the flower is conceived from the rod of which Isaiah had foretold: 'A rod shall grow from the root of Jesse, a flower shall spring from his rod' [Isa. 11. 1]. She said about herself: 'I am the flower in field, the lily of the valley' [Cant. 2. 1]. To make this rod produce this flower the angel was sent to the Virgin herself to prepare her and carefully bring her to fertility by means of the hoe of his annunciation.)

These are images that, as we know, came to be frequently used in many forms of liturgical poetry of the period. We can, however, observe some more complex and original combinations of figures in cases where the author combines and melds together images from the Law and the Songs of Songs. Thus, in strophe 3b, he combines the figure of the fleece of Gideon, that receives the dew from heaven without being wet, with the image of Mary as the earth that is wet with dew, 'madefacta rore tellus', from which the Lord takes the fleece of flesh. The grass of the little meadow, 'agellus', wet from the dew, becomes green, and on this little meadow the tender lamb, 'agnus tenellus', is resting. This combination recalls Abelard's similar juxtaposition in his sermon *In natali Domini* of the three themes of the lamb, the fleece of Gideon, and the earth as a visible sign of the divine incarnation:

Caro Virginis, qua se verus Agnus induit, illud est niveum vellus innocentissimae ovis, de quo Psalmista longe ante cecinerat: *Descendet sicut pluvia in vellus*, etc. Legimus in *Libro Judicum*, ad petitionem Gedeon, ut confirmaretur ad proelium per visibile signum, vellus in area positum rore ita fuisse madefactum, ut circumquaque sicca terra maneret [...]. Unde merito ipsam prae caeteris caelestis Regis Filius quasi palatium suae habitationi congruum, quod ante non invenerat adipisci gavisus est, et in ipsam quasi pluvia in vellus a supernis placido descendit illapsu. Pluvia quippe in vellus veniens, ipsum ita inundat et abluit, et nullo sensu passionem ingerat [...]. Haec est fidelium omnium terra communis, et ager specialis, cuius et Spiritus Sanctus colonus, et Verbum Dei semen exstitit.⁶²

(The Virgin's flesh that the Lamb took on is the snow-white fleece of the most innocent sheep. Long ago, the Psalmist sang about this that he shall descend like rain on the fleece [Ps. 71. 6]. We read in the book of Judges in the prayer of Gideon that he should be encouraged through a visible sign to fight: 'a fleece placed on the ground and wet by the dew in such a way that the earth around it remained dry' [Judg. 6. 37]. [...] Therefore it

⁶¹ Abelard, Sermo 1, PL, CLXXVIII, col. 381B–C.

⁶² Abelard, Sermo 4, PL, CLXXVIII, cols 389C–390C. See also Paola De Santis, *I Sermoni di Abelardo per le monache del Paracletto* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), pp. 173–90 (pp. 175–77).

is with right that the Son of the celestial King above others rejoiced to have found this as a palace fit to be the dwelling-place that he had not found before. He descended into this like the rain that is gently falling down on the fleece. For the rain that falls on the fleece overflows it and cleans it without inducing any sensual passion [...]. This is the earth common to all the faithful ones, and the special field, where the Holy Spirit lives and where the Word of God appears.)

As we will see below, this same double figure is used in the Agnus Dei trope *Qui de patre genitus*, in the same new repertory: ‘per quem fuit madidum vellus Gedeonis.’⁶³ Likewise, the image of the lamb playing and resting in the grass reminds one of the next piece in the manuscript, *Virgines caste*:

Hic agnus pascitur,
istis reficitur,
hic flores electa
sunt illius esca.

In earum pectore
cubat in meridie.
Inter mammas virginum
collocat cubiculum.⁶⁴

(Here the lamb is fed; by these he is nourished; here flowers are his chosen food. On their bosom he rests in the middle of the day. On the breasts of virgins he places his bed.)

In strophe 4b, Christ — or is it the Virgin? — is described as brighter than all the stars, more resplendent than the sun (‘cunctis stellis clarior, sole speciosior’) in words that recall Abelard’s Epiphany sermon: ‘Summi vero Regis novum nativitatis modum, sicut et conceptum, nova stella et incomparabili splendore presignare debuit’ (The new star of incomparable brightness should foretell the new kind of birth and the conception of the Highest King).⁶⁵ The phrases ‘Theman sapientior | et Sansone fortior’ (‘stronger than Samson and wiser than the wise men of Teman’) refer to Baruch and passages in Jeremiah and Judges (Bar. 3. 23, Jer. 49. 7, and Judg. 14–16). In fact, the words ‘Sansone fortior’ recall Israel’s lamentation over Samson in Abelard’s *planctus*: ‘David sanctior | Salomone prudentior | Quis ex fortibus | non ut Sanson fortissimus | enervatur?’⁶⁶ We

⁶³ See the anthology below, no. XIV.

⁶⁴ See the discussion of *Virgines caste* below, and the anthology below, no. XVI.

⁶⁵ Abelard, Sermo 4, PL, CLXXVIII, col. 414A.

⁶⁶ See also Giovanni Orlandi, ‘On the Text and Interpretation of Abelard’s Planctus’, in *Poetry and Philosophy in the Middle Ages: A Festschrift for Peter Dronke*, ed. by John Marenbon, *Mittellateinische Studien und Texte*, 29 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 327–42 (pp. 339–40).

also recall how Abelard in the hymn for the third Nocturn of Easter from his hymnal sees Samson as prefiguring Christ: ‘Samson noster validus, *Resurrexit Dominus*.’⁶⁷

All through the text of this new sequence, the poet combines learned exegesis of Old Testament prophets with joyful allusions to the Song of Songs, at the same time drawing themes from Abelard’s sermons for the Paraclete in similar phrases to Abelard’s. This is not to say that Abelard is the author, but that his straightforward method of biblical exposition in his sermons and hymns seems to have influenced the author of this sequence in Nevers.

‘*Kyrie Fons et ortus pietatis*’

As already mentioned, the Nevers manuscript includes a unique and coherent set of tropes to the Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei, respectively *Fons et ortus pietatis*, *Quem ut daret*, and *Qui de patre genitus*, which provide an exposition of the same themes in similar phrases.⁶⁸

The verses of *Kyrie Fons et ortus pietatis* are written in the same form as the sequence *Mater clemens*, in rhymed verses of 8p. First the author addresses the Father as the fount and origin of compassion — ‘fons et ortus pietatis’ — playing as it seems with the words of the new Parisian *Kyrie Fons bonitatis*, another new trope that in contrast to *Kyrie Fons et ortus pietatis* came to be used very frequently. In *Fons et ortus* the author combines the invocation of the source and origin of piety with a prayer for mankind shipwrecked on the stormy sea of life, and longing for the safety of the calm port:

Pater, ad te reduc illum,
navigantis ad tranquillum *eleyson*.

Hac in gravi tempestate,
Christe, tibi desponsate *eleyson*.

Eius, que per tantos nexus
tuos fugit ad amplexus, *eleyson*.

⁶⁷ *Hymn Collections from the Paraclete*, ed. by Chrysogonus Waddell, 2 vols, CLS, 8–9 (1987), II, 65; Szövérfy, *Hymnarius Paracletensis*, II, 131. See also William Flynn’s discussion, p. 337, below.

⁶⁸ BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fols 101^v–102^r; for text, music, and translation, see the anthology below, no. XII.

(Father, *have mercy* on the one at sea and bring him back to you, to tranquillity. Christ, *have mercy* on your spouse in the heavy storm. *Have mercy* on her who flees into your arms from such great snares.)

We recognize this theme from the sequence *Mater clemens*, in its supplication, 'Maris fluctus ac procelle | tempestates procul pelle'. In *Kyrie Fons et ortus*, the theme of mankind in danger of shipwreck is expressed in the phrases 'fluctuantis nostre ratis', 'fere submergentis', and 'navigantis', and in the final prayer, 'Maris undam fac sedari timentisque naufragari *eleyson*'. These words also recall Bernard of Clairvaux praying to the Virgin for help against the turbulent winds of temptation and wickedness that toss the ship of the soul on the sea of sins: 'Si iracundia aut avaritia aut carnis illecebra naviculam concusserit mentis, respice Mariam.'

Abelard, like Bernard, uses the metaphor of the stormy sea in a psychological interpretation expressed in his letter to Heloise *Sponse Christi*, when he describes how they have both been rescued by the Lord from being shipwrecked like Ulysses on the turbulent sea between Scylla and Charybdis:

Attende itaque, attende, karissima, quibus misericordie sue retibus a profundo huius tam periculosi maris nos Dominus piscaverit, et a quanto Karipdis voragine naufragos licet invitos extraxerit, ut merito uterque nostrum in illam perrumpere posse videatur vocem: *Dominus sollicitus est mei*.⁶⁹

(See, see, dearest, with what nets of compassion the Lord has fished us up from the depth of this so dangerous sea, and from how deep a Charybdis abyss has he rescued us, albeit against our will, so that both of us rightly might cry out, 'The Lord has thought of me' [Ps. 39. 18].)

The same metaphor used for the church and the human soul, and of course primarily referring to the scene with the disciples on the lake of Genesareth (Matt. 14. 22–33, Mark 6. 45–52), is used by Adam of St Victor, for instance, in his sequence *Ave virgo singularis Mater*: 'Nam in huius vitae mari | non permitte naufragari' (Do not permit us to be shipwrecked in the sea of this life); and in a similar way it is used in the Hosanna sequence *Splendor patris*, where the Virgin is called 'the port of this shipwrecking world' (portus naufragantis saeculi).⁷⁰

In this remarkable Kyrie, however, the author uses words unknown from elsewhere to implore the Lord for help not for mankind in general but for Peter who is about to be drowned ('Petri fere submergentis'). He evidently refers to the disciple on the lake of Genesareth, and Peter as the rock and founder of the

⁶⁹ Abelard, Letter 5, *Sponse Christi*, p. 79.

⁷⁰ CT, VII, 188–89.

church is seen in turn to pray for the church herself; but the directness of the relationship with this Sermon of Abelard may suggest that the Peter in this text may also refer to the Peter Abelard who inspired it.⁷¹

In the second supplication the author addresses the Son with a prayer for help for the bride, 'tibi desponsate', that is the church and the one who has offered herself as a bride to Christ hastening in flight into his arms, 'tuos fugit ad amplexus'. Here, the words recall the phrase 'Virgo fidelis inter amplexus sponsi celestis' in *Virgines caste*, in the same group of songs, again recalling the words of Abelard in his letter to Heloise addressed as *Sponse Christi*, where he develops the theme of *sponsa Christi* at some length.

The final invocation also addresses Christ with an unusual expression as the one who in mercy takes upon himself the burden of our poverty, 'ferens gratis nostre molem paupertatis'. It is worthy of note that the same rare expression is used in the Sanctus *Quem ut daret*, to be discussed below.

The Greek word *eleyson* is here construed as genitive, that is, equivalent to 'miserere nostri' as opposed to the usual construction 'miserere nobis'. The genitive construction is the form preferred by Abelard, however, as in the *planctus De profundis* found in the Nevers manuscript: 'Miserere, miserere, miserere nostri.' The genitive form preferred by Abelard in his *planctus* might well be related to the construction in the biblical passage he cites in the letter *Sponse Christi*: 'Dominus sollicitus est mei' (Ps. 39. 18). It seems, then, that the author of this Kyrie was influenced in form and vocabulary by Abelard's writings, and we may see the text as a reflection of the complex weave of contemporary literary influences.

Sanctus 'Quem ut daret'

The Sanctus trope *Quem ut daret* that follows immediately clearly belongs to the same thematic sphere as the sequence *Mater clemens* and the Kyrie *Fons et ortus*.⁷² As in these, all the verses are formed in the same way of eight rhymed paroxytone verses of 8p. In the first strophe, on the birth of Christ, the author uses the image of the rod of Jesse springing at the appointed time when the crop should be harvested, recalling passages from Isaiah and Revelation (Isa. 11. 1, 10; Rom. 15. 12; Rev. 14. 15):

⁷¹ See William Flynn's discussion of this letter, pp. 311–17, below.

⁷² BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fol. 102^r. For text, music, and translation, see the anthology below, no. XII.

Sanctus

Quem ut daret virga Iesse,
 tempus erat et necesse,
 cum iam seges sit in messe.

The images of the rod and the harvest, underlined by rhyming ‘Iesse’ with ‘messe’, are the same as in the sequence *Mater clemens*. Again, we can see that although they do not normally seem to be combined in contemporary texts, these images are placed together by Abelard in his sermon on the Nativity, cited above, and continuing as follows:

Hic est ille fructus terrae sublimis, quem et Isaias praevidens: *Ecce, inquit, germen Domini in magnificentia, et in gloria, et fructus terra sublimis, et exspectatio his qui salvati fuerint de Israel*. Quid enim germen Domini, sublimem fructum terrae, communemque omnium hinc exultationem fidelium, nisi Christum oportet intellegi qui et ante saecula genitus ex Patre, et hodie quasi de terra prodiit natus ex Virgine.⁷³

(Here is the sublime fruit of the earth about whom the prophet Isaiah said: *See on that day the plant that the Lord has grown shall be glorious in its beauty, and the fruit of the land shall be the pride and splendour of the survivors of Israel* [Isa. 4. 2]. What is the fruit of the Lord, the sublime fruit of the earth, and the common exultation of all the faithful ones, if it should not be understood as that Christ who was born before time and today, as if coming from the earth, came forth from the Virgin?)

It is notable that the combination of the images of the flower upon the rod of Aaron and of the lily of the valley of the Song of Songs is also found in his sermon on the Annunciation, cited above.

In the second strophe, the figure of the stone that is broken off from the cliff without harming the cliff itself, used as a figure for the Virgin birth, is unusual in contemporary Marian poetry:

Sanctus

Est de monte lapis cesus,
 fuit tamen mons illesus,
 quo processit noster Hiesus.

It is, however, repeatedly used by Abelard, for instance in his sermon for the Nativity, in the following passage:

Mons de quo lapis hic est abscissus, virginalis eminentia est dignitas, quae coelestem in terris ducebat vitam. De cuius quidem substantia secundum carnem homo ille est assumptus, qui in unam personam Verbo Dei est unitus, quod totum est Iesum Christum.⁷⁴

⁷³ Abelard, Sermo 2, PL, CLXXVIII, cols 390D–391A.

⁷⁴ Abelard, Sermo 2, PL, CLXXVIII, col. 394D.

(The mountain from which this stone is cut off is the eminent virginal dignity that brought the celestial life to the earth. From her substance in flesh is taken the human substance of the man that is united with the Word of God into one person, that is, into Jesus Christ.)

Likewise, Abelard writes in his sermon for Palm Sunday: 'Illic est lapis sine manibus de monte abscisus.' Also, the verb *fecundare* in the final invocation is used by Abelard in this sermon for the Annunciation: 'quasi quodam suae annuntiationis sarculo ad fecunditatem excolat.' The use of *fecundare* here and of the rare word *moles* to describe the heavy burden of sins both in the third strophe of this Sanctus trope and in the Kyrie above, as well as in the Agnus trope *Qui de patre genitus* that follows, binds these texts together.

Agnus Dei 'Qui de patre genitus'

The Agnus trope *Qui de patre genitus* is again unique to this manuscript.⁷⁵ It is written in the metre that came to be labelled 'Goliardic' (7pp+6p), with disyllabic rhymes. This metrical form became popular after the middle of the twelfth century and was closely associated, with or without good reason, with Abelard, the 'Goliard magister' and 'Goliard poeta'.⁷⁶

In a vocabulary similar to that found in the sequence and tropes above, the author addresses the Lamb of God in figures normally used for the Virgin Mary. Once again using the verb *fecundare*, the author describes the Virgin made fruitful by the One who is at the same time Father and Son, again recalling Abelard's sermons for the Annunciation and the Nativity:

*Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi,
Qui de patre genitus matrem fecundasti,
cuius alvum spiritu sancto consignasti,
miserere palee quamvis segregasti,
Miserere nobis.*

The figure of the fleece of Gideon describing the Virgin in the second strophe is, as we know, extremely common in Marian sequences at the time; it is also used in the sequence *Mater clemens* and in Abelard's sermon. But it is not found in any other known trope for the Agnus Dei.

⁷⁵ BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fols 102^v–103^r. For text, music, and translation, see the anthology below, no. XIV.

⁷⁶ P. G. Walsh, 'Goliard and Goliardic Poetry', *Medium Aevum*, 52 (1983), 1–7.

*Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi,
 Qui pro bene placito singula disponis,
 per quem fuit madidum vellus Gedeonis,
 reduc nos ad patriam destinatam bonis,
 Miserere nobis.*

The pastoral theme, with the address to the Lamb of God as pastor of the herd and the prayer to bring joy to the herd in the third strophe, is also unique among Agnus tropes:

*Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi,
 Homo, pastor ovium et imago dei,
 successive copulans tenebras diei,
 gregi confer gaudium anni iubilei,
 Dona nobis pacem.*

Still, a similar prayer is expressed in the preceding sequence, *Mater clemens*, in the words ‘oves serva tui gregis’, as well as in the second part of *Virgines caste*, cited below.

The thematic and formal similarities that tie these three tropes together invite us to think that they might have been composed as a unit and by the same author, possibly one well acquainted with the sequence *Mater clemens*, or even the author of that sequence. The constellations of paired images seem to point to an influence from the theological and literary method followed by Abelard in his sermons and hymns for the Paraclete liturgy. At the same time, they are well placed in the series of the four songs of lamentation and joy, likewise related to Abelard in the same collection, and to which we shall return presently.

Sanctus ‘Archetypi mundi’

In connection with the question of a possible influence from Abelard’s writings in the liturgical poetry in this repertory, let us briefly observe another Sanctus trope that is a later addition to the Nevers manuscript, namely the hexameter trope Sanctus *Archetypi mundi*.⁷⁷ Here, the author defines the persons of the Trinity in philosophical and Greek terms: God is the archetype of the world according to whose will man exists as his image. Christ is described as *summa Sophia*, as *nois*, and strangely enough also as *protopanton* and *prima propago*:

⁷⁷ BnF n.a.lat. 3126, add. fol. 9^r. For text, music, and translation, see the anthology below, no. XV.

Sanctus,
 Archetypi mundi stans nutu cuius imago.
Sanctus,
 Summa sophia, nois, protopanton, prima propago.

We recognize these expressions from the language cultivated in philosophical and theological texts of the time. For instance, a text from the school of Abelard tells us: 'Vt Plato togaton summum Patrem, noim mentem diuinam dixit, id est, sapientiam quam togaton coeternam asseruit' (As Plato called God the supreme Father 'the Good', he called the divine mind 'nous', that is wisdom, which is co-eternal with 'the Good').⁷⁸ Later, Bernardus Silvestris writes in his *Cosmographia* that 'the first image of the living life is *Nous*, which originates from God's substance and beholds the true eternal wisdom'.⁷⁹ Abelard was the one who introduced the term *protopanton*, which he uses several times in different versions of his *Theologia*, as well as defining God as 'the good'.⁸⁰ For instance, he writes in his *Theologia Christiana*, written in the mid-1120s:

Sic enim et philosophi, cum mentem natam aiunt ex summo Deo, quem Tagathon uocant, id est Filium ex Deo Patre, 'summum' in eo uocant quia ab alio non est. Qui etiam, cum ipsum Patrem protopanton etiam appellant, id est principem omnium, omnipotentiam ipsi quasi proprie uel specialiter adscribunt, eo uidelicet quod ab ipso non solum creaturae, uerum et ceterae duae personae habeant, ut dictum est, esse, non quidem per creationem sicut aliae res, sed per generationem uel processionem.⁸¹

(So even the philosophers say that the soul is born from the highest good, which they call 'togaton', that is, the Son born from the Father, they call him the highest, since he is

⁷⁸ Peter Abelard, *Opera theologica*, VI: *Sententie magistri Petri Abaelardi; Liber sententiarum magistri Petri*, ed. by David Luscombe and Constant J. Mews, CCCM, 14 (2006), p. 63.

⁷⁹ 'Vite viventis ymago | Prima, Noys — deus — orta deo substantia veri | Consilii tenor eterni, michi vera Minerva': Bernardus Silvestris, *Cosmographia*, ed. by Peter Dronke (Leiden: Brill, 1978), p. 97.

⁸⁰ *Theologia 'Scholarium'*, I.164 (CCCM, 13, p. 385): 'Ceterum cum ad summum deum et principem omnium, qui apud grecos togaton, qui et protopanton nuncupatur, tractatus se audet attollere, uel ad mentem, quam greci noym appellant, originales rerum species que idee dicte sunt, continentem, ex summo natam et perfectam deo — cum de his, inquam, loquuntur summo deo et mente, nichil fabulosum penitus attingunt.' This passage repeats material from Abelard's *Theologia 'Summi boni'*, I.142 (CCCM, 13, pp. 100–01) and in the *Theologia Christiana*, I.104 (Peter Abelard, *Opera theologica*, II: *Theologia Christiana; Theologia 'Scholarium' recensiones breuiiores; accedunt Capitula haeresum Petri Abaelardi*, ed. by Éloi Marie Buytaert, CCCM, 12 (1969), p. 114).

⁸¹ *Theologia Christiana*, I.30 (CCCM, 12 (1969), p. 84).

not coming out of anything else. When they name the same Father they also say 'protopanton', that is, 'the first of all', and they ascribe omnipotence to him as a proper and special quality, in that from him not only creation derives but also the other two persons have their essence, not however through creation, like other things, but through generation and procession.)

In its somewhat clumsy formulation and not very poetic appearance, the author here creates a text that functions more as a theological, philosophical treatise than a liturgical chant. It is far from the ideal form presented in Abelard's intentions for the hymns and sermons, or by Bernard in his letter accompanying his Office for St Victor. *Archetypi mundi* lacks the joyful elegance and playful knowledge of the trope texts above; but still the author of this late addition was evidently influenced by theological and philosophical treatises such as Abelard's.

'Sunt Cantica canticorum, sunt et Lamentationes lamentationum'

In the middle of the Nevers anthology are found four songs related to Abelard and the liturgy of the Paraclete, namely *Virgines caste*, *De profundis*, *Dolorum solatium*, and *Epithalamica*.⁸² They are songs of joy and sorrow, and the Nevers manuscript is their earliest known source, though they form part of the Paraclete liturgy in later sources.⁸³ These songs, to which we might assign the term 'Latin *lais*', are composed in a form that cannot be described as that of a sequence. It is significant that they are not rubricated as *prosa*, as are the sequences in the Nevers manuscript. As they are placed together in the collection of new pieces in the Nevers manuscript, they seem to display an ambition to put together in parallel position a reflection on the Song of Songs and on the Lamentations, with the songs of joy — *Virgines caste* for the Virgin Mary and other virgins and *Epithalamica dic sponsa* for the Resurrection — surrounding two songs of lamentation, *De profundis ad te* and *Dolorum solatium*.⁸⁴

⁸² In an earlier study ('Abélard et la poésie liturgique'), I have referred to all four as *planctus*; but as Dronke rightly remarks, *Virgines caste* and *Epithalamica* are far from that: 'they are indeed among the most joyous celebrations known to me in the whole of medieval hymnology' (Dronke and Orlandi, 'New Works by Abelard and Heloise?', pp. 124–25).

⁸³ Waddell, 'Epithalamica'; Constant Mews, review of Julia Barrow, Charles Burnett, and David E. Luscombe, *A Checklist of the Manuscripts Containing the Writings of Peter Abelard and Heloise and Other Works Closely Associated with Abelard and His School* (Revue d'histoire des textes, 14–15 (1984–85), 183–302), in *Scriptorium*, 41 (1987), 327–30.

⁸⁴ Peter Abelard, *I 'planctus'*, ed., intro., and musical transcription by Giuseppe Vecchi, Collezione di testi e manuali, 35 (Modena: Società tipografica modenese, 1951); Lorenz Weinrich,

The idea of juxtaposing songs of joy and sorrow reminds one of Abelard's sermon for Septuagesima, where he considers the words of Ecclesiastes that there is a time for crying and a time for laughing, a time for mourning and a time for dancing: 'Tempus flendi et tempus ridendi. Tempus plangendi et tempus saltandi' (Eccles. 3. 1–2).

The songs of lamentation, although not rubricated as such, conform with what we would call *planctus*, and one of them is also later included in the collection of six *planctus* attributed to Abelard in a Vatican manuscript and edited by Vecchi.⁸⁵ With regard to the question of Abelard and the composition of his *planctus*, which are all songs of lamentation put into the mouths of different more or less mythical biblical personalities, it is interesting to observe that the same Old Testament figures are mentioned by St Paul in his letter to the Hebrews as examples of persons who turned their weakness into strength. We recall how St Paul regrets that he himself had no time to tell the story of these persons:

Et quid adhuc dicam, deficiet enim me tempus enarrantem de Gedeon, Barac, Samson, Iepthae, David et Samuel, et prophetis, qui per fidem devicerunt regna, operati sunt iustitiam, adepti sunt repromissiones, obturaverunt ora leonum, extinxerunt impetum ignis, effugerunt aciem gladii, convaluerunt de infirmitate (Heb. 11. 32–35).

(Time is too short for me to tell the stories of Gideon, Barak, Samson, and Jephthah, of David and Samuel and the prophets. Through faith they overthrow kingdoms, establish justice, saw God's promises fulfilled. They muzzled ravenous lions, quenched the fury of fire, escaped death by the sword. Their weakness was turned to strength.)

'Peter Abaelard as Musician', *Musical Quarterly*, 55 (1969), 295–312 and 464–86; Peter Dronke, 'Peter Abelard: Planctus and Satire', in *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages* (London: Westfield College, 1986), pp. 114–49, 203–09; Annelies Wouters, 'Une larme pour Abner: une lamentation de l'Ancien Testament remaniée par Pierre Abélard', in *Pierre Abélard: colloque international de Nantes* (see n. 51, above), pp. 295–306; Annelies Wouters, '"Abner Fidelissime": Abelard's Version of a Biblical Lament', in *The Poetic and Musical Legacy of Heloise and Abelard: An Anthology of Essays by Various Authors*, ed. by Marc Stewart and David Wulstan, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen, 78 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediæval Music, 2003), pp. 60–66; Juanita Feros Ruys, 'Planctus magnus quam cantici: The Generic Significance of Abelard's *planctus*', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 11 (2002), 37–44; Willemien Otten, 'The Poetics of Biblical Tragedy in Abelard's *Planctus*', in *Poetry and Exegesis in Premodern Latin Christianity: The Encounter between Classical and Christian Strategies of Interpretation*, ed. by Willemien Otten and Karla Pollmann, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, 87 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 245–61; and Gilbert Dahan, 'La Matière biblique dans le *planctus* de Dina de Pierre Abélard', in *Hortus troporum: florilegium in honorem Gunilla Iversen*, ed. by Alexander Andrée and Erika Kihlman, SLS, 54 (2008), 255–67.

⁸⁵ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 288, fols 63^v–64^v, edited in Abelard, *I planctus*.

Abelard, however, in a way answered the challenge offered by Paul, and in turn took the time to tell the story of precisely these persons in the *planctus* of Gideon, Samson, Jephthah, David, and others. Normally, a *planctus* is not part of the liturgy. The four songs presented together in the Nevers collection, however, presumably were intended to have some place and function in the liturgy, albeit an unspecified one, and might even have been used as sequences of a new kind.

'*Virgines caste*'

Although the text of *Virgines caste* has been edited and studied elsewhere, we present the text in the anthology (no. XVI) as it is found in the Nevers source. In its use of words from the Song of Songs it can be seen at once as a song of love between the daughters of Zion and the Lord, between the queen and the king, between the church and the faithful, and between the virgins and the Spouse, celebrating at the same time the dedication of a church and the dedication of virgins.

Whereas the attribution to Abelard is reasonably certain for the songs of lamentation, the joyful songs playing on the Song of Songs have not been ascribed to him unequivocally.⁸⁶ However, earlier studies on these pieces, such as the fundamental analysis of *Virgines caste* made by Peter Dronke, were not based on this earliest source but on later manuscripts, where the four pieces are not grouped together as here. In his earlier study as well as in a recent study summarizing the old, Dronke has argued on the basis of its versification that *Virgines caste* is a sequence from the 'transitional period', citing its unstressed rhymes and assonances 'characteristic of the second half of the eleventh century',⁸⁷ while also pointing out that its compositional form rather reminds of one of Abelard's *planctus*:

Virgines caste, if it belongs to the later eleventh century, would then be another precious testimony to a line of experiments that links the 'archaic' sequences to the *lais*. It is

⁸⁶ See Peter Dronke, '*Virgines castae*', in *Lateinische Dichtungen des X. und XI. Jahrhunderts: Festgabe für Walter Bulst* (Heidelberg: Schneider, 1981), pp. 93–118 (repr. in Dronke, *Latin and Vernacular Poets of the Middle Ages*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 352 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1991), art. VI). Drawing on arguments first raised by Chrysogonus Waddell, Thomas J. Bell argues for Abelard's authorship of both *Epithalamica* and *Virgines caste* in *Peter Abelard after Marriage: The Spiritual Direction of Heloise and her Nuns through Liturgical Song*, Cistercian Studies Series, 211 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2007).

⁸⁷ Dronke and Orlandi, 'New Works by Abelard and Heloise?', p. 128.

'transitional', yet not towards the sequences of the Victorine type that became so popular liturgically, but rather towards Abelard's *Planctus* and towards the tradition of *lai lyrique* and *Leich* that grows rich from c.1150 onwards.⁸⁸

It seems to me just as possible that a gifted poet, as it were an Abelard, might easily have chosen to use this archaizing literary form, rhythmic and with simple rhymes and assonances, in opposition to the new, richly rhymed Parisian sequences. Such a choice would better agree with an ambition to adapt the texts to their specific users and performers. We have seen such ideas expressed by Abelard, for instance, when he described his intentions for the sermons and hymns for the Paraclete.⁸⁹ The choice of form and versification might just as well be seen as a conscious way of writing in opposition to the regular metre and rich rhymes used by the Victorines in the sequences to which we will presently turn.

What we meet in *Virgines caste* is a song opening with the joyful exhortation the virgins sing in praise of the Spouse, for the church to sing in praise of Christ. The language, for instance in the strophes describing the bride resting in the bed at the side of the King ('iuncto latere'), is close to that used by Abelard in his sermons for the Paraclete, cited above ('Ista iuncto latere sponso familiarissime adheret'):

3a	Hec est adextrix assistens regis, illa regina,	3b	Iuncto latere sola cum rege precedit ipsa
8b	Dormit in illis Christus cum ipsis: felix hic sompnus, requies dulcis, quo confovetur virgo fidelis inter amplexus sponsi celestis;	8c	Dextera sponsi sponsa complexa, capiti leva dormit subnixa: pervigil corde corpore dormit et sponsi grata sinu quiescit.

The Lamb resting in the arms of the virgins is described in the pastoral language of the Song of Songs:

15a	Inter mammas virginum collocat cubiculum.	15b	In earum pectore cubat in meridie,
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⁸⁸ Dronke, '*Virgines castae*', p. 97. Dronke has repeated these observations more recently (Dronke and Orlandi, 'New Works by Abelard and Heloise?', p. 132).

⁸⁹ PL, CLXXVIII, cols 379–80. See the discussion above, p. 208.

The author celebrates the hosts of virgins who have left the world to dedicate themselves to serving the Lord. He exemplifies these dedicated women by reference to a series of strong women, Thecla, Agnes, Lucy, and Agatha:

5b Talis erat Tecla,
 Agnes et Lucia,
 Agathes et multa
 virginum caterva.

The theme of dedication is continued in the following pair of strophes, where the author vaguely recalls the descriptions of the Temple of Solomon, the figure of the dedication of a church, and celebrates the daughters of Tyre who brought their gifts to the King:

6a Filie Tiri, munera ferentes et in his regis vultum deprecantes,	6b Hostias habent cunctis puriores, corpore munde, corde sanctiores.
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On the grounds that *Virgines castae* contains the names of Thecla, Agnes, Agatha, and Lucy, who are also addressed in an Ambrosian litany, Dronke has suggested that the piece could be the work of an anonymous poet possibly from northern Italy.⁹⁰ However, it is worthy of note that these virgins, and in particular Thecla, said to have been a companion of St Paul, had all left their families to become the spouse of Christ. They are praised in treatises on virgins and virginity by many writers from Tertullian and St Ambrose onward. St Jerome writes, for instance, ‘talis Thecla virgo concionantem Paulum, quod ipsa Thecla docendi ac baptizandi munus exercuit’.⁹¹ In the Vita of St Cyr, the patron of Nevers, we read of how Thecla rushes into the arms of her beloved, ‘Tunc Thecla in tuos laeta volabat amplexus’.⁹² The repertory in the Nevers manuscript furthermore contains

⁹⁰ Dronke, ‘*Virgines castae*’, p. 96.

⁹¹ See *Analecta Bollandiana*, 43 (1925), 49–57.

⁹² *Vita sancti Cypriani*, PL, IV, col. 180: ‘Displicet enim mihi Justina super fenestram sedens, dum diaconum Praelium de Evangelio disserentem audit, ac per fenestram quotidie ab eodem diacono solita edoceri. Idem de Thecla Paulum audiente dictum in hujus virginis Vita.’ Tertullian, *Liber de baptismo*, cap. 17, PL, I, col. 1219: ‘Ea est talis: Thecla virgo concionantem Paulum [...] Paulo adscriptum, male qui in eo relatum esse volunt, quod Thecla ipsa docendi ac baptizandi munus exercuerit.’ Jerome, *Epistula XXII ad Eustochium*: ‘tunc Thecla in tuos laeta uolabit amplexus. tunc et ipse sponsus occurret et dicet: surge, ueni, proxima mea, speciosa mea, columba mea, quia ecce hiemps transiit, pluuia abiit sibi. tunc angeli mirabuntur et dicent: quae est ista prospiciens quasi diluculum, speciosa ut luna, electa ut sol? uidebunt te filiae et laudabunt te reginae et concubinae te praedicabunt. tunc et alius castitatis chorus occurret’: *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi*

the sequence for St Lucy, *Prefulgida dicito margarita* (fol. 63^r). The author of *Virgines caste* surely knew of these virgins from these well-known treatises on virgins and virginity, and it seems unnecessary to conclude that the presence of their names in a local Italian liturgy should indicate an Italian origin for the text.

In his lucid analysis of the text, Dronke points at some parallels between *Virgines caste* and the archaizing traits in Abelard's *planctus* and further writes:

Abelard's *Planctus*, composed in the 1130s, are an unusual instance of a corpus of songs that are in sequence form, or that take the sequence form as a point of departure, and yet still show a studied avoidance of stressed rhyme. Abelard may indeed have chosen this as an archaizing technique, one of many ways of setting these compositions apart from the Parisian repertoire of the time.⁹³

It must be underlined that the Nevers manuscript was not known to Dronke when he first made this remark, and he had not seen *Virgines caste* placed together with these other pieces and the new rhymed sequences.⁹⁴ I agree absolutely with Dronke's observation that the *planctus* seem to be written in opposition to the Victorine sequences of the time. Following this observation, and considering the placement of the four pieces in the Nevers collection, I would even claim the possibility that these pieces might have been consciously written in a slightly archaic style, like many of Abelard's hymns. In its variegated poetic form and with a playful, elegant, and learned way of referring to the biblical sources, *Virgines caste* seems to exhibit its author's opposition to the other kinds of systematically exegetical sequences of the Victorine style of the time.

'Epithalamica dic sponsa'

Leaving aside the songs of lament, the last of the four songs in the series is the strophic composition *Epithalamica* for Easter.⁹⁵ In its references to pastoral scenes

Epistulae, ed. by Isidore Hilberg, 3 vols, CSEL, 54–56 (1910–18), reprinted in 4 vols with an index by Margit Kamptner (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996), I, 209–10 (PL, XXII, cols 424–25). We also recall that Lucia was the name of Abelard's mother.

⁹³ Dronke, *'Virgines castae'*, p. 97; see also his 'New Works by Abelard and Heloise?', p. 125.

⁹⁴ Dronke mentions Blume's reference to another twelfth-century manuscript in Zurich (Zentralbibliothek Rh. 21), but this dates from the end of the century; Guido Maria Dreves, *Ein Jahrtausend lateinischer Hymnendichtung*, ed. by Clemens Blume, 2 vols (Leipzig: Reiland, 1908), II, 445–47.

⁹⁵ BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fols 90^v–91^v; AH, VIII, 45. See the anthology below, no. XVII, for text, music, and translation, and Waddell, *'Epithalamica'*, p. 255, who insists on the half-rhyme as 'one of the hallmarks of Abelard's sequences'. See also William Flynn's discussion, pp. 341–48, below,

and the exhortations to the bride that follow, the author here plays with the Song of Songs as in *Virgines caste*, on occasion even in direct quotation:

et dilectus meus loquitur mihi surge propera amica mea formosa mea et veni; iam enim hiemps transiit; imber abiit et recessit; flores apparuerunt in terra; tempus putationis advenit vox turturis audita est in terra nostra; ficus protulit grossos suos et vineae florent dederunt odorem; surge amica mea speciosa mea et veni' [Cant. 2. 13].

Just as in Easter hymns in the older tradition of Fortunatus and Sedulius Scottus, studied in a previous chapter, the author connects the theme of resurrection with that of springtime, as in the following strophes, where a middle strophe is inserted between two refrains in the same way as we have seen in *Virgines caste* above:

- 4a. 'Amica surge propera,
columba nitens avola!'
5. Horrens enim hyens iam transiit,
gravis ymber recedens abiit,
Ver amenum terras aperuit
parent flores et turtur cecinit:
- 4b. 'Amica surge <propera,
columba nitens avola!>

In the third strophe, *Epithalamica* echoes verbatim the hymn for Ascension in the Paraclete Hymnary:

3. In montibus hic ecce saliens,
ecce venit colles transiliens.
Per fenestras ad me respiciens
per cancellos dicit prospiciens:
In montibus hic saliens
Venit colles transiliens
Sponsam vocat de montis vertice:
Surge, soror, et me iam sequere.

Ad paternum palatium,
Ad patris scandens solium,
Sponse clamat: dilecta propera,
Sede mecum in patris dextera.⁹⁶

and for a further study of *Epithalamica* Peter Dronke, 'Amour sacré et amour profane au moyen âge: témoignages lyriques et dramatiques', in *Sources of Inspiration: Studies in Literary Transformation, 400–1500*, Storia e letteratura, 196 (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1997), pp. 375–95.

⁹⁶ *Hymn Collections*, II, 67; Szövérfy, *Hymnarius Paraclitensis*, II, 133–34. See further William Flynn's contribution in the present volume, p. 343.

(He comes springing up in the mountains, running over the hills; he calls the bride from the top of the mountain: 'Arise, my sister, and follow me now to the palace of my father, to my father's throne'; he cries to the bride, 'My beloved, hurry, sit with me on my father's right side'.)

The contrast between the sorrow and tears of the night and the joy of the morning of resurrection is expressed in the paired strophes 8a–b. Again, we find a middle strophe in another metre inserted between the refrains, creating a variation in a way that is typical for all four of these songs:

8a. Risi mane,
 flevi nocte,
 mane risi,
 nocte flevi.

9. Noctem insomnem dolor duxerat,
 quem vehementem amor fecerat,
 dilatione votum creverat
 donec amantem amans visitat.

8b. Plausus die,
 plactus nocte,
 die plausus,
 nocte plactus.

Again we note that the words are paralleled in the hymn *Hec nox carissimi* in the Paraclete Breviary:

Hec nox, carissimi, nox illa flebilis,
qua comprehenditur dies a tenebris,
piis fidelium est plena lacrimis;
aquas immanitas compellit sceleris [...].

Nox illa flebilis praesensque triduum
quo demorabitur fletus ad vesperum,
donec leticie mane gratissimum
surgente Domino sit mestis redditum.⁹⁷

(This night, O dearest one, this tearful night, when the day is seized by darkness, is filled with the pious tears of the faithful; the immensity of the fault moves the waters [...]. That tearful night and the present three days when the weeping remains, may the evening come, and may the morning of joy full of grace when the Lord arises be given to the mourners.)

⁹⁷ *Hymn Collections*, II, 106–07; Szöverffy, *Hymnarius Paraclitensis*, II, 105, 109.

The final words of *Epithalamica* exhort the daughters of Zion to append a psalm to the Song of Songs of the bride and thus turn the songs of sorrow to songs of joy:

Eya, nunc comites et Syon filie,
ad sponse cantica psalmum adnectite,
quo mestis reddita sponsi presentia
convertit elegos nostros in cantica.

Like *Virgines caste*, *Epithalamica* is therefore a song closely related to the sphere of the Song of Songs. It is a song of joy, and of love between the bride and the groom, between the rejoicing church and the risen Christ. In *Epithalamica* the author creates a joyful text playing with the Song of Songs and transforms the love song into a triumphant celebration of the Resurrection.

Taken together, these two songs and the surrounding songs of lamentation *De profundis* and *Dolorum solatium* create a *copula* of songs of sorrow and joy. Thus the idea formulated by Gilbert the Universal, ‘Sunt Cantica canticorum sunt et Lamentationes lamentationum’, is actively realized in this group of pieces in the Nevers collection. *Epithalamica* may also be contrasted with the quite different way of treating the theme of the Resurrection in the same series in the Nevers repertory, namely the Easter sequence *Zima vetus*.

*‘In vetere testamentum novum latet, in novo vetus patet’:
The Victorine Sequence ‘Zima vetus’*

It is remarkable that in the same repertory where the old sequence *Fulgens preclara* is kept in its original place and where *Epithalamica* is added in the series of new pieces, the Nevers repertory should also contain the well-known sequence *Zima vetus*, that formed an early part of the Victorine repertory.⁹⁸ In *Zima vetus* the author transfers into liturgical practice the new programme cultivated by the Augustinian canons in the school of St Victor in Paris in the spirit of the Augustinian words: ‘in the Old Testament the New is hidden, in the New the Old becomes manifest’ (In vetere testamentum novum latet, in novo vetus patet).⁹⁹ In his *De sacramentis Christianae fidei* Hugh of St Victor seems to combine the

⁹⁸ BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fols 96^v–98^v; Adam of St Victor, *Sämtliche Sequenzen*, ed. by Franz Wellner (Munich: Kösel, 1955), pp. 134–41; AH, LIV, 149; Fassler, *Gothic Song*, pp. 297–302. For text, music, and translation, see the anthology below, no. XVIII.

⁹⁹ Augustine, *Sermo IV de Pascha*, PL, XLVI, col. 829.

Augustinian words with John Scottus Eriugena's thoughts on the function of images and demonstrates how he regards the visible world as a sign or sacrament under which the invisible is everywhere to be discerned, just as in the Eucharist the visible bread and wine are the signs of the real and invisible Presence.

- | | | | |
|-------|---|----|---|
| 1a | Zima vetus expurgetur,
ut sincere celebretur
nova resurrectio. | 1b | Haec est dies nostre spei
huius mira vis diei
legis testimonio. |
| [...] | | | |
| 3b | Lex est umbra futurorum,
Christus finis promissorum,
qui consummat omnia. | | |

In *Zima vetus* we see the meaning of the day of resurrection demonstrated through the testimony of the Old Law, 'legis testimonio' (1b). Christ is the fulfilment of the promises, and the one who sums up all, 'finis promissorum qui consummat omnia' (4a). The author of the sequence explains programmatically how the Old Testament foreshadows the future, 'Lex est umbra futurorum' (4a). This programme is already expressed in the opening words where the 'Zima vetus' is set in apposition to 'nova resurrectio' (1a).

In strophe 3b, 'Christus finis promissorum, qui consummat omnia' describing how the promises of the old law have perfectly fulfilled in the new, retains the words of Christ on the Cross: 'dixit "consummatum est" et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum' (John 19. 30), a passage recalled in one of Abelard's Easter hymns:

Heri dominica facta est passio
et consummata est nostra redemptio
ut 'consummatum est' hoc in mysterio
dictum intelligi possit a Domino.¹⁰⁰

(Yesterday was the day of the Passion of the Lord, and our redemption was fulfilled; so that this mystic saying 'it is fulfilled' could be understood only by the Lord.)

In contrast to *Epithalamica*, and to the old ninth-century Easter sequence *Fulgens preclara*, where the words follow the flow of melismas in paired non-rhymed strophes all ending in the vowel -a, the Victorine sequence *Zima vetus* is rather formed in the manner of a strophic hymn, in a regular metre of paroxytone lines of eight syllables (8p) and proparoxytone verses of seven syllables (7pp).¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ *Sabbato sancto ad Nocturnos*, in *Hymn Collections from the Paraclete*, II, 154.

¹⁰¹ Norberg, *Introduction à la versification*, pp. 116–17.

Where the opening words in the older sequence tradition and in tropes generally consist in an exhortation to take part in the joyful celebration and singing, the exhortation is here not expressed until the second half-strophe. Here it is underlined in the repeated 'haec est dies' (1b and 3b), and the anaphoric repetition of 'iam' (3a). Strophe 3b contains the words of the Psalm sung at every Sunday Vespers, and in the gradual chant for Easter Day: 'Haec est dies quam fecit dominus: exultemus et laetemur in ea' (Ps. 118. 24). Using Old Testament passages such as 'vos autem tulit Dominus et eduxit de fornace ferrea Aegypti' (Deut. 4. 20), the author refers to the miraculous day of Resurrection which liberated the Hebrew people: 'Hebreos liberavit de fornace ferrea' (2a) (the people whom the Lord brought out of Egypt, and from the smelting-furnace):

ad amaritudinem perducebant vitam eorum operibus duris luti et lateris omnique famulatu quo in terrae operibus premebatur [Exod. 1. 14].

cur ita agis contra servos tuos paleae non dantur nobis et lateres similiter imperantur en famuli tui caedimur et iniuste agatur contra populum tuum [Exod. 5. 15–16].

Isaac, whose name means 'laughter', designates Christ as the joy of life: 'vite signat gaudium.' 'The child who in our form is called laughter' (Puer nostri forma risus; 5a) is Isaac, who is a type for Christ because his name signifies laughter, and Christ brought us joy:

cecidit Abraham in faciem et risit dicens in corde suo putasne centenario nascetur filius et Sara nonagenaria pariet [Gen. 17. 7].

dixitque Sara risum fecit mihi Deus circumque audierit conridebit mihi' [Gen. 21. 6].

5a Puer, nostri forma risus,
pro quo vervex est occisus,
vite signat gaudium.

5b Ioseph exit de cisterna,
Christus redit ad superna
post mortis supplicium.

When Isaac is sent to carry the wood for the offering he is also a type of Christ bearing his cross:

aedificavit altare et desuper ligna composuit; cumque conligasset Isaak filium suum posuit eum in altare super struem lignorum extenditque manum et arripuit gladium ut immolaret filium [Gen. 22. 9–10].

In the same passage we also recognize the word *ablactatus* describing the newly weaned son whom Abraham was willing to offer: 'crevit igitur puer et ablactatus est fecitque Abraham grande convivium in die ablactationis eius' (Gen. 21. 8).

In strophe 5b, 'Ioseph exit de cisterna', Joseph, who was brought out of the depths of the pit, and who was no longer there when they searched for him, prefigures Christ who returned to heaven after the Resurrection, referring to the

biblical passage: 'extrahentes eum de cisterna vendiderunt Ismahelitis viginti argenteis qui duxerunt eum in Aegyptum reversusque Ruben ad cisternam non invenerunt puerum' (Gen. 37. 28–29).

In 6a, 'Sic dracones Pharaones draco vorat', Christ is portrayed as the serpent which devours the serpents of Pharaoh, in an image from the Exodus: 'tulitque Aaron virgam coram Pharaeo et servis eius quae versa est in colubrum' (Exod. 7. 10), and 'proieceruntque singuli virgas suas quae versae sunt in dracones sed devoravit virga Aaron virgas eorum' (Exod. 7. 12). The iron snake brought as a sign, the serpent of Moses that was lifted up in the wilderness for the deliverance of men, is Christ: 'et locutus est dominus ad eum: fac serpentem et pone eum pro signo; qui percussus aspexerit eum vivet; fecit ergo Moses serpentem aeneum et posuit pro signo quem cum percussi aspiceret sanabantur' (Num. 21. 8–9). This passage is referred to by Christ himself in the Gospel, 'et sicut Moses exaltavit serpentem in deserto ita exaltari oportet Filium hominis ut omnis qui credit in ipso non pereat' (John 3. 14–15).

6a Sic dracones Pharaonis
draco vorat, a draconis
inmunis malicia,

6b Quos ignitus vulnerat,
hos serpentis liberat
enei presentia.

In strophe 8a the author refers to Elisha, derided by the children for his baldness, and thus used as the figure for Christ being mocked by the Jews.

8a Irrisores Helisei,
dum conscendit domum Dei,
zelum calvi sentiunt.

8b David arrepticus,
hyrcus emissarius
et passer effugiunt.

Further, the vengeance of Elisha foretold the woes that overtook them in the days of Vespasian and Titus (IV Reg. 3. 23–24). The insane David, 'David arrepticus' (8b), is used as an image of Christ in disguise:

surrexit itaque David et fugit in die illa a facie Saul et venit ad Achis regem Geth [...] dixeruntque ei servi Achis: numquid non iste est David rex terrae [...] et ait Achis ad servos suos vidistis hominem insanum [I Sam. 21. 10–14].

David's madness prefigures Christ, of whom it was said, 'He is beside himself, 'in furorem versus est' (Mic. 3. 21). At the same time he is God disguised, dressed in human body. In strophe 6b, Samson who in Maxilla lifted up the Gates of Gaza is a type of the rising Lord who breaks the gates of hell:

dormivit autem Samson usque ad noctis medium et inde consurgens adprehendit ambas portae fores cum postibus suis et sera inpositasque umeris portavit ad verticem montis qui respicit hebron; post hac amavit mulierem quae habitabat in valle Sorech et vocabatur Dalila [Judg. 16. 3–4].

He is also the one who took his bride from another tribe, and thus Christ is *sponsus* of the *Ecclesia*, and not of the Synagogue.

In strophes 10a–b, ‘Leo fortis’, Christ is prefigured as the Lion of Judah from Genesis:

catulus leonis Iuda a praeda fili mi ascendistis requescens accubuisti ut leo et quasi leaena
quis suscitabit eum [Gen. 49. 9].

10a Sic de Iuda leo fortis
fractis portis dire mortis
die surgens tercia,

10b Rugiente voce patris,
ad superne sinum matris
tot revexit spolia.

The theme of the risen lion from the tribe of Judah signifying Christ rising from death is present already in the ninth-century Easter sequence *Fulgens preclara* (‘Leo fortis de tribu Iuda’), and commented upon by John Scottus, as we have seen in an earlier chapter.¹⁰²

In the twelfth century, Hugh of St Victor follows John Scottus in commenting on this figure in his *Didascalicon* as well as in his prologue to *De sacramentis*.¹⁰³ At the same time Bernard of Clairvaux begins his Easter sermons with the words ‘Vicit leo de tribu Iuda’.¹⁰⁴ Likewise, we recall that the figure of the lion rising on the third day at the roaring voice of his father, ‘die surgens tercia rugiente voce patris’, is repeatedly developed by Abelard in the Paraclete Hymnal, describing how the young lion, ‘leonis catulus’, sleeps for three days and is wakened by the roar of his father, recalling the words from Genesis:¹⁰⁵

Dormit hoc triduo leonis catulus,
Sicut predixerat sermo propheticus,
donec hunc suscitet rugitus patrius
Cum dies venerit, quo fit hoc, tertius.¹⁰⁶

The lion’s whelp sleeps for three days, as the prophetic word foretold, until the roar of the father wakens him, when the day has come when this should be, that is, the third day: ‘Leonis catulum iudam quis suscitet?’ (The whelp of the Lion of Judah, who shall wake him up?).¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² See pp. 32–33, above.

¹⁰³ *Hugonis de Sancto Victore Didascalicon*, PL, CLXXVI, cols 790–91; see also *Libri prioris de sacramentis prologus*, PL, CLXXVI, col. 185.

¹⁰⁴ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermo I in Resurrectione Domini*; SBO, v, 73.

¹⁰⁵ See also William Flynn, p. 333, below.

¹⁰⁶ *Sabbato sancto in Laudibus Matutinis*, in *Hymn Collections*, II, 155; Szövérfy, *Hymnarius Paraclitensis*, II, 120–21.

¹⁰⁷ *Sabbato sancto ad Primam*, in *Hymn Collections*, II, 156.

Ascensus catuli, quo predam eruit,
fuit cum dominus crucem ascenderit,
In qua nos redimens, cum exspiraverit,
Iustos de tartaro confestim eripit.¹⁰⁸

The ascension of the lion's whelp when he should destroy the prey was when the Lord ascended on the Cross; the moment when he died there redeeming us, he rescued the righteous from Tartarus.

Adhuc ut dormiens pausat leunculus,
sed ut evigilet, prope est terminus
sompni quam funeris dicendus potius,
velox dominice mortis est transitus.¹⁰⁹

(Still asleep, the little lion rests, but the end of the sleep, rather to be called the end of death, is near, when he shall wake up; so quick is the passing of the Lord's death.)

Further, Jonah, for three days in the whale's belly (11a) is the sign of the true Jonah, 'veri Ione signativum', who rose on the third day from the depth of the grave, remembering the passage in Jonah that is taken up by St Matthew:

et erat Iona in ventre piscis tribus diebus et tribus noctibus; et oravit Iona ad Dominum Deum suum de utero piscis; et dixit clamavi de tribulatione mea ad Dominum et exaudivit me; de ventre inferni clamavi et exaudisti vocem meam [Jon 2. 1–3].

sicut enim fuit Ionas in ventre ceti tribus diebus et tribus noctibus sic erit Filius hominis in corde terrae tribus diebus et tribus noctibus [Matt. 12. 40].

In strophe 11b, Christ is the bunch of grapes trodden in the wine-press of the Passion, but flourishing again in his Resurrection, 'Botrus Cyprī dilectus meus mihi in vineis Engaddi' (Cant. 1. 13).

11a Cetus Ionam fugitivum,
veri Ione signativum.
post tres dies reddit vivum
de ventris angustia.

11b Botrus Cipri reflorescit,
dilatatur et excrecit,
synagoge flos marcescit
et floret ecclesia.

The final strophes are also related to the Songs of Songs. The contrasts between the sorrow of the night and the joy of the morning can be seen as another more complex way of expressing the same sentiments as the words 'flevi nocte, risi mane' in *Epithalamica*:

¹⁰⁸ *Sabbato sancto ad Tertiam*, in *Hymn Collections*, II, 157.

¹⁰⁹ *Sabbato sancto ad Nonam*, in *Hymn Collections*, II, 158.

- | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|--|
| 12a | Mane novum, mane letum
vespertinum tergat fletum;
quia vita vicit letum
tempus est letitie. | 12b | Mors et Christus confluxere,
resurrexit Christus vere,
et cum Christo surrexere
multi testes gloriae. |
| 13a | Iesu victor, Iesu vita,
Iesu vite via trita,
cuius morte mors sopita,
ad paschalem nos invita
mensam cum leticia. | 13b | Vive panis, vivax unda,
vera vitis et fecunda,
tu nos pasce, tu nos munda,
et a morte nos secunda
tua salvet gracia. |

Amen.

In the final strophe Christ is addressed as the nourishing living bread, *panis vive* (13b). The author uses the unusual form ‘zima’ as opposed to ‘azyma’ when referring to the Passover, the old Hebrew feast of the unleavened bread, as described in the biblical texts: ‘dies festus azymorum qui dicitur pascha’ (Luke 22. 1), or ‘in cunctis habitaculis vestris edetis azyma’ (Gen. 12. 20), an expression used again in the First Letter to the Corinthians: ‘Expurgate vetus fermentum ut sitis nova conspersio sicut estis azymi etenim pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus’ (I Cor. 5. 7).

The author of the new sequence *Zima vetus* thus builds up his text as a verbal construction, a solid building where the stones are taken from a large number of different biblical passages one after the other. The list below roughly summarizes some of the central biblical passages used as prefigurations; most of them are taken from the Pentateuch and confirmed by passages from the Gospels and Pauline letters:

- 1a–b: Exod. 12. 20; Lev. 2; Luke 22. 1; I Cor. 5. 7
- 2a–b: Exod. 1. 14; Exod. 14–15; Deut. 4. 20; Dan. 3. 1–30; Exod. 5. 15–16
- 3a–b: Ps. 117. 24; John 19. 30
- 4a–b: Gen. 17. 17; Gen. 21. 6; Gen. 22. 9–10; Gen. 22. 13; Gen. 37. 28–29
- 5a–b: Exod. 7. 10–12; Num. 21. 4–9; Job 40. 19; John 3. 14–15
- 6a–b: IV Reg. 3. 23–24; Mark 3. 21; I Sam. 21. 10–11, 14; Judg. 16. 3–4
- 7a–b: Gen. 49. 9
- 8a–b: Jon. 2. 1–3; Matt. 12. 40; I Cor 1. 13
- 9a–b: Ps. 29; Mark 15
- 10a–b: John 14. 6; John 6. 35; Num. 20. 19

Even the twelfth-century participants in the liturgy would have been stretched to recognize the whole cumulation of biblical references in texts such as this. It is therefore far from astonishing that this kind of sequence in turn created a need for new textual interpretation of the sequence itself. Thus toward the end of the twelfth century, Alain de Lille, the famous master teaching in Paris at the time, devoted several passages in his *Sententiae*, as well as in his grammatical commentary, the *Distinctiones*, to commenting on difficult words and passages of the sequence *Zima vetus*. There he treats the interpretation of such words as *azima*,¹¹⁰ *maxilla*,¹¹¹ *bothrus*,¹¹² *puer ablactatus*, and *caverna*.¹¹³ Alain is also the

¹¹⁰ Alain de Lille, *Distinctiones*, PL, CCX, cols 716–18: ‘*Azyma* dicitur proprie panis sine fermento, ab *a* quod est sine et *zyma* quod est fermentum; unde dicitur in Marco: *Erant autem dies azymorum*, id est dies in quibus non licebat uti fermento; in hoc loco est neutrius generi, *haec azyma, horum azymorum*; *azyma* significat panem azymum, id est panem sine fermento. Dicitur etiam festum paschale, unde in Evangelio: *Erat azyma post biduum*, et est feminini generis et declinatur *haec azyma, huius azymae*. Quandoque est adjectivum: *azymus, a, um*, ut in Veteri Testamento: *Comederunt azymos panes*. Dicitur etiam sanctus, unde Apostolus: *Expurgate vetus fermentum*, etc., *sicut estis azymi*, id est sancti et a vitiis purgati, et tunc est masculini generis: *hi azymi, horum azymorum*. Quandoque etiam significat opus bonum, unde Apostolus: *Non in fermento veteri* etc., *sed in azymis sinceritatis et veritatis*.’ Alain frequently refers to the sequence *Zima vetus*, which he attributes to *magister Adamus, quidam rhythmicus, Johannes*, and others. Alain comments on the opposition between the leavened and the unleavened, *zima* and *azima*, both in the *Distinctiones* (PL, CCX, col. 770) and in his *Sententiae* (PL, CCX, col. 212).

¹¹¹ Alain de Lille, *Distinctiones*, PL, CCX, col. 852: ‘*Maxilla*, proprie dicitur etiam spirituale vel temporale; unde in Evangelio: *Si percusserit te in maxillam dexteram*, etc., id est si aliquis voluerit te in spiritualibus, potius te permittas laedi in temporalibus quam in spiritualibus. Dicitur potestas diaboli, unde legitur in Job maxillam serpentis perforatam esse, id est diaboli potestatem infirmatam fuisse, per Christi adventum; quae eleganter dicitur ‘in maxilla’, quia, sicut trajicitur cibus per maxillam ut incorporetur, ita diabolus potestate sua sibi malos incorporat; unde quidam rhythmicus ait: Anguem forat in maxilla, | Christus hamus et armilla, | in cavernam reguli | manum mittit ablactatus | et sic fugit exturbatus | vetus hospes saeculi.’

¹¹² Alain de Lille, *Distinctiones*, PL, CCX, col. 722: ‘*Bothrus* proprie dicitur gemmula illa quae in vere apparet in vite, unde in cantico Moysi: *Uva corum uva fellis et botrus amarissimus*. Dicitur gentilis populus, unde in sequentia magistri Adami: Botrus Cipri refrigescit, | dilatatur et excrescit, | Synagoge flos marcescit, | et floret Ecclesia. Bothrus proprie dicitur gemmula illa quae in vere apparet in vite, unde in cantico Moysi: *Uva corum uva fellis et botrus amarissimus*. Dicitur gentilis populus, unde in sequentia magistri Adami: Botrus Cipri refrigescit, | dilatatur et excrescit, | Synagoge flos marcescit, | et floret Ecclesia. Dicitur Christus in Canticis: Botrus Cypr dilectus meus mihi, id est comparabilis botro.’

¹¹³ Alain de Lille, *Distinctiones*, PL, CCX, col. 735: ‘Dicitur pravam cor hominis quod inhabitabat diabolus, unde Isaia: *Puer ablactatus, mittens manum in cavernam reguli*; id est Christus, postquam ablactatus fuerit, extrahet hominem a daemonis potestate, etc.; vel Christus

author of a systematic commentary on the sequence on the angels, *Ad celebres rex*, also found in the Nevers repertory.¹¹⁴ And as Erika Kihlman makes clear in the present volume, sequence commentaries came into being as a new literary genre toward the end of the twelfth century.¹¹⁵

Two New Sequences for the Dedication

Similar literary strategies as in *Zima vetus* are followed in various ways in the two new sequences for dedication, *Rex Salomon* and *Quam dilecta*. *Rex Salomon* immediately follows *Epithalamica* in the manuscript. In one sense, this dedication sequence continues the theme of a royal epithalamium with the virgins entering the chamber of the groom as in Psalm 44. The sequence has been attributed to Adam of St Victor, but in fact it was not part of the repertory of St Victor until later, and then as a sequence for the octave.¹¹⁶ The Nevers manuscript is once again our earliest source, although the older, traditional part of the Nevers repertory keeps *Ad templi huius* as the sequence for the dedication. As we recall in the repertory from the time of Charles the Bald, the sequence *Letetur et concrepet*, linked to the singing of the Alleluia, was the text that brought the scene of King Solomon sitting in his temple in Jerusalem to life in the royal chapel in Compiègne. There, the sequence presented the King as a visible image of the invisible heavenly king.

'Rex Salomon'

In contrast to the old sequences, the author of the twelfth-century sequence *Rex Salomon* in the newer repertory of Nevers is not concerned with expressing the meaning and spiritual function of the singing in itself, and does not express any

ejiciens diabolum in caverna reguli, id est ab homine pravo quem habitabit Lucifer, qui dicitur regulus; unde magister Adamus: Anguem forat in maxilla, | Christus hamus et armilla, | in cavernam reguli. | Manum mittit ablactations | et sic fugit exturbatus | vetus hospes saeculi. "Hamus" dicit iuxta illud: *Quis capiet Leviathan hamo*, ad idem dicit magister: "Manum mittit ablactatus".

¹¹⁴ This commentary is edited by Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille: textes inédits, avec une introduction sur sa vie et ses œuvres*, Études de philosophie médiévale, 552 (Paris: Vrin, 1965), pp. 196–217.

¹¹⁵ See Erika Kihlman, *Expositiones sequentiarum: Medieval Sequence Commentaries and Prologues; Editions with Introductions*, SLS, 53 (2006), and pp. 381–94, below.

¹¹⁶ See Fassler, *Gothic Song*, pp. 326–28.

exhortation to sing Alleluia.¹¹⁷ Here we find a sequence that seems to have a totally different liturgical function, namely of providing a biblical exegesis in a text that is generally built up in strophes of two eight-syllable paroxytone verses and a seven-syllable proparoxytone verse (8p+8p+7pp), the commonest form of versification of the time. (Only strophe 3b contains four-syllable paroxytone verses, which serves this central strophe in the text.)

1a Rex Salomon fecit templum,
 quorum instar et exemplum:
 Christus et Ecclesia,

The natural basis for this text is found in its liturgical context, between two biblical readings of the day, the first from the Third Book of Kings describing King Solomon constructing the Temple in Jerusalem by means of the treasures of his father, David, and the second St Paul's declaration that 'You are the temple of God', presenting Christ as the foundation of the church:

secundum gratiam Dei quae data est mihi ut sapiens architectus fundamentum posui alius autem superaedificat unusquisque autem videat quomodo superaedificet fundamentum enim aliud nemo potest ponere praeter id quod positum est qui est Christus Iesus [I Cor. 3. 10–11].

The author collects Old Testament passages that present Solomon and the Temple as prefiguring Christ and the Christian Church. In the a-strophes he generally provides prefigurations in passages describing Solomon's construction of the Temple and its artful ornaments as in Kings (III Reg. 5–6), as well as using references to the prophet Ezra (I Ezra 6), and the royal epithalamium in Psalm 44. Thus the a-strophes provide the senses *ad litteram*, while the b-strophes present their allegorical and moral interpretations, introduced by such expressions as 'hic est', 'est', 'intellecta fide recta', 'signat', 'sunt significantia', or simply the explicative 'nam'.

Templum:

1a: III Reg. 5–6; I Cor. 3. 11

2a: III Reg. 5. 17; III Reg. 5. 6–7

Ecclesia:

1b: *hic est* Eph. 5. 25–27;
I Cor. 3. 10–11

2b: *candens flos est* I Pet. 2.
5–6, 9

¹¹⁷ BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fols 91^v–92^v; Adam of St Victor, *Sämtliche Sequenzen*, pp. 176–81; AH, LV, 31. For text, music, and translation, see the anthology below, no. XIX.

3a: III Reg. 6. 2(–10)	3b: <i>intellecta fide recta</i> Heb. 10–11; I Cor. 13. 13
4a: I Ezra 6. 3–4	4b: <i>Yma signat</i>
5a: III Reg. 6. 2–10	5b: signifies the Trinity
6a: Ps. iuxta heb. 44. 7, 9–10, 12–16	6b: <i>sunt significantia</i>
7a: I Ezra 6. 5; 3 Reg. 7. 47, 5	7b: <i>nam</i>
8a: II Reg. 5. 2	8b: III Reg. 7. 13–14(–51)
9a: <i>Templum–Ecclesia</i>	9b: I Pet. 2. 6–7

In strophe 2a, for instance, we therefore see the foundations and walls of the Temple literally described as made of marble, followed in 2b by the explanation that the cornerstone is the shining flower of chastity, the virtue and consistency of the clerics, as in the First Letter of St Peter:

2a	Quadri templi fundamenta marmora sunt, instrumenta parietum paria:	2b	Candens flos est castitatis lapis quadrus in prelatiis, virtus et constancia.
----	--	----	---

et ipsi tamquam lapides vivi superaedificamini domus spiritualis sacerdotium sanctum offerre spirituales hostias acceptabiles Deo per Iesum Christum propter quod continet in Scriptura ecce pono in Sion lapidem summum angularem electum pretiosum et qui crediderit in eo non confundetur [I Pet. 2. 5–6].

vos autem genus electum regale sacerdotium gens sancta populus acquisitionis ut virtutes adnuntietis eius qui de tenebris vos vocavit in admirabile lumen suum [I Pet. 2. 9].

3a	Longitudo, latitudo templique sublimitas	3b	Intellecta fide recta sunt fides, spes, caritas.
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Likewise, the author explains in the third pair of strophes that the outer forms, longitude, latitude, and height of the Temple when rightly understood in faith are in fact the Christian virtues in the sense of St Paul, ‘fide intellegimus aptata esse’ (Heb. 11. 3), the Christian virtues of faith, hope, and love, ‘fides spes caritas’, as expressed in the First Letter to the Corinthians (13. 13), and in the letter to the Ephesians:

Viri diligite uxores sicut et Christus dilexit ecclesiam et se ipsum tradidit pro ea ut illam sanctificaret mundans lavacro aquae in verbo ut exhiberet ipse sibi gloriosam excelsam non habentem maculam aut rugam aut aliquid eiusmodi sed ut sit sancta et immaculata [Eph. 5. 25–27].

This interpretation is also found in Hugh of St Victor’s *Arca Noe*:

Longitudo autem Ecclesiae consideratur in diuturnitate temporum, sicut latitudine in multitudine populorum. Credimus enim nullum tempus esse ab initio mundi usque ad finem saeculi, in quo non inveniatur fideles Christi.¹¹⁸

(The longitude of the church is reflected in the duration of time, as the latitude in the multitude of the people. For we believe that there is no time between the beginning of the world and the end of secular time in which there are no faithful Christians.)

The three levels in the Temple, the low, the middle, and the high, are interpreted to signify the Trinity as well as the living, the dead, and the resurrected. This is interpreted as the threefold choir singing songs of unity to the Trinity. The decorations and aromatic incense of the Temple described in strophe 6a use words from Psalm 44 and are explained as being the pleasing songs and prayers and beautiful moral qualities of the church:

6a	Templi cultus extat multus: cinnamonus odor domus, mirra, stactis, cassia,	6b	Que bonorum decus morum atque bonos precum sonos sunt significantia.
----	--	----	--

murra et gutta et cassia a vestimentis tuis a domibus eburneis ex quibus dilectaverunt te filiae regum in honore tuo adstitit regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato circumdata varietate [Ps. iuxta LXX 44. 7, 9–10].

et concupiscet rex decorem tuum quoniam ipse est dominus tuus et adorabunt eum et filiae Tyri in muneribus vultum tuum deprecabuntur divites plebis omnis gloria eius filiae regis ab intus in fimbriis aureis circumamicta varietatibus adducentur regi virgines post eam proximae eius adferentur tibi adferentur in laetitia et exultatione adducentur in templum regis [Ps. iuxta LXX 44. 12–16].

Based on the description of the Temple in Ezra (I Ezra 6. 5) and in the Books of Kings (for example III Reg. 7. 47, 51), the author explains that the golden vessels were the treasure of the Temple (7a), whereas the treasure of the church is its ministers, wise and purified in the fire of the Holy Spirit (7b):

7a	In hac casa cuncta vasa sunt ex auro, de thesauro preelecto penitus;	7b	Nam magistros et ministros deceat doctos et excoctos igne sancti Spiritus.
----	--	----	--

sed et vasa templi Dei aurea et argentea quae Nabuchodonosor tulerat de templo Hierusalem et adtulerat ea in Babylonem reddantur et referantur in templo Hierusalem in locum suum [I Ezdr. 6. 5].

et posuit Salomon omnia vasa propter multitudinem autem nimiam non erat pondus aeris [III Reg. 7. 47].

¹¹⁸ Hugh of St Victor, *De Arca Noe mystica*, PL, CLXXVI, cols 681–704 (col. 685).

et perfecit omne opus quod faciebat Salomon in domo Domini et intulit quae sanctificaverat David pater suus argentum et aurum et vasa reposuitque in thesauris domus Domini [III Reg. 7. 51].

The enumeration of the wealth and magnificence of Solomon's Temple culminates in strophes 8a and b, in the description of the treasures of David and of the work of the artists of Tyre:

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|---|
| 8a | Hec ex bonis Salomonis,
que rex David praeparavit,
fiant aedificia; | 8b | His in lignis rex insignis
iuvit Tyri, cuius viri
tractant artificia. |
|----|---|----|---|

et misit Hiram ad Salomonem dicens audiui quaecumque mandasti mihi ego faciam omnem voluntatem tuam in lignis cedrinis et abiegni [III Reg. 5. 8].

rex Salomon et tulit Hiram de Tyro filium mulieris viduae de tribu Nephtali patre Tyrion artificem aerarium et plenum sapientia et intelligentia et doctrina ad faciendum omne opus ex aere qui cum venisset ad regem Salomon fecit omne opus eius [III Reg. 7. 13–14].

Finally, the author couples the Temple and the church as founded on the pagans and the Jews, as in St Peter:

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|---|
| 9a | Nam ex gente Iudaisque,
sicut Templum, ab utrisque
conditur Ecclesia. | 9b | Christe, qui hanc et hos unis,
lapis huic et his communis,
tibi laus et gloria! |
|----|---|----|---|

Ecce, pono in Sion lapidem summum angularem electum pretiosum et qui crediderit in eo non confundetur vobis igitur honor credentibus non credentibus autem lapis quem reprobaverunt aedificantes hic factus est in caput anguli [I Pet. 2. 6–7].

Thus the Old and New Testaments come to one, Christ being the cornerstone who unites Christian believers and non-believers, *credentibus* and *non credentibus*.

'Quam dilecta tabernacula'

After *Rex Salomon* follows *Quam dilecta tabernacula*, another sequence for the dedication.¹¹⁹ As with the other pieces cited above, the Nevers manuscript is the earliest known source for this sequence. At St Victor *Quam dilecta tabernacula* is found in later sources, to be sung for the Octave of the Dedication.

As before, this sequence is formed in verses of 8p 8p 7pp. As with *Zima vetus*, the first strophes recall the words of the Psalter and the Gospels. The opening

¹¹⁹ BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fols 92^v–94^v. For text, music, and translation, see the anthology below, no. XX; see also Marie-Noël Colette's study, pp. 272–75, below.

words, *Quam dilecta tabernacula*, are taken from Psalm 83, also used for the gradual responsory of the dedication. The sequence ends in the exhortation to sing the word Alleluia. In effect, it begins and ends in the manner of a sequence from the old tradition, though in a versified and rhymed form. Just as in *Zima vetus* and *Rex Salomon*, the central portion (3b–11b) is based on passages taken from the Law of the Old Testament. Again, the author constantly underlines the connection between the old and the new, explaining how the foundations laid by the univocal forerunners in the Old Testament, ‘per concinna sacramenta umbre precurrentia’ (3a), are fulfilled in the New. The line of prefigurations ends in the conclusion that the day of grace has revealed what was hidden behind the obscure prefigurations: ‘Sic obscura que figura obumbravit reseravit nobis dies gratie’ (12a).

After the triumphant opening lines ‘Quam dilecta’, ‘Quam electi’, ‘Quam decora’, the author enumerates a long series of prefigurations in the central part of the sequence describing how the Temple is being replaced by the church. It is notable that this line of biblical passages is presented in a strictly numerical order: as can be seen in the table of biblical references below, the author advances from one passage in the Law to another, collecting prefigurations from Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and the Books of Kings. The consistent order followed here recalls the prescriptions of Hugh of St Victor concerning the correct order to follow when reading and commenting on biblical texts:¹²⁰

- | | |
|-------|------------------------------------|
| 1: | Ps. 83. 2 |
| 2a–b: | III Reg. 9. 1; Cant. 8. 6–7 |
| 3a: | Heb. 8. 5; Ps. 86 |
| 3b: | Gen. 2. 21 |
| 4a–b: | Gen. 6–9; Gen. 17 |
| 5a–b: | Gen. 24. 11–20; Gen. 24. 30–61 |
| 6a–b: | Gen. 28. 10–22; Gen. 29 |
| 7a–b: | Gen. 38; Exod. 2 |
| 8a–b: | Exod. 12; Exod. 14 |
| 9a–b: | Exod. 16–20; Exod. 25–31; Lev. 6–9 |

¹²⁰ Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon de studio legendi*, PL, CLXXVI, cols 739–812; ed. by Charles H. Buttmer, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin*, 10 (Washington, DC: Catholic University Press of America, 1961).

- 10a–b: II Sam. 1. 11–12; III Reg. 1. 28–2. 19
 11a–b: III Reg. 10; Cant. 1. 4; Cant. 3. 6–7
 12a–b: I Cor. 3. 10; Ps. 44. 7–10; Ps. 148–50; I Ezra 6. 3–5
 13a–b: Ps. 150. 3; Ps. 18. 6, Ps. 148; Jer. 7. 34

Through repeated use of the adverb *hic*, the author consistently underlines that what the Old Testament figures have once prefigured is taking place here and now: the past is transformed into a presence. *Here* is the place where Eve is replaced by Mary; *here* is the real ark of Noah; *here* the ageing Sarah is replaced by *Maria lactans*; *here* is Rebecca, the young foreign bride preferred to the old; *here* is Beersheba chosen as the bride of the King; *here* is the treasure of King David, the works of art by the artisans from Tyre; *here* is the beloved of the Song of Songs; and *here* the virgins are finally invited to join in singing the epithalamium. The sequence ends by telling that the day of grace has revealed the secrets hidden behind the Old Testament figures, ‘obscura que figura obumbravit’, and with the final exhortation to faithful Christians — to the church, the bride — to rest beside the groom and to sing in praise of the King. *Quam dilecta* thus provides a fitting conclusion to the wealth of ideas that began in the Nevers manuscript with *Epithalamica*.

- | | | | |
|-----|--|-----|---|
| 12a | Sic obscura, que figura
obumbravit, reseravit
nobis dies gracie. | 12b | Iam in lecto cum dilecto
quiescamus et psallamus!
Adsunt enim nuptie, |
| 13a | Quarum tenet principium
in tubis epulantium
et finis per psalterium; | 13b | Sponsum millena milia
una laudent melodia
sine fine dicencia: |

Alleluia, alleluia!

It seems characteristic that all these three new sequences, *Zima vetus*, *Rex salomon*, and *Quam dilecta*, should retain a traditional form of prayer and exhortation to praise in the opening and at the end, while the central part consists of learned systematic biblical exegesis. The authors accumulate biblical references demonstrating how the Law is a foreshadowing of events to come, and how Christ is the fulfilment of the promises. This exegetical model is followed in hundreds of sequences to such a degree that it came to colour the concept of the whole genre. In this twelfth-century tradition the sequence or prose is no longer a text mainly lingering around the meaning of the Hebrew word Alleluia, neither is it simply a song of jubilation, but is rather transformed into a learned biblical exegesis.

Conclusion

The picture that emerges from the study of the local but still central repertory of Nevers in the middle of the twelfth century is at once colourful and complex. It seems that the ideas of the importance of variety in the liturgical repertories expressed by Abelard, Peter the Venerable, and others, are here carried through in practice. This may be seen first in the variety of old and new pieces: old sequences lingering around the sacred word Alleluia, such as *Fulgida qui regnas* or *Claris vocibus*, are faithfully retained.

The new pieces present in the Nevers collection represent different literary strategies. At this time it is quite evident that the liturgical function of the sequence is generally understood to be different from that of the old Alleluia sequences. Now, the intense work on systematizing the interpretations of the biblical books that occupy such a large part of the intellectual efforts of the twelfth-century authors and masters can be seen reflected in the new liturgical poetry. We have seen it practised in sequences of strictly versified rhymed and metrical forms, as in the Easter sequence *Zima vetus* as well as in the dedication sequences *Rex Salomon* and *Quam dilecta*, where the authors more or less systematically follow the order of the biblical passages of the Law, in demonstrating how the law foreshadows the future, 'lex est umbra futurorum'.

In contrast to this systematic exegesis, the passionate and personal interpretations of the Song of Songs found in the writings of Bernard of Clairvaux, not versified but using classical rhetorical devices, seem to have been of great importance as inspiration for the authors of other liturgical sequences in the Nevers repertory, as in *Orbis totus*, *Virgines caste*, and *Epithalamica*, and in the series of Ordinary tropes.

It seems that the common intention at this time to write interpretations of the Song of Songs, but also of Lamentations, has provided an invitation to the authors to put these two most rhetorical of biblical books together, and to contrast the Song of Songs with the 'Lamentation of the Lamentations'. The group of four songs of joy and sorrow, *Virgines caste*, *De profundis*, *Dolorum solatium*, and *Epithalamica*, associated with Abelard's writings and in part later found in the liturgy of the Paraclete, can be seen as witnesses of such ideas. With varying strophe-forms, grounded on assonance and syllable rhymes, these texts seem to be formed according to the poetics of the Song of Songs and Lamentations. Ironically, it seems that these texts in their rhetorical elegance are rather closer to the rhetorical practices of Bernard in his sermons on the Song of Songs and on the Virgin Mary and of Gilbert the Universal on the Lamentations.

Although there are traits that distinguish the new forms of sequence compositions from the earlier forms, there is no straight evolutionary line from old style to new, from monastic to prescholastic and scholastic, from passionate psychological prayer to systematic textual interpretation. Again we may apply to liturgical poetry the words of Jacques Verger, that it is particularly difficult to place these concepts in a strict chronological frame, especially for this period. Maybe we should rather regard the contradictions and the crossing of influences reflected in the forms and contents of the poetry chosen for the renewed repertory of Nevers as an illustration of the rich complexity of the time.

A WITNESS TO POETIC AND MUSICAL
INVENTION IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY:
THE TROPER-PROSER OF NEVERS
(BNF N.A.LAT. 3126)

Marie-Noël Colette

In the history of music, the twelfth century is a time of continuity but also of renewal. Liturgical music seemed to have stabilized around the ancient liturgical chant repertoires, augmented by the tropes and sequences that served further to embellish the celebration. The diffusion of new melodies was assured, even outside of their places of composition, thanks to the precision enabled by new means of musical notation. It is only from this time that we can truly begin to speak of a written transmission that offers, even for a singer who does not already know the chant, a precise reading of the melody, according to the wish expressed by Guido d'Arezzo in his *Prologus in antiphonarium*, when he described his invention of lines on a stave. Benefiting from the accumulation of knowledge over the previous century, the twelfth century would bear the consequences of leading the West in new directions. Without speaking of the important religious reorganizations of Pope Gregory VII, which were not without repercussions on the liturgy, here we should recall the additions more directly relating to chant. Of primary concern in this regard are the innovations in matters of instruction and notation brought on by Guido d'Arezzo.¹ As far

¹ Guido d'Arezzo, *Micrologus*, ed. by Joseph Smits Van Waesberghe, CSM, 4 (1955); *Tres tractuli Guidonis Aretini: Guidonis 'Prologus in antiphonarium'*, ed. by Joseph Smits Van Waesberghe, *Divinae musicae Artis*, A.3 (Buren: Fritz Knopf, 1975); *Epistola de ignoto cantu*, in Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra*, 3 vols (St Blasien: Typis San-Blasianis, 1784), II, 43–50; Dolores Pesce, *Guido d'Arezzo's 'Regule rithmice', 'Prologus in antiphonarium'*

as instruction is concerned, Guido built upon the heritage of his predecessor Pseudo-Odo, author of the *Dialogus de musica*.² But the innovations which he brought in speaking of polyphony and musical notation were to have a more profound and lasting effect on the history of Western music. Their immediate consequences are perceptible from the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and the first known manuscript to be notated on lines, following Guido's system, is a Roman manuscript copied in 1071.³ The written dissemination of chant in other traditions in Italy may equally be accountable to these innovations.

Without the precision of melodic readings, many of the subsequent innovations could not have taken place, including certain aspects of the Cistercian chant reforms and the playing with modulations through transpositions favoured in the repertory of Hildegard of Bingen. Mention of these two examples alone is enough to show the importance of these changes. The works of Hildegard present an exceptional example of the personality of the feminine author to whom they are attributed; but musically they are not unique, as they may also be identified as a witness to a new understanding of musical composition discernible for Office repertories in the *historiae* — Offices for the saints newly composed at this time — and in Mass repertories primarily in the Alleluia.

The descriptions of polyphony given by Guido d'Arezzo, however succinctly expressed, bear witness in the eleventh century to very important developments, especially given the time when they were written. They come nearly at the same time as the written sources of polyphony from Winchester, and follow more than a century of silence in this matter on the part of music theorists. They bear witness, moreover, to practices described but not written down, such as *organum suspensum*, where the chant is accompanied from above, whereas the preceding descriptions of composition in organum only ever spoke of a *vox organalis* underneath a *vox principalis*. The example of this form of composition given in Chapter 19 of the *Micrologus* is the first description in the Latin West of the practice of *ison* singing, that is to say, accompaniment held on a single tone. It is

and 'Epistola ad Michaelhelem': *A Critical Text and Translation*, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen/ Musicological Studies, 73 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1999).

² Pseudo-Odo, *Dialogus de musica*, in Gerbert, *Scriptores*, I, 252–64 (a new edition is in preparation by K. W. Gumpel); see also Michel Huglo, 'L'Auteur du *Dialogue sur la musique* attribué à Odon', *Revue de musicologie*, 55 (1969), 119–71.

³ MS 74 in the collection of Martin Bodmer, Cologny-Genève; facsimile edition: *Das Graduale von S. Cecilia in Trastevere, 1071: Cod. Bodmer 74*, ed. by Max Lütolf, 2 vols (Cologny-Genève: Fondation Martin Bodmer, 1987).

this very transference of the place of the *vox organalis* from below to above that has been judged as sewing the seeds for the formidable growth of organum singing at the end of the twelfth century at Notre Dame in Paris. Meanwhile, already at St Martial in Limoges at the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, organum was splendidly employed above the chant, and for the first time this practice also saw a great inequality between the number of notes in the chant and the accompanying voice. The rhythm of the organal voice thereby becomes dissociated from that of the chant, contrary to the firm coherence found in Winchester in the early eleventh century, which did not permit more than two notes against one, even then rarely and in predetermined contexts. The rhythm of the chant is also transformed by this organal ornamentation. This dichotomy is translated, and doubtless enabled, by the new possibilities afforded by musical notation following the gradual lessening in indications of rhythm in the notation which began from the end of the tenth century. For what we may rightly call the 'school' of St Martial, this movement was spurred on by an educational programme already showing the influence of Guido d'Arezzo.

In the monastic schools and cathedrals of the twelfth century, many of the new musical compositions were intended for the celebration of the festivals which took place between Christmas and New Year. For these occasions *conductus*, *versus*, and troped *Benedicamus Domino* chants were composed, both monodic and polyphonic, which would not so easily have found their place in an ordinary liturgy. These new repertoires are sometimes also associated with the development of representational rituals, as in Beauvais and in the manuscripts associated with St Martial. As the new experiments in organal practice contributed to the manner of embellishing the polyphony by the elaboration of the *superius* part, so the monodic songs in the new style came to profit from this efflorescence, to the extent that in the St Martial school it does not seem possible to dissociate the style used for the melodies of a *vox organalis* in polyphony from that used to decorate the monodic voice in a *canticum novum*. For this reason we will first of all describe some of the features that seem most characteristic in the new St Martial compositions, before considering the troper-proser of Nevers (BnF n.a.lat. 3126) and a representative selection of its contents — some of the sequences, to give an idea of the range of influence on Nevers from North and South, a coherent ensemble of Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei chants that could constitute the first example of what will later come to be called a Mass setting, and finally the four Latin *lais* associated with Abelard.

Composition at St Martial in Limoges

Let us first examine some ways of talking about this very particular new style of twelfth-century composition, observable in the monophonic and polyphonic *conductus*, *versus*, and *Benedicamus Domino* settings to which Wulf Arlt gave the name 'nova cantica'.⁴ While certain aspects of this style seem to be adapted from older traditions, others, such as medial cadences in an ascending pattern (*G b c d*), could well have their origins in the ornamental forms found in organum.⁵ These two influences are recognizable in the very unequal distribution between passages with little decoration and melismatic sections, short or long, which are often located on significant syllables before the ends of cadences.⁶ Another characteristic rare in earlier chant practice is the contrast between large melodic leaps of sixths, sevenths, or octaves, with a sweeping of the whole tessitura in both directions by stepwise motion, embellished or delayed by repercussions, repeated patterns, or decorative embroideries. The scale-degree below the semitone *b* or *E* is emphasized and played upon, especially in cadences in the D-mode, which are very characteristic of this style, with *G E D* replacing the Gregorian form *G F D*.⁷ This displacement of the minor third derives from the Aquitanian preference for the scale-degree located under the semitone, which eventually came to be shown in twelfth-century manuscripts by a special sign. The same interval can also be filled in, to give cadences of the form *F E D*, a style not uncommon in the songs of the troubadours.⁸

⁴ Wulf Arlt has discussed the origin and justification of this terminology in the following articles: 'Nova cantica: Grundsätzliches und Spezielles zur Interpretation musikalischer Texte des Mittelalters', *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, 10 (1986), 13–62, and 'Sequenz und "neues Lied"', in *La sequenza medievale: atti del convegno internazionale, Milano, 7–8 aprile 1984*, ed. by Agostino Ziino (Lucca: LIM, 1992), pp. 3–18.

⁵ These patterns have been partly described in Marie-Noël Colette, 'L'Influence des mélodies aquitaines sur la composition de chants de l'Ordinaire aux XI–XII^{èmes} siècles: le Sanctus IV', *Musica e storia*, 14 (2006), 197–216.

⁶ See on this subject Jean Claire, 'La Place traditionnelle du mélisme dans la cantillation', *Yuval: Studies of the Jewish Music Research Centre*, 5 (1986), 265–91, with forty-six music examples.

⁷ In the description of these melodies, we use the alphabetic system from *A* to *G* devised by Pseudo-Odo and Guido d'Arezzo, and have not specified the quality of the *bs*.

⁸ Examples of this form of cadence are found in *Ave maris stella* (*E G E F E D*) and *Jerusalem mirabilis* (*b d c b a*); for a discussion and transcription of the latter, see Marie-Noël Colette, 'Jerusalem mirabilis: la datation du manuscrit Paris, BnF latin 1139', in *Saint-Martial de*

The sometimes rather wide ambitus is not in itself a particular characteristic of this style, for it also pertains to sequences of the earlier period, such as *Fulgens preclara*.⁹ Rich ornamentation is also a characteristic of some of the older Gregorian chant, and of the tropes of the Proper and Ordinary of the earlier period. But here we see a confluence of all the possibilities, with the large ambitus giving rise to a style of ornamentation developed through its positioning in the chant. This style gives to the manuscripts a characteristic appearance when compared with those of earlier times, a style from which later manuscripts, in particular those of the Notre Dame School, were to borrow many elements.

The twelfth-century Limousine style of ornamentation quickly came to be adopted for these pieces in other areas. This was the period when pilgrimages and crusades brought a diversity of people into contact with one another, resulting in cultural exchange and the diffusion of the new melodies. One thus finds Limousine influences further north, in particular in the Champagne region and even in Prague. However, these new techniques of ornamentation do not relate only to the new musical genres (*versus*, *conductus*, *Benedicamus Domino* melodies) but as is the way with new fashions, they also showed their influence on liturgical chants, in particular on the sequences of the new generation of the twelfth century, those generally associated with St Victor in Paris, and on certain chants for the Ordinary of the Mass, in the same regions to the north of France, but also further south, even into Catalonia. It was from 1080 that Spain adopted the Roman-Frankish rite, followed by Portugal in the twelfth century, with notation similar to the Aquitanian style. However, our principal witness to the pilgrimage songs of the pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela is a manuscript noted in French neumes on lines and not according to the Aquitanian system, the famous Codex Calixtinus.¹⁰

Limoges: ambition politique et production culturelle (X^e–XIII^e siècles), ed. by Claude Andrault-Schmitt (Poitiers: Pulim, 2006), pp. 469–81.

⁹ Gunilla Iversen and I discuss this sequence, pp. 30–40, 71–72, above, and a transcription is included in the anthology below, no. 1.

¹⁰ See Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, *El Códice Calixtino de la catedral de Santiago: estudio codicológico y de contenido* (Santiago de Compostela: Centro de estudios jacobeos, 1988); *The 'Codex Calixtinus' and the Shrine of St James*, ed. by John Williams and Alison Stones (Tübingen: Narr, 1992); *Codex Calixtinus de la Catedral de Santiago de Compostela* [colour facsimile edition] ([Madrid?]: Kaydeda Ediciones, 1993); Alison Stones and Jeanne Krochallis, *The Pilgrim's Guide: A Critical Edition*, 2 vols (London: Harvey Miller, 1998); and *El Códice Calixtino y la música de su tiempo: actas del simposio organizado por la Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza en A Coruña y Santiago de Compostela, 20–23 de septiembre de 1999*, ed. by José López-Calo and Carlos Villanueva ([A Coruña]: Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, 2001).

This book also includes an Office of St James and monophonic and polyphonic compositions related in style to those of the Limousine School.

A centre of this new creativity that will occupy us more here is Nevers, in particular its new sequence repertory preserved in BnF n.a.lat. 3126. The melodic versions of its repertory of sequences and Ordinary chants show the influence of the Limousine and Aquitanian traditions. Moreover, it comprises the earliest copies of four compositions associated with the intellectual milieu of an identified author, Peter Abelard. Using a few examples selected from this manuscript, we will here present it as a privileged witness to the transformations of the twelfth century just mentioned in the composition of sequences, Ordinary chants and the Latin *lais* which are found there.¹¹ Several questions arise, concerning their ordering in this book as well as the influences that may be discerned upon it, as we shall see in discussing certain sequences. Since the melodic versions found in Nevers often seem closer to those transmitted by manuscripts of Limoges (BnF lat. 1086 and 1139) or even of Narbonne (BnF lat. 778) than to Parisian sources, it is important that we consider the wider context of this manuscript when studying the influence of the new compositions of St Martial on these chants, which take their place in the liturgy of the Mass.

The Nevers Proser, BnF n.a.lat. 3126

It was Michel Huglo who first drew attention to this manuscript.¹² Gunilla Iversen later evaluated it in the context of the other Nevers tropers, BnF lat. 9449 and n.a.lat. 1235, manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries respectively.¹³ It will suffice here to recall those aspects of the book that are of relevance to a

¹¹ We use the term 'Latin *lais*' here on the grounds that the melodic structure of these four pieces is quite different from that of the sequences surrounding them, and more akin to that of the *lai*. Although *De profundis* and *Dolorum solatium* could be categorized as *planctus* on the grounds of their subject-matter, the same cannot be said of *Virgines caste* and *Epithalamica*.

¹² Michel Huglo, 'Un nouveau prosaire nivernais', *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 71 (1957), 3–30 (repr. in Huglo, *Chant grégorien et musique médiévale*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 814 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), art. XII).

¹³ Gunilla Iversen, 'Continuité et renouvellement à Nevers: réflexions sur le répertoire du "prosaire-troaire" nivernais Paris, B.N. n.a.lat. 3126', in *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, ed. by Wulf Arlt and Gunilla Björkvall, SLS, 36 (1993), pp. 271–308. See also Hélène Cao, 'Les Proses du manuscrit nivernais Paris, BnF, n.a.lat. 3126', *Regards sur la Nièvre*, 6 (2004), 39–53.

discussion of the four pieces contained within it that defy easy classification, referred to in the present discussion as Latin *lais*. The first point to make is that the troper is entirely separated from the proser in the first part of the collection. A summary of the contents follows:

fol. 1^r–9^r: Later additions

fol. 9^v–63^v: First proser; complete, in liturgical order

fol. 64^r–78^r: Ordinary chants, with and without tropes, in the order of the Mass, including the Gloria (Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, Agnus)

The second section, which includes the Latin *lais*, occupies folios 78^v–98^v, and begins with four sequences for the Virgin:

fol. 78^v: *Ave maria PROSA DE SANCTA MARIA*

fol. 79^r: *Mater clemens PROSA DE SANCTA MARIA*

fol. 80^r: *Salve mater PROSA DE SANCTA MARIA*

fol. 81^v: *Orbis totus PROSA DE SANCTA MARIA* (attributed to Peter the Venerable)

fol. 82^v: *Ecce dies preoptata PROSA DE SANCTO VINCENTO*

On folios 84^v–91^r, following straight on and beginning in the middle of the page, without rubrics, come the four Latin *lais*, comprising two pieces later used as sequences, *Virgines caste* and *Epithalamica*, and between them two pieces which might be said to correspond to the genre of the *planctus*, *De profundis ad te* and *Dolorum solatium*. Following these, on folios 91^v–98^v there are various sequences, the first two for the dedication, the others for St Cyr, patron of the church, for the Trinity and for the Resurrection:

fol. 91^v: *Rex Salomon PROSA IN DEDICATIONE*

fol. 92^v: *Quam dilecta PROSA IN DEDICATIONE ECCLESIE*

fol. 94^v: *Quam ammirabile PROSA DE SANCTO CIRIACO*

fol. 95^r: *Profitentes unitatem PROSA DE SANCTA TRINITATE*

fol. 96^v: *Zima vetus expurgetur PROSA DE RESURRECTIONE DOMINI*

Beginning at folio 98^v, in various other hands and without rubrics or titles, are found a *versus*, two more Marian sequences, and a group of troped Ordinary chants for the Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus:

fol. 98^v: *O redemptor sume carmen* (*versus* attributed to Venantius Fortunatus)

fol. 99^v: *Iesse virgam humidavit*.

fol. 100^v: *Hodierne lux diei*.

fol. 101^v–102^r: Troped Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus chants.

An additional gathering comprises a further five sequences, one of which, *Salve mater salvatoris* (fol. 108^r), we shall return to in order to compare it with the other version earlier in the same manuscript (fol. 80^r).

The musical notation of the manuscript has been thoroughly described by Huglo;¹⁴ it will suffice here to recall that the main part is notated in a small, mixed French notation, influenced by Metz notation. The staves follow the Guidonian system, with a red *f*-line and yellow *c*-line and clef-letters for *f* and *c*. The red line sometimes covers notes or downstrokes, and so must have been added after the notes. The influence of Metz is discernible in the form of the *virga*, curved to the right, and in the *clivis*, *porrectus*, and *torculus*. The form of liquescence used on the *cephalicus* is particularly characteristic, consisting of two elements formed of a broken line angled to the right and above it a dot to show the placement of the second note. This liquescence might correspond to that of the other surviving proser of this time from Nevers (BnF n.a.lat. 1235), which also uses the same form of *custos*, in the form of a '2' with a raised tail. It is worth mentioning, though, that liquescences in the notation do not always signify liquescent syllables in the text (though sometimes they do). The copyist uses flat signs, except in the section that includes the four Latin *lais* (see Plate 14: fol. 84^v).

In common with the other twelfth-century Nevers troper, the notation of this manuscript somewhat recalls that of the Codex Calixtinus. It is worth remembering that the pilgrims' chants recorded in the Codex Calixtinus — chants designed for the journey to Santiago de Compostela, where the manuscript is kept to this day — are mainly influenced by Limousine repertories. This Franco-Messine mixture also calls upon other influences, as we know from the connections between Aquitanian and Metz notation. There are signs that one might think are Aquitanian, such as a particular Metz form of curved point. The southern and Limousine influences on the Nevers manuscript are also shown in the way Nevers preserves

¹⁴ It will form the subject of more detailed description in Hélène Cao's forthcoming thesis based on this manuscript; for the present we should note that the liquescence is a notational sign indicating a particular way of pronouncing the text.

the Aquitanian melodies of some of the sequences in preference to the Parisian. The chants for versions transmitted in Nevers and the southern sources are generally more ornate, making use of small and large melismas, melodic steps, repetitions, and cadences and formulae characteristic of a style associated with St Martial and the south-west of France.¹⁵ That said, some of the melodies are rather more sober, such as that for the sequence *Mater clemens*, for which Nevers is the sole witness. This may show some sort of connection with the discussions of Abelard and others, who were keen to make sure that the words could be clearly heard. But there were doubtless many composers and scribes in twelfth-century Nevers who had it more in mind to provide ornamentation to the tropes recorded in this manuscript on a level of prodigality comparable with the florid practice of St Martial.

Sequences

Study of the sequences in this manuscript leads one to new perspectives on the ornamental styles and influences undergone by Nevers or taken on at Nevers in other directions, as well as on the more general question of the origin of so-called Parisian sequences.

The sequences written immediately after the four Latin *lais* are remarkable in terms of the themes they present, which were undoubtedly intended as a way of complementing the intellectual content of the preceding *lais*. The troper and proser were complete by folio 63^v, and yet in what follows, the Latin *lais* and sequences seem to be in the same principal hand and to form part of the same manuscript although as another series of pieces.¹⁶ It is essentially a sort of florilegium of new sequences to complement the earlier group with pieces for selected feasts: the Blessed Virgin, St Vincent, St Cyr, the dedication, the Trinity, and Easter. The two sequences for the dedication, which follow on immediately from the Latin *lais*, are not positioned there by chance: their theme effectively accords with that of *Epithalamica*, which ends by evoking the Temple of Solomon.

¹⁵ References to these versions may be found in Margot Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) and in the articles of Gunilla Iversen and Hélène Cao referred to above.

¹⁶ See Gunilla Iversen's discussion of the texts, pp. 219–43, above, and the transcriptions of the music in the anthology below, nos XVI and XVII.

These sequences form part of the third generation of sequences, those associated with St Victor in Paris.¹⁷ But since their melodic transmission is far from uniform, the question of the origin of the melodies may be raised anew. This proser from Nevers is the earliest source for some of the sequences, in cases where they are absent from the earlier Nevers manuscripts and where the Parisian sources are all later.¹⁸ It will therefore be worthwhile to compare the melodies of a few chosen sequences from Nevers with those of some twelfth-century Aquitanian manuscripts, as well as with Parisian sources. The four extant twelfth-century Aquitanian sources are from Limoges (BnF lat. 1086, 1139, and 3719) and Narbonne (BnF lat. 778), and for Paris there are three thirteenth-century proser, from Notre Dame (BnF lat. 1112) and St Victor (BnF lat. 14819 and 14452). We shall discuss a few sequences by way of examples, classified either in terms of their relation to other sources, whether Parisian or Aquitanian, or simply by reason of their singularity.¹⁹

Hodierne lux diei (AH, LIV, 346) is added to folio 100^v of the Nevers manuscript. The other sources²⁰ show few variants, as this is a melody of which the allure consists in certain archaisms recalling older sequences, as with the intermediate resting points a tone below the final, on *c*. However, the way in which

¹⁷ Gunilla Iversen and I refer to the original sequences above, pp. 220, 263. The eleventh-century compositions, which present some of the issues presently under discussion in a germinal state, have been studied in Lori A. Kruckenberg-Goldenstein, 'The Sequence from 1050 to 1150: Study of a Genre in Change' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Iowa, 1997); Lori A. Kruckenberg, 'Sequenz (Gesang)', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, *Sachteil*, 10 vols (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994–99), VIII, cols 1254–86; and Gunilla Björkvall and Andreas Haug, 'Sequence and *Versus*: On the History of Rhythmical Poetry in the Eleventh Century', in *Latin Culture in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Medieval Latin Studies, Cambridge, 9–12 September 1998*, ed. by M. W. Herren, C. McDonough, and R. G. Arthur, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin, 5, 2 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), I, 57–82.

¹⁸ See the comparative table of the repertories of these manuscripts in Iversen, 'Continuité et renouvellement à Nevers', p. 281.

¹⁹ More thorough investigation of these matters will be made in Hélène Cao's thesis. For melodies other than those transcribed here, see Hildebrand Prévost, *Recueil complet des célèbres séquences du vénérable maître Adam le Breton* (Ligugé: Imprimerie Saint-Martin, 1901); Eugène Misset and Pierre Aubry, *Les Proses d'Adam de Saint-Victor* (Paris: Welter, 1900); Fassler, *Gothic Song*; and Kruckenberg-Goldenstein, 'The Sequence from 1050 to 1150'. For a discussion of the *Sponsus* found elsewhere in BnF lat. 1139, see Nils Holger Petersen's discussion above (pp. 164–72).

²⁰ BnF lat. 1139, 1086, 778, 1112, and 14452.

every cadence returns to the final of the mode, *d*, is a newer process, as is the binary parallelism of all the phrases.

The Nevers version of this melody is identical to that in the Paris sources, with a few small differences, but one can detect certain characteristics here which are also present in the Aquitanian versions of other sequences. For example, the ornaments are divided into groups within the phrases. Certain phrases even come to have a familiar ring to them, as with strophe 3a, *Ave regina caelorum* (Nevers has *domina*), for which the incipit recurs, with its melody, in the Misteri d'Elx,²¹ or similarly in strophe 5a, *Salve splendor*, with its falling third figure *abca*. The same intermediate cadence is found in phrases 14 and 16 of the sequence *Quam dilecta* at St Victor, in which respect it is distinct from the other versions. In the St Martial proser (BnF lat. 1139, fol. 175^v), the fifth phrase, which is problematic because of its great ambitus and moreover the manner of the melodic descent, has a variant in strophe 5b in the form of a repetition of the first melodic cell.

Where the St Léonard and Narbonne versions (BnF lat. 1086 and 778) diverge, Nevers generally has a reading that is richer in ornaments and somewhat closer to St Léonard. Nevers, which for this sequence seems the most original in terms of the state of its melody, also shows various Limousine traits, such as a cadence on *G E D* in strophe 2 a–b (as in BnF lat. 1086 and 1139) and the ornamentation of the 'Amen'. The St Martial setting of *Amen dicant omnia* cannot fail to recall the responses in the same manuscript's tropes on *Benedicamus Domino: Deo dicamus gratias*. The St Léonard version, meanwhile, includes two supplementary verses.

This very widespread melody is one of the first sequences to have been composed in the new style towards the end of the eleventh century,²² without doubt specially for the text *Hodierne*, and served as a model for the other Parisian sequences *Jubilemus* and *Nato nobis salvatore*, the one composed for St Victor

²¹ The mystery play of Elx retains traces of other compositions discussed here, even in the form in which it is performed to this day; see Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, 'Los cantos monódicos en el Misterio de Elche', *Revista de musicología*, 4 (1981), 41–49; M.-C. Gómez Muntané, 'Al voltant de la música del Misteri d'Elx (Consuetes de 1709 i 1722)', in *Món i Misteri de la Festa d'Elx* (Valencia: Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Ciència, 1986), pp. 255–63; and S. Rubio, 'La música del Misterio de Elche: estudio historico-critico', in *Món i Misteri*, pp. 119–24.

²² Fassler has found this sequence in Paris, beyond St Victor and Notre Dame, at Sainte-Geneviève (in Bibliothèque de Sainte-Geneviève 1259) and additionally in the proser of St Magloire, BnF lat. 13252 (*Gothic Song*, pp. 149, 292, and 333). Outside of Paris, she further cites its presence among the Augustinians of Aix-la-Chapelle (in Aachen, Domarchiv G13) and in the manuscript of Paris/Reims (Assisi, Biblioteca comunale, 695) (p. 405).

and the other for Notre Dame.²³ Paris was thus able to borrow and adopt an Aquitanian sequence such as this. In fact it is absent from the St Victor proser BnF lat. 14819, but that manuscript is generally very closely followed by BnF lat. 14452, where the sequence is present (on fol. 210^v), and where the same ending as for the St Martial *Amen dicant omnia* is found (see Ex. 1).

2a Omnis ho-mo, omnis ho-ra, ipsam o-ra et implo-ra e-ius pa-tro-ci-ni-a

3a A-ve do-mi -na ce-lo-rum, in-exper -ta vi-ri torum, parens pa-ris nesci-a

²³ Fassler, *Gothic Song*, p. 179. As for the similarities Fassler mentions (p. 119) with the sequence *Prunis datum* (which is also present in the proser of William la Concha, BnF lat. 1139, fol. 15^v), it is fairly distinct in the parts where the two sequences are written in different modes, and a similarity in melodic movement may be observed only in the first phrase.

5a Salve splendor fir-ma-menti, tu ca -li -gi -no -se men -ti, de-su -per ir -ra -di -a

A -men

A -men dicant om -ni -a

Ex. 1. *Hodie lux diei*, phrases 2 a–b, 3, and 5, with Amen, in BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fol. 100^v; lat. 1139, fol. 175^v; lat. 1086, fol. 89^f; lat. 778, fol. 7^f; lat. 1112, fol. 292^f; lat. 14452, fol. 210^v (2a: *ms ora*).

When the melodies of sequences differ between Paris and the South, Nevers generally prefers the Aquitanian versions over the Parisian. This is certainly true in the case of the dedication sequences, *Quam dilecta* and *Rex Salomon*, which follow straight after the ‘Abelardian’ compositions, and of the sequence *lesse virgam*, which is notated in another hand and separated from the preceding ones by the *versus* of Venantius Fortunatus.

The dedication sequence *Quam dilecta* (fol. 92^v) is found in Parisian sources with two different melodies, one at Notre Dame and another at St Victor.²⁴ Nevers, St Martial, and Cadouin present yet another melodic version.²⁵ The literary structure of this sequence, described above by Gunilla Iversen,²⁶ is remarkable in that it takes its inspiration from the books of the Bible in the correct order, recalling the ancient structure of psalmody *in directum*, which, if it does not take a whole psalm at a time, chooses verses in their proper order. Moreover, the musical structure of this sequence is very close to that of the versions suggested in the first polyphonic manuscript of St Martial (BnF lat. 1139): recitation may occur on three levels — *D*, *a*, and *d* — with a recurrent return to the final *D* at the end of each phrase. The same accent patterns associated with Lamentations, with phrases recited on the *medium*, *F g a a*, are to be found in the Marian *planctus* of Cividale and elsewhere.²⁷

In reading this sequence, with its mention of *tabernacula*, one cannot but be reminded of the *versus*-processional chant *Jerusalem mirabilis*, mentioned above,²⁸ which the same St Martial manuscript presents at the beginning of the twelfth century and which recalls in a similar way the episodes not this time of the Old Testament but of the New, giving a name to the city which received the *tabernacula* by use of the adverbs of place *ibi* and *illic*, recalling perhaps almost despondently the reiterated *hic* of the sequence.

One also notes the influence of the St Martial school, with almost all cadences returning to the scale-degree of the final and the decision to adapt to a psalmodic scheme where the Augustinians of Nevers and Limoges (BnF lat. 1086) began as at Notre Dame with a descent, in the manner of the lamentation chant *De profundis*.

Quam dilecta starts with a unique musical phrase, and at least in Nevers and Aquitania (St Martial, St Yrieix, and Cadouin)²⁹ finishes, thanks to the Alleluia melody, with another unique phrase, following the scheme of the older

²⁴ See the anthology below, no. XX.

²⁵ The Cadouin fragment is a leaf attached to a Commentary of St Jerome and reproduced in *Le Répons-graduel 'Justus ut palma'*, PM, II, Plate 98.

²⁶ See pp. 254–56, above.

²⁷ See Giulio Cattin, *Il pianto della madonna e la visita delle Marie al sepolcro* (Venice: Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi, 1994).

²⁸ See p. 262 n. 8, above.

²⁹ St Martial: BnF lat. 1132, lat. 1139; a twelfth-century addition to the proser of St Yrieix, BnF lat. 903, fols 147^v–148^r.

sequences, which however started but did not finish with the Alleluia. The Parisian melodies, unlike the Aquitanian, separate the tenth and eleventh phrases: as with other sequences such as *Ecce dies preoptata* or *Salve mater salvatoris*, the order of phrases is inverted, and even here (phrases 21–24) the order is very mixed up in the copies of St Victor, so much so that it is difficult to pair up the phrases again.

The Aquitanian melodies, more ornate than the Parisian ones, form a more homogeneous group with Nevers. However, with their first phrases still in a rather syllabic style, they come to terms with the characteristic melismatic style only gradually, especially at intermediate and final cadences, recalling the older organization of psalmody. The characteristic Aquitanian ornamentation comes to be found towards the end of the sections, often in the central phrase, on the last or penultimate syllable: especially common are descending ornaments with an empty third, such as *G F D* or *G E D*. This method finds its strongest manifestation, and its commonest trait, towards the end of the sequence, and is crowned at Nevers and St Martial with a characteristically ornate Alleluia. In the fourth phrase the ornamentation displays a characteristically Limousine variant, and it is from here onwards that the melodies come to follow different directions, with particularly Aquitanian characteristics to be seen in the sixth and seventh phrases. One notices typically Aquitanian cadences on phrases 12–13 and 16–17. St Martial is a little more ornate here than Nevers and St Léonard. The remarkable stability of the Nevers–Aquitanian group, followed in its organization of phrases by Notre Dame, leads one to suppose that St Victor, having borrowed a melody that came from elsewhere, would incorporate its repertory of formulas into its own tradition.

This sequence offers a magnificent example of the manner in which borrowings are made in chant practice, as well as of variants in transmission. Starting from a common point of departure, in this case a psalm-intonation in the second mode, each tradition has elaborated its own melody according to its local customs. From the second phrase the Parisian version starts using its characteristic melodic cells. In a world that was still very modally unified, departures from modal conformity are made easily and elegantly (see Ex. 2).

The musical setting of the sequence *Rex Salomon* (fol. 91^v), also for the dedication and cited by Richard of St Victor in the middle of the twelfth century, posed a problem in Paris because the text comprised two verses more than its model, *O Maria stella maris*.³⁰ Margot Fassler states that it was the other dedication

³⁰ For the text, music, and translation of *Rex Salomon*, see the anthology below, no. XIX, and for *Quam dilecta tabernacula* see no. XX; see also Gunilla Iversen's discussion, pp. 250–56, above.



3a Quam de-co-ra funda-men-ta per concinna sa-cra-men-ta um-bre pre-cur-ren-ti-a!



4a Archam ligno fa-bri-ca-tam No-e servans, guber-na-tam per mun-di di-lu-vi-um.



7a In bi-vi-o tegens nu-da ge-mi-nos pa-rit ex lu-da Tha-mar, di-u vi-du-a.



9a Hic est ur-na manna ple-na, hic manda-ta le-gis de-na, sed in ar-cha fe-de-ris.



10a Hic U-ri-as vi-du-a-tur, Ber-sa-be-e su-bli-ma-tur se-dis con-sors re-gi-e.



13a Quarum tenet princi-pi-um in tu-bis e-pu-lan-ti-um et fi-nis per psalte-ri-um;



Al-le-lu-ia, al-le-lu-ia!



Ex. 2. *Quam dilecta tabernacula*, phrases 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, and 13, with Alleluia, in BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fol. 92^v and BnF lat. 1139, fol. 163^f.

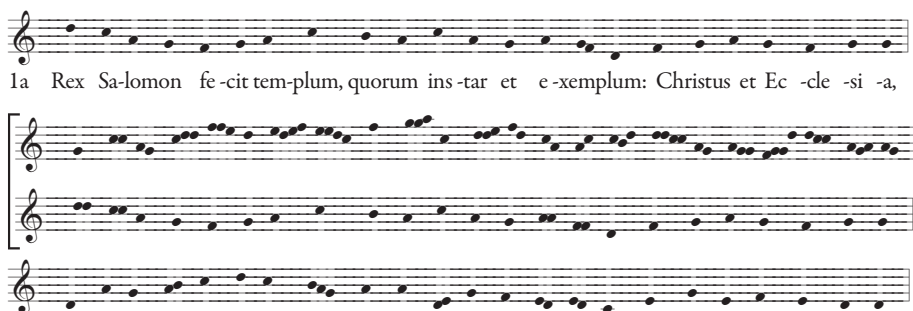
sequence, *Quam dilecta*, which provided the additional melodies, to which we should add that it was then a matter of the Notre Dame version and not that of St Victor.³¹ But why was a sequence composed in Paris that was not in conformity with the chosen model? Having recourse to the existing schemes of the Parisian versions was normally a convenience that made it easy and possible to set new poetry to music, but at the same time it facilitated the importation of foreign compositions.

The Parisian manuscripts show various alternative readings between one another, all on a melody in the *D*-mode. On the other hand, all the Aquitanian manuscripts, together with Nevers, give the same melody, which is different from that of Paris. It is rather less decorated than the Parisian melody and differs in its mode, *G* instead of *D*. In the Limousine manuscripts BnF lat. 3719 and 3549, this sequence is supplied with an organal voice. It is possible that the fact that the sequence was to be sung polyphonically may have influenced the choice of mode of *G*, in which case we would here have an example of the way in which, in this area where the *D*-mode was privileged, the melodies originally in this mode were readily transposed to *G* for the purposes of polyphony, which as Guido d'Arezzo noted worked better on the basis of the major third than the minor. This transposition may be found in some cases with the tone of the *Ave maris stella*.

The lower voice in the polyphonic settings is the same as the monodic reading in the other Aquitanian and Nevers sources. The character of the *vox principalis*, more syllabic than that of other Limousine and even Parisian sequences, is well suited to a polyphonic treatment whose melodic movement makes it possible to underline the harmonic relationships. The melismas, whose style recalls many others in Aquitanian monodic practice, are here assigned to the upper voice. It happens that the basic Aquitanian melodies diverge on matters of small nuances of inflexion of the sort that individual cantors may have preferred. Thus in the third and eighth phrases, the sources are divided into two groups: BnF n.a.lat. 3126 and lat. 3719–3549, and BnF lat. 1139 and lat. 1086. But in the last phrase the reading of lat. 3719 stands alone, while lat. 3549, reduced to a single voice for this phrase, follows the lower voice of lat. 1086. Small variants in sound based

³¹ Fassler, *Gothic Song*, pp. 322–28, 409. AH, LV, 35, cites this sequence in twelfth-century sources from Aquitania and Vic, then in numerous other regions from the thirteenth century, in Paris and elsewhere in France, as well as England and Germany. Huglo reports that the Nevers melody is found again in the printed Gradual of Le Mans (1515) (*Un nouveau prosaire*, p. 18). We have compared the versions in BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fol. 91^v; lat. 1086, fol. 70^v; lat. 1139, fol. 165^v; lat. 3719, fol. 57^v; lat. 3549, fol. 154^v; and lat. 14819, fol. 95^f, which is very close to the version in lat. 14452, fol. 176^f.

around a common structure, betraying a degree of freedom of execution, attest to a certain proximity with both the place and the agents of the composition (see Ex. 3).



Ex. 3. The opening phrase of *Rex Salomon* in BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fol. 91^v; lat. 3549, fol. 154^v, *vox organalis* et *vox principalis*; and lat. 14819, fol. 95^r (in 3549, at 'quorum' a *b* flat is probably intended). For the complete melody see the anthology below, no. XIX.

For the sequence *Ecce dies preoptata* (fol. 82^v), the versions of Notre Dame and St Victor diverge, with pairs of melodic phrases organized at St Victor following the plan 21/23 and 22/24.³² The melody of Nevers is closer to that of Notre Dame, following the same melodic plan, but it presents an ornamentation that is richer and even has its own original features, with its repetitions, melodic steps, and unequal phrase-lengths. The melody of Notre Dame, again taking well-known Victorine formulas familiar from sequences such as *Laudes crucis attollamus*, does not follow the standard plan in a rigorous way. The Narbonne manuscript (BnF lat. 778, fol. 186^v) presents a quite different melody.³³

Margot Fassler's work on this sequence, showing that the divergence between the readings of Notre Dame and St Victor suggests that this late sequence could not have been written by Adam or one of his disciples, but may have been brought from Notre Dame to St Victor, where the canons stripped it of its melody and adapted it to their own use, has much to commend it.³⁴ This suggestion receives

³² AH, LV, 377; Prévost, *Recueil*, p.28. We have compared the versions in BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fol. 80^r; lat. 778, fol. 184^r; lat. 1086, fol. 91^v; lat. 1112, fol. 281^v; and lat. 14819, fol. 126^r, which is very close to the version in lat. 14452, fol. 195^r.

³³ Fassler, *Gothic Song*, p. 388, who also mentions Assisi 695, from Reims/Paris (p. 296).

³⁴ Fassler, *Gothic Song*, pp. 182–83; this process of adaptation would have been made easier by recourse to existing formulas (cited on pp. 180, 293).

a confirmation in the fact that the melody of Notre Dame is so close to that of Nevers and, moreover, that Narbonne proposes yet another melody. Why would the Augustinians of Nevers not have adopted the Victorine melodies if these sequences had come to them from Paris? As with the other sequences, this suggests that the melody rather came from the South or from Nevers, that it was borrowed and simplified in Notre Dame and was finally modified in St Victor. Further, the adaptation at St Victor is made rather awkwardly since the inversion of the twenty-second and twenty-third phrases upsets the order of the melodic repetitions in pairs: 21/23, 22/24. The same melody carries strophes 21/23 and 22/24, and the splitting up of the text is unequal, so other upheavals ensue. This sequence thus appears not to be Parisian in origin, but quite possibly from Nevers, in which case it would be older than has previously been thought, arriving in Paris only later in its dissemination. Moreover, a Nivernaise or Aquitanian origin would be well suited to a sequence composed in honour of St Vincent of Saragossa or of Agen.

1a Ecce di-es preop-ta-ta, di-es fe -lix, di-es gra-ta, di-es di -gna gaudio

2a Or -tu fi -de sanc-ti -ta-te sen-su ver-bo di -gni-ta -te cla -rus et of -fi-ci-o

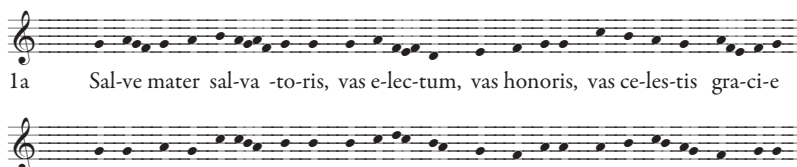
Ex. 4: *Ecce dies preoptata*, phrases 1–2, in BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fol. 82^v, and lat. 1112, fol. 279^f.

It would only have been possible to incorporate the melodies of Nevers into a Parisian sequence repertory with some difficulty. The third and fourth phrases offer a rare testimony to the repercussions found in this repertory which is normally mainly syllabic or with only small ornamentations. The Nevers manuscript is exceptional in showing us in written form the creative impulse of an improvisatory mode of execution, notating all the inflections of the voice (see Ex. 4).

One also finds sequences in Nevers transmitted with a different melody from the Aquitanian and Parisian versions, such as *Salve mater salvatoris* (fol. 80^r), which in this version is unique to this source (see Ex. 5).³⁵

The textual traditions of the Parisian and Aquitanian manuscripts are the same, but the melodies are often quite different. The Aquitanian melodies are repeated in the order of the strophes whereas in the Parisian manuscripts, of St Victor and even of Notre Dame, the forms are inverted according to the following scheme: 3a = 8a; 3b = 8b; 4a = 5a; 4b = 5b. This parallelism is then taken up in a regular pattern. The other versions resolved the problem of irregularity in verse-length (for example in strophe 8a/b) by shortening the redundant cadence.

The melody of Nevers is thus distinct from the Parisian melodies, but is also distinct, while broadly following their plan, from the Aquitanian versions of St Léonard and Narbonne (BnF lat. 1086 and 778), which resemble one another.³⁶ It is with this sequence, in which one may clearly identify three different melodies, that Nevers shows us something more when compared with the Aquitanian ones, and probably in consequence suggests a less decorated melody, with the exception of the last two strophes. Let us recall finally the insistence with which the Parisian melody, added to the manuscript of Nevers as the second version of this sequence, was diffused in the thirteenth century (fol. 108^r).³⁷



Ex. 5. The opening phrase of *Salve mater salvatoris* in BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fol. 80^r, and lat. 14819, fol. 126^r.

Another sequence alien to the Victorine tradition, *Iesse virgam humidavit* (fol. 99^v), shows all the more connection between Nevers and St Martial (see Ex. 6).³⁸ It is in effect near the famous abbey that one first finds this sequence

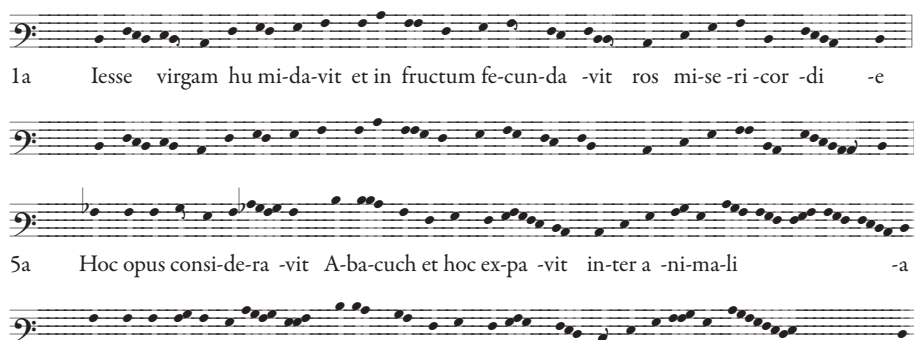
³⁵ Huglo, 'Un nouveau prosaire'; Fassler, *Gothic Song*, p. 365.

³⁶ This sequence is not found in the prosa of St Martial (BnF lat. 1139).

³⁷ AH, LIV, 383; Misset and Aubry, *Les Proses d'Adam de Saint-Victor*, p. 302.

³⁸ BnF lat. 1139, fol. 200^v; AH, LIV, 349; see also Huglo, 'Un nouveau prosaire'.

in the twelfth century, in the collection of *versus* BnF lat. 1139, as well as in the St Martial troper, BnF lat. 1119, and then in the thirteenth century in Catalonia, at Vic (Vic, Arx. cap. 106) and Urgell (Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, 1451, no. 3);³⁹ from the thirteenth century onwards it comes to be found in Paris/Reims (Assisi, Biblioteca comunale, 695) and Orléans, and subsequently in England. Of the three existing melodies quoted by Michel Huglo, that of Nevers conforms to the Aquitanian tradition, specifically the version in the St Martial troper (BnF lat. 1139, fol. 200^v), with a few variants in the organization of the strophes, though without a change in attribution of the melodies, since St Martial has the melody of strophes 9/10 before 7/8. The two manuscripts make use of similar descending cadences from *G* to *D*: *GED* or *GFFD*, *GFFED*, and *GFED*. The ornamented descending figures are worthy of note, and Nevers gives particular emphasis to the melismas of the final two strophes, 9/10 and 11/12, both sung on the vowels *i-a* which, in Limoges, are inclined to attract the more beautiful ornamentations: *animalia*, *leticia*, *gloria*. The place of most ornamentation thus chosen in the twelfth century has respect for the tradition of assonance with the vowel *a*, which in Aquitania had underlined the cadences of so many sequences and Hosanna prosulas.



Ex. 6. *Iesse virgam*, strophes 1a and 5a, in BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fol. 99^v, and lat. 1139, fol. 200^v (the *b* flat is not essential).

The sequence *Mater clemens ac benigna* (fol. 79^r), unique to Nevers, should according to Margot Fassler have been composed at Nevers on the model of older melodies while following the new style from the point of view of its versification

³⁹ See Miquel F. Gros i Pujol, *Els tropers-prosers de la Catedral de Vic: estudi i edició*, Biblioteca litúrgica catalana, 2 (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1999).

and subject-matter.⁴⁰ Following the binary structure of the older tradition, it nevertheless shows original principles in its composition. The cadences are different, but all the strophes are parallel and follow the form AABC, a pattern found only exceptionally in the Parisian tradition⁴¹ but which is found elsewhere, most famously in Abelard's hymn *O quanta qualia*.⁴² As a composer of hymns who was always concerned with the relation of words and music,⁴³ Abelard could well have appreciated the artistry of this composition. We will later see how the four Latin *lais* of Nevers do not discount the tradition of direct repetition and also include formulas that recur from one strophe to another.

The modal composition on *G* with intermediate cadences on *d* or *D* is a pattern borrowed from the older sequence tradition. On the other hand, some aspects of this sequence bring out the Limousine style: there is a very wide ambitus, notes are repeated, melodies move by step — especially in the second phrases of pairs where the melody is not repeated, such as the third, fifth, and sixth strophes — and the final cadence is exceptionally ornamented, on the words *gregis* and *Amen*.

Comparison of the melodic versions of this selection of sequences confirms that the Nevers repertory is situated in an Aquitanian tradition. Beyond their Nevers identity, they bring to light not only alternative readings but quite different and original compositional procedures and thereby raise the question of the origin of some of the sequences hitherto assumed to be Parisian. Paris could well have adopted texts that came from central or southern France, areas of great creative impulse in the twelfth century, and then have modified their melodies because of the convenience of using familiar formulas. Moreover these modifications do not only separate Paris from the South, but also show a distinction between different Parisian manuscripts. These changes were made possible thanks to a complicity between well-established textual structures, in spite of alternatives in their organization of phrases, and a degree of mobility of the musical forms that was supported by southern French ornamental techniques.

⁴⁰ Fassler, *Gothic Song*, p. 105. See the anthology below, no. XI, and the study of the text on pp. 222–27, above.

⁴¹ This pattern is defined according to the schemes established by Misset and Aubry in *Les Proses d'Adam de Saint-Victor*.

⁴² The melody of *O quanta qualia* has been published after the Rheinau manuscript (Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Rh. 21) in Michel Huglo, 'Abélard, poète et musicien', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 22 (1979), 349–61 (p. 355).

⁴³ Huglo, 'Abélard, poète et musicien', p. 355; David Wulstan, 'Novi modulaminis melos: The Music of Heloise and Abelard', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 11 (2002), 1–23.

Of these last, the sequence *Ecce dies preoptata* gives a rare example of a copy that appears spontaneous, but was simplified for choral use when it was adopted by Paris. In the same way, sequences known as Parisian but found in Limoges, Narbonne, or Nevers do not seem to be as dependent on formulas for their construction as they do in the Parisian sources. They allow room for a much richer ornamentation, with added melismas, stepwise melodic movement, and repetitions and characteristic formulas. On the other hand, *Mater clemens*, one of the sequences unique to Nevers and thus unknown to the Aquitanian tradition, was found to be rather less ornamented. This observation brings us back to Abelard, who assigned greater importance to the enunciation of a text than to its musical ornamentation. And in turn, perhaps this suggests that he or his school may have seen a distinction between different styles and functions in this repertory, a distinction which could be said to reveal itself in the greater weight assigned to musical elaboration in the tropes.

The series of tropes appearing at the same time testifies to a similar range of influences that it is tempting to connect with the increasing prevalence of the still rare melody of Sanctus IV, an eleventh-century melody that came to see much greater diffusion later.⁴⁴

*Chants of the Ordinary*⁴⁵

An additional series of troped Ordinary chants for the Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus in this manuscript (fols 101^v–102^r) forms something of a unit in its conception, of the form that would later come to be called a ‘Mass setting’.⁴⁶ The composer in this case had to follow the constraints imposed by the conventions of Ordinary chants, restrictions that are especially felt in the Kyrie chant, *Fons et ortus pietatis*, which has a preference here for the mode of *D*. The Sanctus *Quem ut daret* and the Agnus *Qui de patre genitus* may have been composed together: they are in the same mode and use equivalent ornamental formulas, even showing comparable phrase-divisions. The Sanctus is, as it should be, more decorated than the Agnus.

⁴⁴ See Peter Josef Thannabaur, *Das einstimmige Sanctus der römischen Messe in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung des 11. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, Erlangen Arbeiten zur Musikwissenschaft, 1 (Munich: Ricke, 1962).

⁴⁵ See the anthology below, nos XII, XIII, and XIV, and the study of the texts on pp. 227–34, above.

⁴⁶ The Gloria is not always integrated into the ordering of the Kyriale in the manuscript tradition.

The very fine Kyrie *Fons et ortus pietatis* (fol. 101^v) is an original composition, unknown to the repertories collected by the editors of *Analecta hymnica* and by Margareta Landwehr-Melnicki.⁴⁷ It displays practices characteristic of some of the sequences and Latin *lais* found in this manuscript: a very large ambitus, covering the two modes of *D* from low *A* to high *d*, sweeping the middle of the scale; conjoint movement; small ornamental passages; local cadences; and playing between *b* flat and *b* natural. Each troped phrase is divided into two elements, the first three starting on *a* in order to place themselves on the traditional intermediary cadence-note of *C*, a scale-degree situated beneath the final of the mode. The next three phrases conversely begin in the lower register then aim higher before descending again for the customary joining together for the *eleison*, though the *F* on which they come to rest cannot be cadential. The final three phrases maintain these first two elements with a rise and descent to *eleison* by combining elements from the first two sections in two different ways. The first two cadences of this section ascend to the dominant of the mode, *a* tinged with a *b* flat, which could be considered a transposition by a fifth of the cadences in the second group and of the final cadence, but they also remind one of the archaic form of the Kyrie. This cadence is prepared by a high-pitched intonation on *d* and by intermediate descending cadences on *a* and *F*.

It is worth noting that this intonation is cherished in many St Martial chants and in some Latin *lais*. The *b* is here natural to begin with, when there is a direct ascent from *a* to *c* followed by a stepwise descending octave, and the flat sign comes in only later. In the second group of phrases the syllabic treatment of the low fourth-figure *ACD* marks an acceleration shown by the rise in conjoint degrees, itself followed by a descent, also conjoint, which recalls the intermediate cadences of the first group of phrases, as well as their intonation in the jump to *a* in the second part.

The trope *Qui de patre genitus* (fol. 102^r) is based on Agnus IV, but is written here on *G* and involves the final cadence of the Agnus in richer ornamentation.⁴⁸ This writing brings the manuscript still closer to those southern sources which show a preference for *G* over *F*, such as the trope *Omniparens luminis* in the Limousine manuscript BnF lat. 3549 (fol. 162^v). It also brings this Agnus closer to the Sanctus that precedes it, itself in the mode of *G*, like the majority of Sanctus melodies in this manuscript.

⁴⁷ Margareta Landwehr-Melnicki, *Das einstimmige Kyrie des lateinischen Mittelalters*, Forschungsbeiträge zur Musikwissenschaft, 1 (Regensburg: Bosse, 1955). See the anthology below, no. XII.

⁴⁸ See the anthology below, no. XIV.

The melody of the trope begins on *b* and recalls that of the Agnus. Phrases are answered by imitation: 'Qui pro bene placito' and 'Homo pater ovium' begin in the same manner on different scale-degrees but both end up on *d*, with the same formula, prolonged on 'dei' by one of the three-note descending formulas very characteristic of this chant. The melody proceeds by step or with small leaps, in true Limousine style. The set of literary themes also brings to mind those of the liturgical dramas for the New Year, which at St Martial gave place to this kind of composition.

This group of tropes could well have been composed together by the same person, in particular the Sanctus and Agnus, although the character of the Agnus means that it is less highly ornamented. The ornamentation may be seen in the accents preceding cadences, as much in the response of the Agnus as in the trope. These cadences, as well as the small ornaments, connect the Agnus to the Sanctus, as do whole phrases such as 'Qui pro bene placito' in the Agnus and 'Est de monte' in the Sanctus.

The choice of Sanctus IV as the basis for the unique trope *Quem ut daret* (fol. 102^r) conforms with the general preference of this Nevers troper which out of twelve Sanctus chants has nine of them based on melody IV (*GcaGEFGG*).⁴⁹ Two other Sanctus melodies are also in the mode of *G*, one on a very similar melody, *Sanctorum vita decus* (*FaGcbaGabbG*, fol. 76^r), and the other an untroped Sanctus on the melody *G'a abc'd* followed by a Hosanna prosula, *Laudes Deo ore pio* (fol. 73^v).

Sanctus IV, a relatively late melody to appear, found without tropes in Aquitanian manuscripts of the eleventh century, saw widespread diffusion in these regions starting from twelfth century, probably in connection with the multiplication of its tropes, whose rich ornamentation is connected with the compositions of the St Martial school from the end of eleventh century.⁵⁰

In the following list of Sanctus settings in this manuscript, bold type signifies Sanctus melodies absent from the other Nevers tropers. The numbers refer to Gunilla Iversen's edition in CT, VII.

⁴⁹ Gunilla Iversen, *Tropes du Sanctus*, CT, VII, SLS, 34 (1990), no. 123. Thannabaur, *Das einstimmige Sanctus*, no. 49. See the anthology below, no. XIII.

⁵⁰ With slight variants, this chant is found without the tropes and with no rubric in the troper of St Yrieix (BnF lat. 903, fol. 179^r), at the end of the Sanctus section. It occurs at second hand in Limoges (BnF lat. 909, fol. 108^r; lat. 1135, fol. 177^r) and in the almost contemporaneous troper of Moissac (BnF n.a.lat. 1871, fol. 76^r; facsimile in Marie-Noël Colette, *Tropaire-séquentiaire prosaire prosulaire de Moissac (troisième quart du XI^e siècle): manuscrit Paris, BnF, n.a.lat. 1871*, Publications de la Société française de musicologie, 1st ser., 27 (Paris: SFM, 2006)). See Colette, 'L'Influence des mélodies aquitaines'.

Fol.	Incipit	Melody	CT, VII
73 ^v	<i>Quem docet</i>	<i>GcaGEFGG</i>	121
73 ^v	Sanctus ... Prsl <i>Laudes Deo</i>	<i>G'aabc'd</i>	68
74 ^r	<i>Tu trinus es</i>	<i>GcaGEFGG</i>	165
74 ^v	<i>Perpetuo numine</i>	<i>GcaGEFGG</i>	106
74 ^v	<i>Sancte ingenite</i>	<i>GcaGEFGG</i>	139
75 ^r	<i>Deus pater cuius</i>	<i>GcaGEFGG</i>	105
75 ^v	<i>Perpetue pacis</i>	<i>GcaGEFGG</i>	105
75 ^v	<i>Admirabilis splendor</i>	<i>GcaGEFGG</i>	1
76 ^r	<i>Sanctorum vita decus</i>	<i>FaGcbaGabbG</i>	144
76 ^v	<i>Pater supernus</i>	<i>caa, F</i>	100
77 ^r	<i>Cuius ad imperium</i>	<i>GcaGEFGG</i>	26
102 ^r	<i>Quem ut daret</i>	<i>GcaGEFGG</i>	123
9 ^r	<i>Sanctus Archetypi</i> (add.)	<i>GcaGEFGG</i>	9

The melody of Sanctus IV stays within a reasonable ambitus for a mode on *G*, sticking mainly to its plagal form, the eighth mode. With the trope, the melody spreads in all directions, again picking up the practices of light ornamentation associated with the *G*-mode that could be seen in the Agnus: wide ambitus, conjoint descent through all the possible intervals, and many small ornaments on thirds or seconds, mainly downward in motion. But it is the very rich ornamentation assigned to certain phrases that is especially noticeable: 'quo processit' with its succession of conjoint octaves, or 'vices rerum' with its accumulation of equivalent formulas on scale-degrees that progressively move towards the final. Lastly, all the phrases finish on the final *G*, in accordance with the teaching of Guido d'Arezzo, whose work was known in this area at the beginning of the twelfth century. The stretching of the final phrase of this Nevers trope also recalls other passages, such as the ending of another trope of Sanctus IV found in this manuscript, the Sanctus *Archetypi*.

Sanctus *Archetypi* was added to folio 9^r of the Nevers troper in the thirteenth century. It bears comparison with the melody of *Quem ut daret* and is an extreme example, almost a caricature, of the tendencies that were expressed there.⁵¹ Gunilla Iversen underlines the complexity of the literary style of this trope. The melody

⁵¹ See the anthology below, no. XV. CT, VII, no. 9. The flat-signs, sometimes surprising, are written in the manuscript.

is also complex, repetitive, and almost didactic, recalling some compositions of organa, for example *Stirps Iesse* in the Limousine manuscript mentioned above or many compositions of the school of Notre Dame,⁵² in stating the range of intervals intended for use, with a sweeping of the scale in a lesson in modal and vocal agility. This trope undoubtedly bears witness to a milieu which could not dissociate itself from the requirements of the *Opus Dei* in providing an education in the sounds, the modes, and the intervals, and we well know that the fruits of this training in the new art form found their natural place in the liturgy at the time of the feasts of the young clerics.⁵³ One should not therefore be astonished to find that this evidence of the teaching given in the schools appears in a liturgical manuscript that also provides the first copy of some unusual compositions elsewhere associated with Abelard.

*Latin 'Lais'*⁵⁴

This series of four pieces begins in the middle of folio 84^v, immediately following the sequence *Ecce dies preoptata*, for St Vincent:

fol. 84^v: *Virgines caste*

fol. 87^r: *De profundis*

fol. 88^v: *Dolorum solatium*

fol. 90^v: *Epithalamica*

It is not our intention here to enter into the discussion of whether or not these pieces may be attributed to Abelard or his school, but simply to draw attention to their position in the manuscript, which presents them as a coherent

⁵² For example, Agnus Dei *Archetypi mundi*, in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst., fol. 189^r.

⁵³ Some exercises of this type are edited in Michel Huglo, 'Exercitia vocum', in *Laborare fratres in unum: Festschrift László Dobszay zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Janka Szendrei and David Hiley, *Spolia Berolinensia*, 7 (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 1995), pp. 117–23 (repr. in Michel Huglo, *La Théorie de la musique antique et médiévale*, *Variorum Collected Studies Series*, 822 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), art. XX).

⁵⁴ See the anthology below, nos XVI and XVII. The following discussion derives from my contribution to the Abelard conference at Nantes in 2001, published as 'Un ensemble de *planctus* attribués à Abélard dans un prosaire nivernais (manuscrit Paris, BnF, nal 3126)', in *Pierre Abélard: colloque international de Nantes*, ed. by Jean Jolivet and Henri Habrias (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2003), pp. 277–94.

group. Once again they share certain characteristics in their words and music with other chants found in this source, and in various Limousine and other southern French chants.

The positioning of the four Latin *lais* at this point in the manuscript tells us a certain amount with regard to the pieces which precede and follow them. In contrast with the rest of the manuscript, they are not rubricated with titles, either concerning their genre or their liturgical function, although the copyist left spaces for such annotation. They are thus not integrated into a liturgical progression, and seem to sit outside any given function. This observation is further underlined by the fact that precise details of musical execution of the sort one finds everywhere else in the manuscript do not appear in this section, for example the indication of the *b* flat. This could mean either that the interpreters saw no need for this kind of precise detail or that such fine points of execution did not occur to them. Another possibility, to which we shall return, is that there was a kind of modal ambivalence. In effect we only find the modes of *D* and *G* in these pieces, but the flat is precisely what most surely distinguishes between these modes, as they are heard and in the absence of notation.

The four Latin *lais* form an intrinsic part of the principal layer of the manuscript, and yet their inclusion at this point introduces a kind of rupture, under the guise of apparent continuity. Even if they were composed separately, their grouping here seems to operate in an intentional way with regard to their sense and their musical structure. As regards their sense, why given the clear link in content between *Virgines caste* and *Epithalamica* have they been separated by the quite different sentiment of *De profundis* and *Dolorum solatium*? And in terms of their melodies, the first and last in the mode of *D* surround the two central Latin *lais* in the mode of *G*, but all are linked by a coherent modal organization and by common recurrent formulaic elements.

The Sense

Virgines caste takes its inspiration from the Song of Songs, but perhaps also the Apocalypse: the virgins follow, attend to, and bear gifts for the bridegroom, the lamb, who at the end becomes the Redeemer, the Son of the Virgin.⁵⁵ The piece

⁵⁵ See the anthology below, no. XVI, and the discussions of the text by Gunilla Iversen and William Flynn (pp. 236–39, 340–41). See also Pascale Bourgain, *Poésie lyrique latine du moyen âge* (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 2000), pp. 50–60, and Peter Dronke, 'Virgines castae', in *Lateinische Dichtungen des X. und XI. Jahrhunderts: Festgabe für Walter Bulst* (Heidelberg: Schneider, 1981),

finishes with an apparent liturgical reference: the final word *Domino* recalls the tradition much prized in the south of France at this time of setting the *Benedicamus Domino*, the word here assonant with *devocio* and *studio*. Following on from this celebration of the virginity and purity which enable the Redemption come two veritable *planctus*:⁵⁶ *De profundis* is entirely concerned with the afflictions of the sinner, who calls for judgement, 'Pie Deus', and the Redemption, 'Ihesu bone'.⁵⁷ From the middle of the *planctus*, and interrupting the groups of melodic phrase repetitions, the expression of contrition is borrowed from Psalm 113, *In exitu Israel*: 'Non nobis domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam.' This phrase (no. 14 in the transcription) is singled out by its original, unique melody, which introduces a notable rupture into the pattern of repetitions that characterizes this section of the *planctus*. It is noteworthy that Psalm 113 is sung in the liturgy on Sundays and even on Easter Day, as was *Epithalamica* in the Ordinary of the Paraclete. The chant returns at the end to the figure of the bride, the mother who became the church, a topic dear to the Victorines.⁵⁸ Finally this church, representing a brotherhood, provides a link with the famous *Dolorum solatium*, often qualified as the *planctus* of David lamenting for Saul and Jonathan. *De profundis* ends by once more recalling a liturgical model, or a hymn, with a kind of doxology addressed to Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

The lament of David is given the explanatory title of *planctus Dolorum solatium*.⁵⁹ This recourse to the Old Testament, so much a feature of the compositions

pp. 93–118 (repr. in Peter Dronke, *Latin and Vernacular Poets of the Middle Ages*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 352 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1991), art. vi).

⁵⁶ See on this subject Nils Holger Petersen, 'Les Planctus d'Abélard et la tradition des drames liturgiques', in *Pierre Abélard: colloque international de Nantes* (see n. 54, above), pp. 267–76, and Nicolas Bell, 'Les Planctus d'Abélard et la tradition tardive du planctus', in *ibid.*, pp. 261–66.

⁵⁷ AH, x, 54–55.

⁵⁸ See on this subject Fassler, *Gothic Song*.

⁵⁹ Peter Abelard, *Lamentations; Histoire de mes malheurs; Correspondance avec Héloïse*, ed. and French trans. by Paul Zumthor, musicological note by Gérard Le Vot, Babel, 52 (Arles: Actes Sud, 1992), pp. 73–83. The music is edited and analysed in Lorenz Weinrich, 'Dolorum solatium: Text und Musik von Abelards Planctus David', *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch*, 5 (1968), 59–78; Lorenz Weinrich, 'Peter Abaelard as Musician', *Musical Quarterly*, 55 (1969), 295–312 and 464–86; and Peter Abelard, *I planctus*, ed., intro., and musical transcription by Guiseppe Vecchi, Collezione di testi e manuali, 35 (Modena: Società tipografica modenese, 1951). To the list of manuscripts containing sequences and *planctus* given by Constant Mews in his review of Julia Barrow, Charles Burnett, and David E. Luscombe, *A Checklist of the Manuscripts Containing the Writings of Peter Abelard and Heloise and Other Works Closely Associated with Abelard and His School* (Revue d'histoire des textes, 14–15 (1984–85), 183–302), in *Scriptorium*, 41 (1987), 327–30 (p. 330).

of the twelfth century, here comes to provide support for the Redemption. The topics of despair that are taken up in *De profundis* resurface: 'dolor', 'desolatio', 'hostium [...] laborum remedium'. And it cannot be by chance that the *spiritus*, normally a term used in the doxology, should here form the ending of the *planctus* with its associations of mourning. However, in the twelfth-century mentality the liturgy always triumphs in its finality, which explains why the two *planctus* are surrounded by two representatives of the opposite emotion. The last piece, *Epithalamica*, was rightly intended to follow on from songs of mourning in the Ordinary of the Paraclete, with the celebration of the Resurrection. After these painful stories, *Epithalamica* is indeed a song of joy.⁶⁰ The 'virgines caste' who had sacrificed themselves for the lamb, which is itself the symbol of sacrifice, now join in singing to the bridegroom. The tone, different in its literary and musical aspects from that of the three pieces preceding it, brings a kind of musical play in the patterns of thirds which conclude the piece.

One cannot help recalling at this point the earlier occurrence of these themes in the *Sponsus* drama, composed a half-century earlier in the Limousine region. As many writers have pointed out, *Sponsus* is found uniquely in the twelfth-century St Martial collection, BnF lat.1139.⁶¹ However, the subject-matter had a great influence in this area: it is included in the architectural decoration of the churches of south-western France, and according to Joaquim Bragança its influence may be seen in the liturgy of southern France and of Spain and Portugal, in particular in rites of monastic initiation.⁶² Abelard or his successors would thus have been aware of an elegant way of expressing a set of bridal themes.

The same Limousine manuscript that transmits *Sponsus* brings us two other representational texts whose literary topics may be directly associated with the Latin *lais* of Nevers: the lament of Rachel, which recalls the lament of David, and

may be added a twelfth-century source of *De profundis* of unknown origin, noted in French neumes on lines, in a fragment of a proser bound together with a Vita of St Martinus de Suplicius Severus, BnF lat. 5585, fols 2^r–3^r.

⁶⁰ See the anthology, no. XVII, and William Flynn's commentary, pp. 341–48, below. For a very detailed analysis of the text and music, see Chrysogonus Waddell, 'Epithalamica: An Easter Sequence by Peter Abelard', *Musical Quarterly*, 72 (1986), 239–71; see also the text and partial French translation in Peter Dronke, *Sources of Inspiration: Studies in Literary Transformations, 400–1500*, Raccolta di Studi e Testi, 196 (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1997), chap. 15.

⁶¹ For a discussion and further bibliography, see Nils Holger Petersen's contribution to the present volume, pp. 164–72.

⁶² Joaquim O. Bragança, 'A Parábola das Virgens na espiritualidade medieval', *Didaskalia*, 2 (1972), 116–31.

the drama of the prophets, into which is inserted a verse from the Song of the Sybil, which is sung on Christmas Eve and brings the hope of Redemption and fear of the Last Judgement closer.

Another drama that borrows part of its text from *Epithalamica* is the short text *De Pelegrino* found in the Vic manuscript.⁶³ The melodic comparison between these two versions highlights their differences, but also brings to light the particular characteristics of the composition of *Epithalamica*. The very simple melody which is given for the phrases beginning 'Rex in accubitum' in *Epithalamica* (nos 6–7 in the transcription) is cut off from that of the preceding phrases, which have a style much nearer to the melody of Vic (see Ex. 7). It is difficult to explain why the author of *Epithalamica* would have simplified the melody at precisely this point, unless it was Abelard's work. On the other hand, the continuity in the two melodic phrases, which follow a scheme a-b-c-b, is in general keeping with the form of the Latin *lai*, where the drama of Vic breaks this pattern with the interrogation by the angel, which stops this continuation. As a result, the influence of the drama becomes more problematic. The text appears more suggestive if it belongs to the Latin *lai* since then the search for the husband, as sung in the Canticle, is included just as it is in the Eastertide response of *Dominum meum*, the Old Testament thereby realized in the New. The syllabic character of this melody prepares the way for the concluding episode of *Epithalamica*. It is worthy of note that the manuscript of Béziers which transmits this piece at a much later date follows the text of Nevers and not that of Vic.⁶⁴ Although the melodies seem different — and there is no ambiguity in their transcription — one can recognize the same melodic direction in the various versions. A reason for the differences resulting from faulty copies may be found by comparing other melodies transmitted in the Limousine manuscript discussed earlier (BnF lat. 1139). This could explain linear displacements, but not the possibility of a simplification of the ornamentation, which is not justified in the case of *Epithalamica*. This short drama moreover supports the hypothesis of a dramatic inspiration that would have been recognized by a contemporary audience as being sought by the copyist of these Latin *lais*. This would have become clear in the method of presenting them as a kind of composition in four

⁶³ Vic, Arxiu capítular 105 (CXI), fol. 60^{r-v}; edited and translated in Peter Dronke, *Nine Medieval Latin Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). See also Constant Mews, 'Heloise and Liturgical Experience at the Paraclete', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 11 (2002), 25–35. For the connections between liturgical drama and the *planctus*, see Petersen, 'Les Planctus d'Abélard'.

⁶⁴ BnF lat. 1059, fols 330^{rb-vb}, 462^{vb}–463^{va}.

parts, whose succession reveals a certain unit of direction. The compiler would quite naturally have found his inspiration in dramatic texts he had witnessed in performance, and in the cultural practices of the twelfth century.



1. Rex in ac -cubitus iam se con -tule-rat et me-a re-dolens nardus spi-ra -ve -rat >>
 3. Per noctem i -gitur hunc querens e-xe-o huc il -luc an-xi-o queren-do cur -si -to*.>>



2. In hortum ve -ne-ram in quem descenderat at il -le transi -ens iam de -cli-na -ve-rat.
 4. Oc-currunt vi -gi -les ar-den -ti stu-di-o, quos dum tran-si -e-rim sponsum in-ve -ni -o.

Ex. 7. Excerpts from *Epithalamica* in BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fols 90^v–91^v, and Vic, Cathedral 105 (CXI) fol. 60^{r-v} (* Vic: huc illuc transiens nusquam reperio. *Between 3 and 4*: ‘Mulier quid ploras. Quem queris?’: *F GaaG b, GFG a b, GFG a*).

Finally, it is worth seeking a justification for the insertion of these four Latin *lais* at this point in the manuscript. The epithalamium, which obviously refers to the Song of Solomon, is followed immediately by two sequences for the dedication, *Rex Salomon* and *Quam dilecta*. One could see here an Abelardian connection, as the intellectual lover becomes involved in the construction and the institutions of the temple of the Paraclete, to which he wanted Heloise to devote from now on all her energies and desires.

Musical Structure

The modal organization of these Latin *lais* as much as their structure, sharing analogous formulas, serves to underline the coherence of their plan. If one shows some of the forms used by these Latin *lais* schematically, using the alphabetical system of notation, we may use the following tables to reveal two Latin *lais* in the mode of *G* sandwiched between two melodies in the mode of *D*. And in this group there is a continuous progression that makes effective use of attractions to *D* or *G*, and sometimes of the formulas common to both. The modal formulas on *G* are printed in bold below.

Virgines caste: DECD, abaGaD, abcdcba, aGFED, ACDFGED, FEDED

De profundis: FECD, acdcba, abaGaGFED, dbGcbaG, cbaGFabG

Dolorum solatium: GabG, FED, EFG, bdecbaG, Gabcd, gfed, cdcbag

Epithalamica: aGabcbaG, FEDFGED, DabaGaD, DFGED, FEDED

De profundis, in the mode of *D*, forms a transition towards the formulas on *G* that lead to the modality of *Dolorum solatium*, sung in the mode of *G* but with reminiscences of *D*, and even, at the beginning, the resumption of final formulas of *De profundis*. *Epithalamica* connects directly with this mode of *G* by using *a* to return to *D*. The final cadence of *Virgines caste* on FEDED is connected with the intonation of *De profundis*, which is repeated through the whole of its first section, FEDCD, a continuation that is also sung in several phrases of *Virgines caste*. It is the great lamenting figure in *De profundis*, ‘Ve, ve’, that brings this *planctus* towards the mode of *G*.⁶⁵ If one thinks in terms of change of modality, though, many more modal attractions can be seen binding these melodies into a whole, in the same manner that in old and new sequences the melodies are enriched in new directions by transpositions and melodic passages.

Given the way they are presented in this manuscript, might the grouping of these Latin *lais* be seen as an intentional decision of the copyist — maybe even of the composer himself, since they all appear in this manuscript for the first time in their history? There is a unity of purpose in their juxtaposition here. At this date the principal characteristic of the lament does not take the form of extraordinary melodic accents, but above all may be seen in a search for a minimal type of music, which is therefore melodically fairly unvaried and repetitive.

Let us reconsider for a moment the question of the genre of these pieces, which are neither sequences nor *planctus* — with the obvious exceptions of *Dolorum solatium* and *De profundis*.⁶⁶ Weinrich suggested that the Abelardian *planctus* was an elegy in content and a sequence in form. The repetition of the musical phrases in fours recalls the structure of certain older sequences when the melodies are doubled, especially when the repetition of the melismas would mean the same melody would be heard four times. Contrary to Aquitanian practice, Cluny also made use of the sequence practices of the East and Italy.⁶⁷ The musical style in

⁶⁵ The quality of the *b* is not specified, and should probably be treated as natural in the *G*-mode as well as in the *D*-mode when it is attracted toward high *c*, but flat in other cases.

⁶⁶ On the status of these songs of joy and mourning, see Gunilla Iversen’s discussion, pp. 234–42, above.

⁶⁷ BnF lat. 1087.

which repetition prevails arises of course from the sequence, but it is used here with an insistence that greatly informed the structure of the *lai*. This repetitive genre, which at this date constituted the principal method of expression of the lament and recurs in the later *planctus* tradition, had already appeared in the lament of Rachel mentioned above. Rachel and then the angel respectively repeat a succession of identical phrases, using formulas that one also finds in the Latin *lais* under discussion. Notice that Rachel sings in the mode of *G* and the angel in the mode of *D*:

Rachel: *ccbaG Gabc aGaF Fac dedbG aFaaG*

Angel: *aaaF aGED FGED*

Beyond the repetitions, other characteristics of these pieces are a degree of monotony, with the Latin *lais* generally following a melody of the psalmodic or litanic type, sometimes with a responsorial pattern. This need not preclude having recourse to some formulas that we would call regional or local on the grounds that they may also be found in fairly diverse contexts in Aquitanian chants of the time. The expressivity of these chants ultimately depends less on the characteristics themselves than on the contexts in which they are found. These four compositions progress by a succession of repeated or alternating phrases in a complex and subtle way, since the redeployment of formulas within a piece serves to accentuate the reiterative character of the melodies.⁶⁸ Let us therefore observe how the organization of these repetitions is presented.

The Musical Structure of *Virgines caste*:

Virgines caste: four times (phrases 1–4); variants in the incipit between 1–2 and 3–4

Hec est: four times (phrases 5–8); variant in the final of phrase 6

⁶⁸ The following examples (see Exx. 8–11) are intended to show the melodic structure of the composition and to present the opening of the phrase and the number of repetitions of each melody (indicated in the first column), followed by the numbers of the melodic formulas concerned, in the order of their appearance, the phrases here being divided by melodic unities corresponding to a line of the chant. The numbering used here and in the anthology was arrived at by considering the melodic unity of each phrase; as a result the phrases are not of equal length and do not necessarily correspond to the division of the strophes in the published editions. See Dronke, '*Virgines castae*', pp. 94–96.

Post eam: twice (phrases 9–10)

Filie Tiri: four times (phrases 11–14)

Holocausta: twice (phrases 15–16)

Lectulos: twelve phrases composed of four groups each having the same melody twice (phrases 17–18, 20–21, 23–24, and 26–27), interpolated by another melody (*ne quis*) in the form of a response, four times (phrases 19, 22, 25, and 28)

Hic ecclesiastici: six phrases composed of two groups each with the same melody twice (phrases 29–30 and 32–33), twice interpolated by another melody (phrases 31, 34), with an added intonation formula on phrases 29 and 32

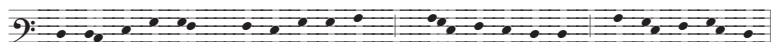
His quoque: four times (phrases 35–38) on the model a-a-b-c

Crebros saltus: eight phrases on two melodies alternating in pairs: phrases 39–40 and 43–44 (following the model a-a'-b), 41–42 and 45–46

Hoc attende: two concluding phrases (47–48)



1–4



5–8



9–10



11–14



15–16



17–18, 20–21, 23–24, 26–27



19, 22, 25, 28



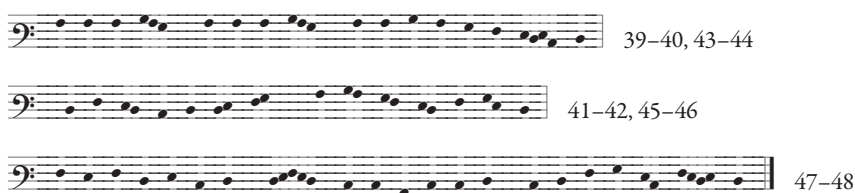
29–32, 30–33



31, 34



35–38



Ex. 8. *Virgines caste*. Half bar lines show divisions of variant cells. See the anthology below, no. XVI.

In the first section all the phrases end with cadences that make one think of responses analogous to those in litanies. They are all nearly identical responses, regardless of the 'questions' asked in the musical formulation of the beginning of the phrases. These cadences moreover make use of the intonation found in the first two phrases. Again we see the musical unity aimed for in these *planctus*, which keeps them in a musically controlled environment. It is not far removed from psalmody, advancing note by note and with small ornaments based around a single note. The recurring cadence *ACDFD* returns at the end, and the two last phrases also take up elements of phrases 9–10 and 15–16, which had also presented reiterative cadences: the formula *FDECDD* occurs twelve times in phrases 1–4, 9–10, 11–14, and 15–16, and in the transposed form *cabGaba* in phrases 29–34. In this formula some might discern a reminiscence of the *Dies irae*, but I would sooner consider this an influence on the *Dies irae*, since it is a formula very much appreciated at this time, and in the form it is found here it is even used in the incipit of the first phrases of this Latin *lai*. The formula is also found in some sequences, for example in the Victorine version of the dedication sequence *Quam dilecta*, for the phrase *Quam decora fundamenta*.⁶⁹ It is found in the sequence for St Denis, *Mirabilis Deus* (fol. 54^r), a sequence already found in the two earlier Nevers proser (BnF lat. 9449 and n.a.lat. 1235). Similar reiterative cadences may be heard later, with some alternative forms such as *EFEDCD*, in other *planctus* such as that of the Marys at Cividale.⁷⁰

Some phrases are built on a model of question-and-answer. Phrases 17–18 are thus not cadential, their melody being one that uses the intonation of the *Salve regina* in its twelfth-century version in the mode of *D* (*a-D*). The musical response is given by the phrase following, and descends to *D* (phrase 19); and likewise for the following three groups of phrases.

⁶⁹ BnF lat. 14819, fol. 93^r.

⁷⁰ Cattin, *Il pianto della madonna*.

The Musical Structure of *De profundis*:⁷¹

De profundis: four groups formed of two pairs of repeated and alternating melodies (phrases 1–2, 4–5, 7–8, and 10–11, the repetitions with minor variants, a-a'), punctuated by the response *Pie deus, Ihesu bone* (phrases 3, 6, 9, and 12), sung to the melody used for the intonation of the phrases⁷²

Sumus quidem: two identical melodies (phrases 13 and 15) separated by a phrase beginning with the Psalm text *Non nobis* to an original melody (phrase 14), which breaks the regularity of the repetitions

Ad medendum: four times (phrases 16–19)

Quod si nos: four times (phrases 20–23), in the form a-a-b-b'

Ve ve nobis: four times (phrases 24–27), in the form a-b-c-b

Miserere: a single phrase (28), the invocation *Miserere nostri* on an original melody, ending very curiously on *F*

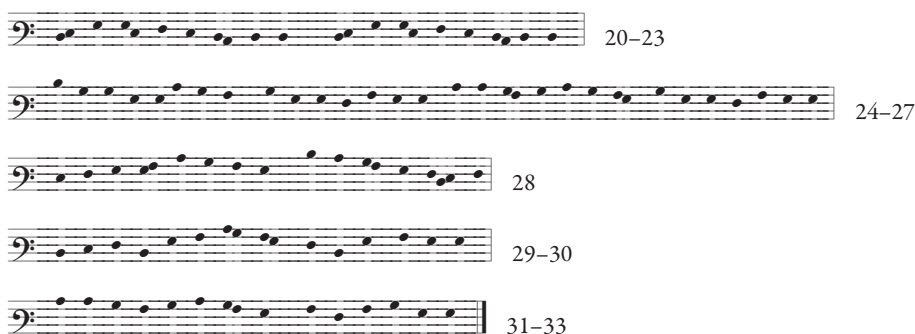
Summe pater: twice (phrases 29–30)

Postulator: the same concluding melody three times (phrases 31–33)

The image displays musical notation for the *De profundis* sequence. It consists of seven staves of music, each representing a different phrase or group of phrases. The notation is in a single system, with each staff starting on a new line. The first staff is labeled '1-2, 4-5, 7-8, 10-11' and '3, 6, 9, 12 /'. The second staff is labeled '13, 15'. The third staff is labeled '14'. The fourth staff is labeled '16-19'. The fifth staff is labeled '20-23'. The sixth staff is labeled '24-27'. The seventh staff is labeled '28'. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and bar lines, indicating the structure and repetition of the phrases.

⁷¹ See the discussions in Huglo, 'Abélard, poète et musicien', p. 359, and Weinrich, '*Dolorum Solatium*', p. 67.

⁷² The seventh and eighth phrases are cited, without notation, in the Paraclete Ordinary (BnF fr. 14410, fol. 114^v).

Ex. 9. *De profundis*.

Starting in a modality based on *D*, this *planctus* ends in the mode of *G*, the modulation effected by the high *d* in phrase 24. The initial melody *FEDCDD* is a variant of the insistent melody of *Virgines caste*, *FDECDD*. It is presented here in a direct descent, very characteristic of music of lamentation, as can also be seen, for example, in the lament of Rachel.

Certain phrases only make an effective cadence in their second line (phrases 20–23); others find their response in another phrase, which we have noted separately above. Just as with phrases 17–18 of *Virgines caste*, the first and second phrases here end with an intermediate cadence on *C*, calling for a response that is found in the third phrase, and a similar pattern is followed up to the twelfth phrase.

The Musical Structure of *Dolorum solatium*:⁷³

Dolorum: four times (phrases 1–4), on the model a-a-b

Amalech: four times (phrases 5–8), on the model a-a-b-b

Saul regem: four times (phrases 9–12), on the model a-a-b-c

Ve, ve tibi: four times (phrases 13–16), on the model a-b-c-d

Heu cur: nine elements or phrases (17–25) in three groups of four cells, composed as follows:

⁷³ See the comparative edition in Weinrich, 'Peter Abelard as Musician', p. 468, after BnF n.a.lat. 3126, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 288, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 79.

$a^1-a^2-a^3-a^2$ $b-c-a^4-d$ $b-b-a^4-d$
 $a^1-a^2-a^3-a^2$ $c-c-a^4-d$ $b-b-a^4-d$
 $a^1-a^2-a^3-a^2$ $c-c-a^4-d$ $c-c-a^4-d$

Do quietem: two identical concluding phrases in form a-b-c (26–27)

Ex. 10. *Dolorum solatium*. A comma shows repeated cells and half bar lines show variant cells.

Beginning with *Heu cur*, there are nine phrases, almost entirely syllabic, that may be schematically analysed as three groups of four cells. These cells consist of ascents or descents in conjoint movement, on occasion with repeated notes. The various known versions of this *planctus* present a rather free use of the organization of the two musical cells a and b; but one also finds here the form a-a-b-c that was characteristic of the sequence *Mater clemens* discussed above.

This lament is at its most complex and reaches its highest point in the overlapping formulas in the segments 17–25; but peace returns with the two last phrases: *Do quietem*. Almost all the cadences go down from a height, following the pattern of the opening of *De profundis*: *cbaG*.

The Musical Structure of *Epithalamica*:

Epithalamica: four times (phrases 1–4)

Adolescentule: four times (phrases 5–8)

In montibus: two groups formed of two repeated phrases (9–10 and 13–14) concluding with two repeated invitations taking the form of a litanic response (11–12 and 15–16); minor variants

Rex in accubitum: four phrases (17–20), with a variant in the incipit between 17/19 and 18/20

Iam video: two groups of six phrases formed of four plus two (21–24 + 25–26; 27–30 + 31–32); small differences in the incipits between 21–24 and 27–30

Eya nunc: four concluding phrases (33–36)

1–4

5–8

19–10, 13–14

11–12, 15–16

17, 19, 18, 20

21–24; 27–30

25–26, 31–32

33–36

Ex. 11. *Epithalamica*. A comma shows repeated cells and half bar lines show variant cells. See the anthology below, no. XVII.

The rhythmic momentum is here tightened, with a smaller number of formulas and much shorter phrases. The opening phrases start high, on *a*. We find ornamentation characteristic of Limousine melodies, for example at the beginning on *cantica*, with the distribution of small decorated formulas in the opening

phrases, or in syllabic sections, with alternations of thirds and leaps of a fifth. This small-scale ornamentation contrasts with phrases 17–20, which are also found in the drama *De pelegriño* from Vic, where the tenor alternates between *a* and *G*. At this point are introduced the very syllabic passages which end the piece. Such a playful attitude to the notes, the rhythms, the language, and the relations between all of these, would fit easily into the intellectual context of the Limousine student. *Epithalamica* provides the almost obligatory optimistic conclusion in Christian prayer to this section of the Nevers manuscript, a composition in four episodes in Christian prayer, beginning and ending *in cantica*.

What should we make of the additional stanzas of *Epithalamica* found in the manuscript of Le Puy?⁷⁴ The psalm-verse *Haec est dies quam fecit dominus*, prescribed as the gradual chant for every day of Easter week, is here taken up using one of these melodies on three levels particularly cherished in this part of France, which may be intended to be sung successively or polyphonically. The lowest voice is no more than the melody already sung to 'Risi mane [...] Plausus die'. It was added to the early sequence because of its Eastertide associations, which were not envisaged at Nevers. Peter Dronke, preferring to retain the coherence of the Nevers version, 'le cadre salomonique', associated the addition of Le Puy, *Quam fecit dominus*, with the independent piece with the same incipit found in the gradual-proser of Fontevraud.⁷⁵ It is possible that this *cantus in resurrectione* actually could have inspired this *cauda*, but only the first stanzas are identical for the text, and the melodies are different, though following a similar course. In this case one could imagine an intentional modal displacement for the purposes of an adaptation, or more simply a copyist's error in conjunction with varied local practices. It is thus that Le Puy takes up intermediary sources such as Fontevraud, which converted what had begun as a conclusion *in cantica* — in a manner often found at St Martial — into an opening. The addition of the Paschal psalm-verse to this piece moreover provides a liturgical setting and purpose that would otherwise not be explicit.⁷⁶ The original status of this epithalamium in the Nevers manuscript, devoid of this Easter reference, points once more in the direction of the dedication, celebrated by the sequence which follows it in the manuscript, *Rex Salomon*.

⁷⁴ Grenoble, Médiathèque municipale, 4413, fol. 97^r; Waddell, 'Epithalamica', p. 253.

⁷⁵ Peter Dronke, 'Amour sacré et amour profane au moyen âge latin: témoignages lyriques et dramatiques', in *Sources of Inspiration* (see n. 60, above), pp. 375–93 (pp. 380–81). The gradual-proser of Fontevraud is Limoges, Médiathèque municipale, 2, fol. 113^r.

⁷⁶ See William Flynn's discussion, pp. 345–48, below.

Finally let us draw attention to the musical unity that links these four Latin *lais* in a perfectly controlled melodic climate. The musical dialect derives ultimately from psalmody, passing from one held note to another and more or less enriched with ornaments. Many details of these Latin *lais* make one think of Aquitanian practices. Cadences have double embellishments: *FEDE CD*; *EDEC D*; or arriving at the final of the *D*-mode via the empty third, *FGED*. This last figure is completely characteristic of the *D*-mode when one imagines it badly transposed from the *C*-mode.⁷⁷ Ornamentation is often made on conjunct scale-degrees (as in *De profundis*), but can also take the form of small steps descending by thirds, in the manner one associates with the *Dies irae*. This ornamental process is enhanced as the textual and musical rhythm tightens toward the end of *Epithalamica*.

The examples we have extracted from this remarkable manuscript of Nevers effectively present a digest of some of the underlying musical tendencies of the twelfth century, in terms of the inspiration, the ornamentation, and the ambivalent attitude to poetic and musical invention, oscillating between the adaptation of existing material and creation of new pieces in a scholarly milieu whose concern was the proper embellishment of the Mass and Office. In modern times, when the means of diffusion of knowledge is coming to concern society at large, let us recall that in the twelfth century it was thanks to the newly developed system of staff notation that these pieces came to be received, transmitted, and preserved. These witnesses moreover enable us to perceive a little of the splendour and variety of liturgical celebration in the Middle Ages. Assuredly sumptuous, and with a confidence in their regional styles, they achieved a high degree of solemnity.

⁷⁷ As suggested in Wulstan, '*Novi modulaminis melos*', p. 15.

LETTERS, LITURGY, AND IDENTITY: THE USE OF *EPITHALAMICA* AT THE PARACLETE

William T. Flynn

Until recently, the almost archetypal nature of the story of Abelard and Heloise's famous love affair has tended to obscure the principal focus not only of their mutual correspondence, but indeed of fully one-sixth of Abelard's surviving writings — the sermons, hymns, and reflections on the nature of monasticism that he produced from the mid-1130s until his death probably in 1142.¹ All of these writings, and all of the now largely lost liturgical music, were dedicated to the proper ordering and running of his former oratory, the Paraclete, which Abelard had given to Heloise and the other nuns expelled from Argenteuil in 1129; his gift was confirmed by Pope Innocent II in 1131, making the Paraclete a Benedictine nunnery under Heloise's direction.² In this chapter, I will first examine the letters exchanged between Abelard and Heloise, focusing principally on their salutations and closings, in order to confirm Morgan Powell's argument that Letters 1–8 form a coherent 'text compiled and used at

I would like to thank Jane Flynn for her careful reading and comments on several drafts of this chapter. Translations are mine unless stated otherwise.

¹ The recent shift in interpretation is especially evident in the following four chapters of *Listening to Heloise: The Voice of a Twelfth-Century Woman*, ed. by Bonnie Wheeler (New York: St Martin's, 2000): John Marenbon, 'Authenticity Revisited', pp. 19–33; Katharina Wilson and Glenda McLeod, 'Textual Strategies in the Abelard/Heloise Correspondence', pp. 121–42; Linda Georgianna, '"In Any Corner of Heaven": Heloise's Critique of Monastic Life', pp. 187–216; and Morgan Powell, 'Listening to Heloise at the Paraclete: Of Scholarly Diversion and a Woman's "Conversion"', pp. 255–86.

² See Mary Martin McLaughlin, 'Heloise the Abbess: The Expansion of the Paraclete', in *Listening to Heloise*, pp. 1–17.

the Paraclete [...] that [...] serves to justify and generate a model of the monastic life for women'.³ Next, I will argue that the Easter season liturgy instituted at the Paraclete (much of which was newly written by Abelard at Heloise's request) closely parallels the rhetorical argumentation adopted by Heloise and Abelard in the letters, and that the liturgy functions as a means of bringing Abelard's specific interpretations of an ideal women's monasticism into ritual practice. Finally, I will analyse how the sequence *Epithalamica* functions within the Easter liturgy as the ritual focus of the foremass on Easter Day, and how it contributes to the construction of the Paraclete's institutional identity.

The Letters as Foundation Documents

The entire letter exchange, including Letter 1 (Abelard's autobiographical *Historia calamitatum*), has monastic reform as a central theme. Indeed, the *Historia* closes by contrasting Abelard's spectacular failure as a monastic reformer at St Gildas with Heloise's success as abbess at the Paraclete.⁴ Since the Paraclete manuscript witness preserves the letters as a series introducing Abelard's Rule and other constitutional writings, the letters (at least as they are transmitted in the best surviving manuscript) may be read plausibly as foundation documents for the Paraclete as an institution.⁵ As a series they can be read as a reflection upon the

³ Powell, 'Listening to Heloise', p. 255. Although my analysis differs in many details, I agree with Powell's method and conclusions. I follow the numbering of the letters in PL, CLXXXVIII, cols 113A–340D, but make use of the following editions: *Historia calamitatum*, ed. by Jacques Monfrin (Paris: Vrin, 1967) (Letter 1: Abelard to an anonymous friend, pp. 62–109); J. T. Muckle, 'The Personal Letters between Abelard and Heloise', *Mediaeval Studies*, 15 (1953), 47–94 (Letter 2: Heloise to Abelard, pp. 68–73; Letter 3: Abelard to Heloise, pp. 73–77; Letter 4: Heloise to Abelard, pp. 77–82; Letter 5: Abelard to Heloise, pp. 83–94); J. T. Muckle, 'The Letter of Heloise on Religious Life and Abelard's First Reply', *Mediaeval Studies*, 17 (1955), 240–81 (Letter 6: Heloise to Abelard, pp. 241–53; Letter 7: Abelard to Heloise, on the origin of nuns, pp. 253–81); T. P. McLaughlin, 'Abelard's Rule for Religious Women', *Mediaeval Studies*, 18 (1956), 241–92 (Letter 8: Abelard to Heloise, Abelard's Rule, pp. 242–92); and Peter Abelard, *Letters IX–XIV*, ed. by Edmé Renno Smits (Groningen: Rijksuniversiteit, 1983) (Letter 9: Abelard to the Sisters at the Paraclete, pp. 219–37; Letter 10: Abelard to Bernard of Clairvaux, pp. 239–47).

⁴ Letter 1, pp. 101–09.

⁵ The vexed questions about the letters' 'authenticity' are not particularly pertinent to such a reading. However, I will state that my own position is that the letters represent some kind of authentic exchange between Abelard and Heloise that has nevertheless had a twelfth-century redaction by someone connected with the Paraclete who knew Abelard's works intimately. I do

specific difficulties of monastic vocation for women and as an argument for the creation of an ideal form of women's monasticism. They provide an extensive defence of the departures in Paraclete practice from what would have been considered normal for Benedictine (or even Cistercian) nuns of the period.⁶

Rhetorical Positioning and Social Identity

In preserving the correspondence in the form of an extended introduction to the Rule, the Paraclete transmission invites a reading which subordinates any renegotiation of Abelard and Heloise's 'personal' identities to the larger issue of the proper regulation of a women's religious community. In short, their 'personal identities' may be read as profoundly conditioned by their institutional duties toward each other as the community's founder and abbess. Even though at one level the rhetoric of this exchange of letters seems both intimate and personal, from the perspective of the Paraclete it preserves the history of how their famous founder and equally famous first abbess hammered out the Paraclete's institutional identity and specific customs. So, although it is not unreasonable to read

not think that there is any compelling evidence for John F. Benton's original hypothesis that there was a substantive redaction in the thirteenth century, and this seems to be the current consensus, and the final position of Benton as well: see his 'A Reconsideration of the Authenticity of the Correspondence of Abelard and Heloise', in *Petrus Abaelardus (1079–1142): Person, Werk und Wirkung*, ed. by Rudolf Thomas, David E. Luscombe, and Lambertus M. de Rijk, *Trierer Theologische Studien*, 38 (Trier: Paulinus, 1980), pp. 41–52. For a cogent summary of the manuscript evidence for reading the collection as a unified series, see Powell, 'Listening to Heloise', pp. 256–57. Troyes, Médiathèque de l'agglomération troyenne, 802, fols 1^r–103^v and the first edition (based on a number of unidentifiable manuscripts received from the Paraclete) provide the best witnesses to its tradition. Those manuscripts that are not clearly connected to the Paraclete (e.g. Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, 872) end either with an incomplete version of Letter 8 containing only the preface to the Rule or even at the end of Letter 7. However, this does not seem especially problematic to me, as the Rule was not followed in all its details at the Paraclete itself and would be useful only to justify certain unusual liturgical practices (see below). Other women's communities would no doubt be attracted by the lengthy defence of the dignity of women's monastic communities in Letter 7, which would provide a fitting conclusion to the series for institutions not following Paraclete customs.

⁶ Abelard's Letter 10 is devoted to a defence of the Paraclete's unusual wording of the Lord's Prayer and a counter-attack to Bernard's charge of 'innovation', listing equally or more innovative Cistercian practices. See Chrysogonus Waddell, 'Peter Abelard's *Letter 10* and Cistercian Liturgical Reform', in *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History II*, ed. by John R. Sommerfeldt, *Cistercian Studies Series*, 24 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1976), pp. 75–86.

the exchange for what it reveals of the putative authors' personalities, the structure of the collection as a whole, especially as transmitted by the Paraclete, presents a public rather than personal identity. Powell, for example, points out compelling internal evidence that Abelard's letters were read aloud and discussed publicly at the Paraclete, noting that the uses of singular 'I' and plural 'we' are often used to distinguish Heloise's voice as *amica* and *abbata*.⁷

Perhaps the easiest way to trace the overall rhetorical effect created by the letters is to analyse the extraordinary series of salutations and closings that characterize the exchange, along with the wider arguments in the letters, as necessary. As the *ars dictaminis* developed throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, letter-writing became a particularly self-conscious area in which authors negotiated their identities within society.⁸ Would-be writers were taught to use the salutation for two purposes: it ought to reflect or establish the 'proper' relationship between sender and recipient, taking account of their respective ranks while maintaining dignity for both, and it might help a letter-writer establish good will through using a favourable or flattering address to the recipient, regardless of whether or not the sender had a higher rank. Thus a careful consideration of the salutations and closings of a series of letters presented as a continuous exchange can reveal the ways in which the writers define each other both in office and in social position.

Letter 2: Heloise to Abelard

The letters exchanged between Heloise and Abelard display a particularly playful and inventive exchange, beginning with Heloise's first letter.⁹ The whole

⁷ Powell, 'Listening to Heloise', pp. 258–60.

⁸ For a detailed introduction to the *ars dictaminis*, see Giles Constable, *Letters and Letter Collections*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 17 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976) and James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 194–268 (especially pp. 203–24). For specific focus on letters in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, see *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. by Giles Constable, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), II, 1–44; John Van Engen, 'Letters, Schools and Written Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in *Dialektik und Rhetorik im früheren und hohen Mittelalter*, ed. by Johannes Fried, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien, 27 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1997), pp. 97–132; and John Van Engen, 'Letters and the Public *Persona* of Hildegard', in *Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld*, ed. by Alfred Haverkamp (Mainz: von Zabern, 2000), pp. 375–418.

⁹ Another set of salutations and concluding formulae comprising Troyes, Médiathèque de l'agglomération troyenne, 1452, fols 159^r–167^v, has gained much attention through Constant

salutation comprises five pairs of titles, two of which define Abelard's roles, two of which define hers; the last simply consists of their names:

- (1) Domino suo immo patri
- (2) coniugi suo immo fratri
- (3) ancilla sua immo filia
- (4) ipsius uxor immo soror
- (5) Abelardo Heloisa

((1) To her lord, or more precisely to her father; (2) to her husband, or more precisely to her brother; (3) his handmaiden, or more precisely his daughter; (4) the same man's wife, or more precisely his sister; (5) Heloise to Abelard.)

In the first four sets the word *immo* is used adversatively in order to suggest that the first title in each pair is a less appropriate epithet than the second. Thus the first address to Abelard (1) as *domino suo* and the first self-identification of Heloise (3) as *ancilla sua* are rejected and replaced with 'spiritual' equivalents: rather than as a servant or handmaid addressing her temporal lord, she writes to her spiritual father as daughter: *patri, filia*. Likewise, the precise and legal relationships between the recipient and sender in the address to her legal husband (2), *coniugi suo*, his wife (4) — *ipsius uxor* — qualified by *immo*, are replaced by a precise indication of their current status in monastic life: Heloise writes instead to her spiritual brother as his spiritual sister: *fratri, soror*. While acknowledging the existence of both the feudal and the legal relationships, the salutation thereby repositions those relationships, subordinating them to relationships that express a shared religious life.

However, as Constant Mews points out, this particular salutation does not end with a formalized phrase with a greeting such as *salutem*, but continues with more intimate forms of direct address, such as *dilectissime*, 'O most beloved'.¹⁰ Mews

Mews's attempt to confirm Ewald Könsgen's suggestion that they might have been excerpted from the early correspondence of Abelard and Heloise. For the present purposes it is sufficient to point out that the collection displays a similar degree of playfulness, if not the same level of artistry, as the established letters, but I do not think that this is sufficient evidence to make any firm attribution to any specific authors. For the extended argument, however, see Constant Mews, *The Lost Love Letters of Heloise and Abelard: Perceptions of Dialogue in Twelfth-Century France* (New York: St Martin's, 1999) and, more recently, his *Abelard and Heloise* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), especially pp. 165–70.

¹⁰ Mews analyses this same exchange arguing that Heloise's letters 'all attempted [...] to persuade [Abelard] to [...] consider Heloise not just as a spiritual daughter, but as a separate person' (*The Lost Love Letters*, pp. 120–24). I think that the rhetoric might be better summarized

suggests that Heloise creates a 'rhetoric of individuality' and intimacy that is rejected by Abelard in his subsequent replies. This unique relationship should not, though, be thought of as a personal one, disconnected from their responsibilities toward the Paraclete: all of the relationships argued for by Heloise in the letters are spiritual relationships directly concerned with the right governance of her convent. The individual relationship that most concerns her is that of a nun in a spiritual crisis asking for help from someone she characterizes as her spiritual director — a spiritual daughter writing to her spiritual father. This is the relationship that Abelard initially rejects.¹¹ The salutation thus creates a rhetoric that is complicated: it calls to mind a series of multiple obligations that Abelard has toward Heloise as the leader of the religious community that he has founded and over which he retains feudal rights. Heloise discusses all of these relationships in the main body of the letter, and of these, it is Abelard's duty as the founder of her community (*pater* to her *filia*) and as fellow monk (*frater* to her *soror*) that she emphasizes. Indeed, Heloise specifically argues that because of his secular debts to her, Abelard owes her spiritual support:¹²

Atque ut caeteras omittam, quanto erga me te obligaveris debito, pensa, ut quod devotis communiter debes feminis, unicae tuae devotius solvas [...]. Quanto autem rectius me nunc in Deum quam tunc in libidinem excitares? Perpende, obsecro, quae debes, attende quae postulo, et longam epistolam brevi fine concludo: Vale unice.

(And even should I omit other matters: consider how much you have been bound by a debt towards me, so what you owe commonly to devout women, you should discharge more devoutly to your only one [...]. And how much more correctly should you, now, stir me towards God than, as in the past, towards lust? Consider, I pray, what you owe, attend to what I ask, and I am finishing a long letter with a brief ending: fare well, my only one.)

as an attempt to persuade Abelard to take on any of the several obligations owed to her and the community of the Paraclete. These are unique obligations that he holds in several respects as overlord, husband, founder, and patron. Morgan, 'Listening to Heloise', pp. 261–62, offers the cogent observation that all of these 'confused' titles may be applied to one persona if they identify the *sponsa* of the Song of Songs, but (mistakenly) suggests that the correspondence must refer to the Virgin Mary as the biblical *sponsa*. (See below for the multiple 'identifications' of the *sponsa* developed at the Paraclete.)

¹¹ Although Muckle, in his edition of Letters 2–5, p. 58, maintains that Abelard never takes up the role of spiritual director, many passages in Abelard's Letter 5, briefly discussed below, directly and indirectly address Heloise's questions about her suitability for holding her office and her worries about her interior disposition.

¹² Letter 2, pp. 70 and 73.

Letter 3: Abelard to Heloise

Heloisae, dilectissimae sorori suae in Christo, Abaelardus, frater eius in ipso.

(To Heloise, his most beloved sister in Christ, Abelard, her brother in the same.)

Mews suggests that through this salutation Abelard ‘emphasizes that he now relates to her in Christ, rather than as an individual’,¹³ yet the rhetoric is considerably more complicated: Abelard’s reply takes up the adjective *dilectissimus* (which Heloise had used as a substantive vocative, *dilectissime*, ‘O most beloved one’), doubly subordinating it, both by using it as an adjective describing a relationship (‘most beloved sister’) and by placing that relationship ‘in Christ’.¹⁴ This use calls to mind similar epistolary greetings in Paul’s letters, which were usually encountered in the liturgy as generically applying to the whole church rather than simply to their original addressees. In this way Abelard’s individual address is made communal. Moreover, his return greeting creatively misreads Heloise’s original greeting. Instead of recognizing that he was addressed both as spiritual father and as spiritual brother, he accepts only the relationship of spiritual brother, and he specifically excludes the paternal relationship, which Heloise’s greeting specifically preserved and which forms the basis for the requests she made in her letter. In contrast, Abelard’s greeting puts both sender and recipient on equal footing, and (as Heloise’s next letter will make explicit) this salutation breaks the rules of the *ars dictaminis* by placing the name of the social inferior first. Abelard’s salutation thus suggests that she is his equal in their common monastic profession, and does not acknowledge any relationship that might imply obligations as a founder of the monastery and as its most important patron.

Nevertheless, Abelard does propose, within the body of Letter 3, that their relationship as husband and wife still holds. However, it is no longer to be interpreted as a legal obligation, but instead as a spiritual obligation. First, the grammar makes it clear that it is Heloise as an individual who is being addressed in the passage:¹⁵

Ut autem sacrosanctum collegii uestri nunc omittam conuentum, in quo plurimarum uirginum ac uiduarum deuotio Domino iugiter deseruit, ad te unam ueniam, cuius apud Deum sanctitatem plurimum non ambigo posse, et quae potes mihi praecipue debere, maxime nunc in tantae aduersitatis laboranti discrimine.

¹³ Mews, *The Lost Love Letters*, p. 123.

¹⁴ For another aspect of this relationship, see Gunilla Iversen’s discussion, p. 213, above.

¹⁵ The following three passages comprise one full paragraph of Letter 3, pp. 75–76.

(However, I should now skip over the holy convent of your community, in which the devotion of so many virgins and widows continually serves the Lord, so that I may come to you alone, whose sanctity before God is able to do most, I have no doubt, and you who can be bound chiefly to me, especially now that I am labouring in the danger of such great adversity.)

The second-person plural when he speaks of 'your holy community' (*vestri collegii*) is changed to the singular addressed 'to you alone' (*ad te unam*). After this, he makes his request for her individual prayer, which is clearly signalled by the continuing use of singular verb forms and possessive adjectives:

Memento itaque semper in orationibus tuis eius qui specialiter est tuus: et tanto confidentius in oratione uigila, quanto id esse tibi recognoscis iustius, et ob hoc ipsi qui orandus est acceptabilius.

(Therefore always remember in your prayers him who is specially yours: keep watch more confidently in this prayer, the more justly you recognize that it is for you, and because of this, more acceptable to him who is beseeched.)

This passage does not make it clear why Heloise's prayers for him should be considered especially efficacious. However, the following sentences show that it is through marriage that Abelard proposes that he is the one who is specially connected to Heloise, *qui est specialiter tuus*:

Exaudi, obsecro, aure cordis, quod saepius audisti aure corporis. Scriptum est in Prouerbiis: 'Mulier diligens corona est uiro suo.' Et rursum: 'Qui inuenit mulierem bonam, inuenit bonum; et hauriet iucunditatem a Domino.' Et iterum: 'Domus et diuitiae dantur a parentibus, a Domino autem proprie uxor prudens.' Et in Ecclesiastico: 'Mulieris bonae beatus uir.' Et post pauca: 'Pars bona, mulier bona.' Et iuxta auctoritatem Apostolicam: 'Sanctificatus est uir infidelis per mulierem fidelem.'

(Hear, I pray, with the ear of your heart, what you often heard with the ear of your body. It is written in Proverbs: 'A diligent woman is a crown to her husband' [12. 4]. And again: 'He who has found a good wife, has found a good thing; and shall receive a pleasure from the Lord' [18. 22]. And again: 'House and riches are given by parents, but a wise wife is properly from the Lord' [19. 14]. And in Ecclesiasticus: 'Happy is the husband of a good wife' [26. 1]. And a little after this: 'A good wife is a good portion' [26. 3]. And according to apostolic authority: 'An unfaithful husband is sanctified through his faithful wife' [1 Cor. 7. 14].)

For the most part, the passage presents a very conventional set of sayings used to instruct wives in their duties, and so might easily be read as standard advice on the subjection of wives to husbands (as, for example, in 1 Pet. 3. 1–6). However, the last sentence implies that there may be an important spiritual union between husband and wife through marriage, an idea which both Abelard and Heloise will develop later in their respective negotiations of the obligations they still have by virtue of their marriage (see Letters 5 and 6, below).

In spite of all this, Abelard's closing ignores even the one special relationship he proposed. He acknowledges no responsibilities toward the Paraclete even though he uses it to request one of the traditional rights of a patron and founder — the community's memory: 'Vive, vale, vivantque tuae valeantque sorores. Vivite, sed Christo, quaeso, mei memores' (Prosper, fare well, and may your sisters prosper and fare well. Prosper, but in Christ, I pray, mindful of me). The closing is carefully constructed in a way that incorporates both Heloise and the whole Paraclete community into the same relationship with Abelard. The singular imperatives, *vive* and *vale* addressed directly to Heloise, are first broadened into a prayer that includes Heloise's *sorores*. Then, in the second part of the closing, the whole community is addressed by the plural imperative, *vivite*. Moreover, Abelard's request that he be remembered (presumably in their prayers) emphasizes the benefits he should be accruing as founder of the community, rather than any obligations he might have to it.

Letter 4: Heloise to Abelard

Heloise's answering salutation, Letter 4, presents two uses of the adjective *unicus* (read substantively to mean 'only one'), which she had used in the closing and in several other passages of her first letter in order to remind Abelard of his obligations to her and to the Paraclete: 'Unico suo post Christum, unica sua in Christo' (To her only one after Christ, his¹⁶ only one in Christ). The exact relationships specified by *unicus* and *unica* are never stated (as the adjectives do not modify any nouns). Moreover, her greeting reinforces the unequal status of the relationship between herself and Abelard due to their genders. Although a monk may relate to a nun 'in Christ' (presumably as a member of Christ's body), a nun has a special role (as Abelard will later argue) because she is ritually betrothed to Christ when she takes monastic vows and relates to an earthly man *after* or *besides* Christ. So, although this salutation emphasizes that Heloise has a unique relationship with Abelard, I do not think that the grammar makes it at all clear that this is merely, or even especially, a personal relationship. Rather, it singles out the gender distinction that creates problems for their institutional relationship.¹⁷

¹⁶ I am reading *sua* here as a non-classical replacement for *eius*.

¹⁷ Powell, 'Listening to Heloise', p. 261, points out that 'Heloise's dilemma is constructed in the correspondence to arise from an imperative emulation of a male ideal that she cannot fulfil'.

Moreover, Heloise continues to argue (referring to the greeting in Abelard's previous letter) that her gender and status create obligations for Abelard:

Miror, unice meus, quod praeter consuetudinem epistolarum, immo contra ipsum ordinem naturalem rerum, in ipsa fronte salutationis epistolaris me tibi praeponere praesumpsisti, feminam videlicet viro, uxorem marito, ancillam domino, monialem monacho et sacerdoti, diaconissam abbati.¹⁸ Rectus quippe ordo est et honestus, ut qui ad superiores vel ad pares scribunt, eorum quibus scribunt nomina suis anteponant. Sin autem ad inferiores, praecedunt scriptionis ordine qui praecedunt rerum dignitate.

(I marvel, my only one, that against the custom of letter-writing, indeed, against the very natural order of things, you have presumed to place me before you in the very front of the salutation in your letter: namely a woman before a man, a wife before a husband, a servant before an overlord, a nun before a monk and priest, a deaconess before an abbot. For it is the correct and proper order that those who write to their superiors or equals should place their names before their own names. But if they write to inferiors, those who precede in honour of circumstances, precede in the order of address.)

Again, there are five pairs of relationships: *femina/vir*, *uxor/maritus*, *ancilla/domino*, *monialis/monachus et sacerdos*, and *diaconissa/abbas*. However, instead of qualifying or preferring some relationships to others, the titles (as transmitted by the Paraclete) are carefully constructed in such a way that each pair highlights the subordinate status of the role taken by the woman. For this reason, 'nun' is aligned with 'monk and priest', indicating the higher office that male monks could attain by becoming priests, as Abelard himself did. The most peculiar of these pairings, *diaconissa/abbas*, seems to refer to the specific practices that Abelard later explains in his treatise on the origin of nuns (Letter 7) and codifies in his rule (Letter 8): since women's institutions arose out of the apostolic diaconate, he uses the word *diaconissa* as a substitute for *abbatissa*.¹⁹ Thus Heloise, emphasizing the lack of power and status inherent in all of the offices held by women, demonstrates the Paraclete's need for the patronage and support that is due from a more powerful protector.

Powell analyses the difficulties inherent in both the classical ideal of *amicitia* and the monastic ideal of bodily renunciation: the first is problematic because women are constructed as lovers rather than as disinterested friends in classical literature, and the second because they are constructed both as more bodily and as weaker than men in medieval society.

¹⁸ Here I follow the reading of the Troyes manuscript and the *editio princeps*; other manuscripts add *abbatissam*.

¹⁹ On the deaconess, see below and Letter 7, pp. 262–66, and Letter 8, pp. 252–60, especially 258–60. The anticipation of the term *diaconissa* in this letter is one of the clear indications either that Heloise already had an oral knowledge of these views or that the letter has been redacted.

The specific choice of language Heloise uses to describe each of the social positions is equally carefully constructed. The first two pairs clearly belong to the secular realm, and the choice of *uxor* and *maritus* for wife and husband is technical legal language (as in Heloise's first salutation and unlike most of Abelard's scriptural quotations which pair *vir* and *mulier*). However, the third pair, *ancilla* and *dominus*, is more ambiguous: it may initially be read as servant and overlord (correctly expressing another secular relationship between Heloise and Abelard), but it could also be read as a reference to the Magnificat, where Mary identifies herself as the Lord's handmaid. Both relationships support the notion of subordination, but the ambiguity of this pair reminds the reader of differing male and female roles relative to Christ, and thus provides a link from two pairs of secular relationships to two pairs of ecclesiastical relationships that make up the whole greeting.

The rest of Letter 4 focuses on Heloise's own spiritual crisis. However, it would be simplistic to characterize this as an entirely personal crisis, since the implications for the Paraclete as an institution are clearly drawn out and form the basis for the persuasive argument of the letter. By invoking traditional themes of women's weakness and by emphasizing that all of her possible roles are subject to Abelard's oversight, Heloise manages to demonstrate the need for a response that addresses her specific needs in relation to the institution as a whole.²⁰

Letter 5: Abelard to Heloise

The salutation of Abelard's Letter 5 directly addresses the issue of the relative status of his and Heloise's religious vocations and alludes to their respective responsibilities for the Paraclete: 'Sponsae Christi, servus eiusdem' (To the bride of Christ, the servant of the same). He again places the woman's role first and the man's second, implying that he considers Heloise to be either an equal or a superior, and her role (*sponsa Christi*) is exalted when compared with his (*servus*). However, since the gender of *eiusdem* is ambiguous, Abelard's role may be read both as 'servant of Christ' and as 'servant of the bride of Christ'. Abelard's Rule (Letter 8) will clarify this relationship:²¹

Praepositum autem monachorum quem abbatem nominant sic etiam monialibus praeesse uolumus ut eas quae Domini sponsae sunt cuius ipse seruus est proprias recognoscat

²⁰ For a fuller discussion of this point see Powell, 'Listening to Heloise', pp. 261–66.

²¹ Letter 8, p. 259.

dominas nec eis praeesse sed prodesse gaudeat [...]. Ad hunc igitur modum seruum Christi sponsis Christi prouidere uolumus et earum pro Christo fideliter curam gerere et de omnibus quae oportet cum diaconissa tractare.

(We want the monk's provost, whom they call an abbot, to preside over the nuns in such a way, indeed, that he acknowledges as his own ladies those who are the brides of the Lord, whose servant he is, so that he does not rejoice in ruling over them but in being useful to them [...]. Therefore in this way, we want the servant of Christ to look after the brides of Christ, and to manage the care of them faithfully on Christ's behalf and to discuss all things which are necessary with the deaconess.)

Although Abelard's Rule makes it plain that the abbot of a nearby monastery should take on the task of caring for the nuns' external business, the rhetoric of the salutation of Letter 5 suggests that Abelard acts (or is now offering to act) as the male *servus* for the Paraclete.

The body of Letter 5 directly addresses the notion of the relative superiority of the positions of women and men in monastic institutions. Whereas Heloise's salutations had carefully avoided terms for husband or wife that might invite spiritual interpretations, Abelard's salutation uses the term *sponsa* in order to invoke the popular interpretations of the bridal imagery in the Song of Songs. Moreover, he goes on to argue that the words of the Song of Songs apply more clearly (even more visibly, *expressius*) to nuns because of their gender and not just generically (*generaliter*) as they might to any person. Even though the imagery may be applied to both sexes when read in the special sense (*specialiter*) in which the term would ordinarily be interpreted (when encountered in scripture), it is more concretely applicable to nuns:²²

'Nigra sum, sed formosa filiae Hierusalem. Ideo dilexit me rex et introduxit me in cubiculum suum.' Et rursum: 'Nolite considerare quod fusca sim quia decolorauit me sol.' In quibus quidem uerbis cum generaliter anima describatur contemplatiua quae specialiter sponsa Christi dicitur, expressius tamen ad uos hoc pertinere ipse etiam uester exterio habitus loquitur. Ipse quippe cultus exterior nigrorum aut uilium indumentorum, instar lugubris habitus bonarum uiduarum mortuos quos dilexerant uiros plangentium, uos in hoc mundo, iuxta Apostolum, uere uiduas et desolates ostendit, stipendiis Aecclesiae sustentandas. De quarum etiam uiduarum luctu super occisum earum sponsum Scriptura commemorat dicens: 'Mulieres sedentes ad monumentum lamentabantur flentes Dominum.'

('I am black, but comely, O Daughters of Jerusalem. Therefore the king has loved me and has led me into his chamber.' And again: 'Do not consider that I am brown because the sun has discoloured me' [Song of Songs 1. 4–5]. While the contemplative soul,

²² Letter 5, pp. 83–84.

which is specially called the bride of Christ, may generically be described through these words, nevertheless they apply more clearly to you: indeed, your very habit speaks them outwardly. For that same outward appearance of blackness or of low dress, in likeness to the mourning garb of good widows lamenting for their dead husbands, whom they had loved, makes you truly manifest in this world, according to the Apostle, as widows and abandoned, who should be supported by the contributions of the church. Indeed, scripture recalls the grief of these widows over the slaying of their bridegroom, saying: 'The women sitting at the tomb were mourning, weeping for the Lord' [not scripture, but CAO, III, no. 3286].)

The black garb is double-edged, making the nuns into 'widows' so far as the world is concerned, but also creating a special allegorical connection between them and the Passion-Resurrection narrative. The term *sponsa Christi* thus pertains to what Mary McLaughlin has aptly characterized as Abelard's theory that women involved in religious life have a special dignity because of the historical and allegorical connection that they have to Christ.²³ While most of this letter carefully avoids using the term *sponsa Christi* (except when it is applied to every nun in the Paraclete community), the final section discusses the title with specific reference to Heloise's secular marriage and her particular status in monastic vocation. The letter first argues that as Heloise was Abelard's inseparable companion (*inseparabilis comes*) in sin, so she is now his inseparable companion in grace, secondly that their fall from fortune was God's chastisement for misusing their knowledge of literature, and finally that since Abelard's own leadership (presumably of the abbey at St Gildas) was failing, it was only through Heloise's success in retaining and attracting nuns that Abelard could accrue merit as a monastic leader. Here, Abelard develops the metaphor of *sponsa Christi* with a more particular reference to Heloise by referring to the offspring of her spiritual marriage as *spirituales filias*.²⁴

Accede, et tu, inseparabilis comes, in una gratiarum actione, quae et culpa particeps facta es et gratiae [...]. Vide ergo quantum sollicitus nostri fuerit Dominus, quasi ad magnos aliquos nos reservaret usus, et quasi indignaretur aut doleret illa litteralis scientiae talenta, quae utrique nostrum commiserat, ad sui nominis honorem non dispensari [...]. Tuae vero prudentiae talentum quantas quotidie Domino refert usuras, quae multas Domino iam spirituales filias peperisti, me penitus sterili permanente, et in filiis perditionis inaniter laborante.

²³ Mary M. McLaughlin, 'Peter Abelard and the Dignity of Women: Twelfth-Century "Feminism" in Theory and Practice', in *Pierre Abélard, Pierre le Vénérable: les courants philosophiques, littéraires et artistiques en Occident au milieu du XII^e siècle* (Paris: CNRS, 1975), pp. 287–333; see also the discussion of Letter 7 below.

²⁴ Letter 5, p. 90.

(Come also, my inseparable companion, in giving thanks, you, who were made partner of both sin and favour [...]. Therefore see how greatly the Lord has cared for us, as if he reserved us for some great purpose, and as if he were indignant or saddened that those talents of literary knowledge, which he had given to both of us, had not been distributed to the honour of his name [...]. But how great an interest the talent of your wisdom pays to the Lord daily: you who have already brought forth many spiritual daughters for the Lord, and I remain completely sterile, vainly labouring with sons of perdition.)

By developing a contrast between Heloise as *sponsa Christi* and her role as Abelard's (now chaste) wife, the letter then directly addresses the problems raised by Heloise about her lack of contrition for her memories of sexual incontinence and the problems this interior disposition poses for her as a monastic leader. In a passage that contains fairly conventional spiritual advice, Abelard characterizes his castration and Heloise's forced entry into religious life as a proper, indeed fortunate, chastisement from their heavenly Father:²⁵

Ne te id igitur, soror, obsecro, moveat, nec patri paterne nos corrigenti sis molesta, sed attende quod scriptum est: 'Quos diligit Deus, hos corrigit; castigat autem omnem filium quem recipit.'

(Therefore, lest it [i.e. the manner of her entry into religious life] disturb you, sister, I beseech you (and lest you offend the Father who paternally corrects us), consider instead what is written: 'Those whom God loves, he corrects; and he chastises every son whom he receives.' [Heb. 12. 6])

The language is carefully constructed in order to place both Abelard and Heloise under one chastising Father, God himself. This is reinforced by his addressing Heloise as 'sister': even in offering spiritual direction, the letter weakens any authority he might have as spiritual director, since he is equally (or, as his letter argues, even more) culpable. Abelard assumes Heloise agrees that their actions were culpable, but does not minimize her continuing struggle with her religious vocation.²⁶ For this reason, he offers a second argument to address the question of Heloise's interior disposition. Instead of demanding the renunciation of desire and love, Abelard proposes that Christ's salvific sacrifice provides a more compelling narrative of love than theirs, and thus Christ's love alone deserves to

²⁵ Letter 5, p. 91.

²⁶ Powell, 'Listening to Heloise', p. 258, helpfully points out that 'the text and its [monastic] audience assume that [...] a life devoted to God is immutable, while [modern readers have always] toyed with an assumption, implicit or explicit, that as Heloise's desire is immutable, her monastic commitment must be negotiable. What is or must become negotiable in terms of the text's dialogic structure is instead the [traditional monastic] principle of conversion as renunciation.'

be called love. The rhetoric implies that the monastic devotional and meditative practices that focus on the narrative of Christ's Passion offer a means by which one's disposition may be reorientated:²⁷ 'Patienti sponte pro redemptione tua compatere et super crucifixo pro te compungere' (Willingly suffer with the one who suffers on behalf of your redemption, and feel remorse over his crucifixion on your behalf). Moreover, he argues that this particular form of meditation may be most clearly displayed in women's devotion. It is particularly striking that this section of the letter uses liturgical quotations from the Good Friday liturgy and refers to forms of lamentation in order to make a connection between the Passion narrative and the vocation of nuns:²⁸

Sepulcro eius mente semper assiste, et cum fidelibus feminis lamentare et luge. De quibus etiam ut iam supra memini scriptum est: 'Mulieres sedentes ad monumentum lamentabantur flentes Dominum.' Para cum illis sepulturae eius unguenta, sed meliora, spiritualia quidem, non corporalia; haec enim requirit aromata qui non suscepit illa. Super his toto devotionis affectu compungere. Ad quam quidem compassionis compunctionem ipse etiam per Ieremiam fideles adhortatur, dicens: 'O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte si est dolor similis sicut dolor meus.' [...] Ipse autem est via per quam fideles de exilio transeunt ad patriam, qui etiam crucem, de qua sic clamat, ad hoc nobis erexit scalam [...]. Super hoc [unigenito Dei] uno compatiendo dole, dolendo compatere. Et quod Zachariam prophetam de animabus devotis praedictum est comple: 'Plangent', inquit, 'planctum quasi super unigenitum, et dolebunt super eum ut doleri solet in morte primogeni [...]. Hic tuus soror, planctus; hic tuus sit ululatus, quae te huic sponso felici copulasti matrimonio.

(Stand by his tomb in your mind always, and lament and grieve with the faithful women, about whom, as I have already mentioned above, it is written: 'The women sitting at the tomb were mourning, weeping for the Lord.' Prepare with them ointments for his burial, but better, indeed spiritual, not bodily, ointments; for he who did not receive the ointments [i.e. from the women at the tomb] seeks these perfumes again. Feel remorse

²⁷ Letter 5, p. 91.

²⁸ Letter 5, pp. 91–92. As Alexander Andréé has shown in his edition of the commentary on Lamentations by Gilbert the Universal, there was a burgeoning interest in commentary on the book of Lamentations in the twelfth century (Gilbert the Universal, *Glossa ordinaria in Lamentationes Ieremie prophete, Prothemata et Liber I*, ed., intro., and trans. by Alexander Andréé, SLS, 52 (2005), pp. 55–56; see also his contribution to the present volume). Moreover, Abelard reflects the opening of Gilbert's commentary (and its source in Paschasius Radbertus) in linking the Lamentations with the Song of Songs: 'Sunt Cantica canticorum, sunt et Lamentationes lamentationum' (p. 162). A similar association is suggested by the Nevers manuscript, BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fols 88^v–91^v, which places *Epithalamica* (a song based on the Song of Songs) directly after one of Abelard's *planctus*, *Dolorum solatium*; see the contributions of Gunilla Iversen, pp. 234–36, and Marie-Noël Colette, pp. 285–86, above.

over these things, with a complete sympathy of devotion. Towards this, indeed towards compassion's remorse, he himself also exhorts the faithful through Jeremiah, saying: 'O all ye that pass by the way, attend, and see if there is any sorrow like unto my sorrow' [Lam. 1. 12] [...]. Now, he is the way through which the faithful pass over to the fatherland. He indeed raised the Cross (from which he cried out in this manner) as a ladder for us towards this purpose [...]. Grieve over him alone; share in his suffering by your grieving. And fulfil what Zechariah the prophet foretold about devout souls: 'They shall strike up', he said, 'a lament as over the only-begotten son, and they shall grieve over him as it is customary to grieve at the death of a first-born son' [12. 10] [...]. This is your lament, sister; may this be your wailing, you who have been joined in blessed matrimony to this bridegroom.)

Although the letter's characterization of Heloise as Christ's *sponsa* might seem to undermine any lasting significance for their own marriage, the final paragraphs of the letter emphasize the sacramental aspects of marriage, which persist even within their monastic vocations:²⁹

Aliquid tamen esse aestimo, si, cum hinc nullam percipiam coronam, nonnullam tamen evitam poenam, et dolore unius momentaneae poenae multis fortassis indulgeatur aeternis [...]. Minus quoque meritum meum minui conquereor, dum tuum crescere non diffido. Unum quippe sumus in Christo, una per legem matrimonii caro. Quidquid est tuum mihi non arbitror alienum. Tuus autem est Christus quia facta est sponsa eius.

(Yet I think that it is something if, although I will seize no crown, nevertheless I may avoid further punishment, and through the pain of a single momentary penalty may perhaps be forgiven many eternal penalties [...]. Also, I complain less that my merit is diminished, when I do not lose confidence that yours increases. For we are one in Christ, one flesh through the law of matrimony. Whatever is yours, will not, I think, be foreign to me. And Christ is yours, since you have been made his bride.)

By repositioning their secular marriage as sacramental and subordinate to a spiritual marriage, Abelard can now justify his reversal of gender roles and argue that the categories of overlordship, patron, and even husband (at least as it pertains to subjection) are less appropriate offices for him to hold than that of servant:³⁰

Et nunc, ut supra memini, me habes servum quem olim agnoscebas dominum, magis tibi tamen amore nunc spirituali coniunctum quam timore subiectum. Unde et de tuo nobis apud ipsum patrocinio amplius confidimus ut id obtineam ex tua quod non possum ex oratione propria.

²⁹ Letter 5, p. 93.

³⁰ Letter 5, p. 93. For the theological background underwriting Abelard's view, see Philip L. Reynolds, *Marriage in the Western Church: The Christianisation of Marriage during the Patristic and Early Modern Periods* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 227–38.

(And now, as I mentioned above, you regard me as a servant, whom formerly you acknowledged as lord, yet now joined to you more through a spiritual love than subject through fear. Whence we are more fully confident about your patronage for us with Him, so that I might obtain through your prayer what I cannot through my own.)³¹

The closing of Letter 5 repeats and strongly emphasizes Heloise's status as Christ's bride without reiterating any unique connection between himself and Heloise, or again, any of his specific obligations. It seems particularly to be an *envoi*, a final farewell, with its reiterations of *vale* and its commendation of Heloise to Christ: 'Vale in Christo, sponsa Christi, in Christo vale, et Christo vive. Amen' (Fare well in Christ, bride of Christ; in Christ fare well, and in Christ live. Amen).

Letter 6: Heloise to Abelard

The last response attributed to Heloise has a particularly ambiguous salutation that exists in two versions. I will discuss only the version transmitted in Paraclete sources, which reads: 'Domino specialiter, sua singulariter' (To [her] lord particularly, his own individually). Since, in Letter 2, *dominus* was the title that Heloise used and discarded in favour of *pater* (in order to stress Abelard's roles as founder, patron, and spiritual director), this greeting might plausibly be construed as a rejection of Abelard's argument that she should no longer be subject to him as her lord in Letter 5. However, such an interpretation would be flawed: as mentioned above, Heloise's second letter used the pair of titles *dominus/ancilla* not only to place her in a subordinate position, but also to provide a bridge between their secular roles and their ecclesiastical relationships. The qualifier *specialiter* may also be an echo of Abelard's use of the term to indicate the allegorical sense of scripture (as in Letter 3 when explaining the title *sponsa Christi*). Moreover, a specific passage of scripture does present itself, since in the next paragraph of Letter 6, Heloise specifically states that she does not want to be considered disobedient. Although wives are commonly instructed to 'be subject' to their husbands, there is only one passage (1 Pet. 3. 1, 5–6) that instructed them to be obedient and states that the sign of this obedience is to address one's husband as lord:

³¹ The choice of words echoes Eph. 5. 21–22: 'subiecti invicem in timore Christi, mulieres viris suis subditae sint sicut Domino' (Being subject one to another, in the fear of Christ, let women be subject to their husbands, as to the Lord).

- 1 similiter mulieres subditae suis viris ut et si qui non credunt verbo per mulierum
conversationem sine verbo lucrī fiant
- 5 sic enim aliquando et sanctae mulieres sperantes in Deo ornabant se subiectae
propriis viris
- 6 sicut Sarra oboediebat Abrahae dominum eum vocans cuius estis filiae bene-
facientes et non timentes ullam perturbationem

((1) In like manner also, let wives be subject to their husbands: that, if any [husbands] believe not the word, they may be won without the word, by the conversation of the wives. (5) For after this manner heretofore, the holy women also who trusted in God adorned themselves, being in subjection to their own husbands: (6) As Sara obeyed Abraham, calling him lord: whose daughters you are, doing well and not fearing any disturbance.)

If the salutation alludes to this passage, it may be intended to counter Abelard's idea (in Letters 3 and 5) that the merits of a wife automatically accrue to the benefit of her husband, since in this passage, wives must play an active and continuing role in the conversion of their husbands through conversation. Perhaps the transmission of this salutation in the Paraclete tradition uses the address to her *domino specialiter* (to her lord in a special, that is, a scriptural sense) to modify Abelard's arguments, which it does in two significant ways: by characterizing conversion as an ongoing process, and thereby preserving a reason for his continued conversation with her and with the community.

Moreover, in the following paragraph of Letter 6, where Heloise agrees to stop writing about what Abelard called 'assiduam querimoniam tuam [...] de nostrae conversionis modo' (your continual complaint about the manner of our conversion),³² she states that she does this because she wishes to avoid the charge of disobedience:³³

Ne me forte in aliquo de inobedientia causari queas, verbis etiam immoderati doloris tuae frenum impositum est iussionis ut ab his mihi saltem in scribendo temperem a quibus in sermone non tam difficile quam impossibile est providere. Nihil enim minus in nostra est potestate quam animus eique magis obedire cogimur quam imperare possimus. Unde et cum nos eius affectiones stimulant, nemo earum subitos impulsus ita repulerit ut non in effecta facile prorumpant et se per verba facilius effluent quae promptiores animi passionum sunt notae secundum quod scriptum est: 'Ex abundantia enim cordis os loquitur.' Revocabo itaque manum a scripto in quibus linguam a verbis temperare non valeo. Utinam sic animus dolentis parere promptus sit quemadmodum dextra scribentis.

³² Letter 5, p. 87.

³³ Letter 6, p. 94.

(Lest, perhaps, you should be able to reprove me about disobedience in something, the bridle of your command has been set upon my words of untempered grief, so that I may moderate for myself — at least in writing — those words for which — in speech — it is not so much difficult as impossible to prepare. For there is nothing less in our power than our heart [*animus*] and we are driven to obey it more than we can command it. Whence also, when our heart's [*animi*] affections goad us, nobody may ward off their sudden impulses in such a way that they do not easily rush forth into actions and pour themselves out more easily through words, which are the more visible marks of the heart's [*animi*] sufferings. In accordance with this, it is written: 'For from the abundance of the heart, the mouth speaks' [Matt. 12. 34; Luke 6. 45]. Therefore, I will call my hand back from writing the words from which I cannot restrain my tongue. Would that a heart [*animus*] of grief were as ready to obey as a writer's hand!)

However, the obedience that Heloise refers to is less likely to be that between husband and wife than that between spiritual father and daughter. While the language of obedience clearly calls to mind the marriage vows for a modern reader, it is by no means certain that it would have done so in the twelfth century. The vows were said prior to the nuptial mass and did not have a stable text until the late Middle Ages. Moreover, even if obedience may be implicit in 'being subject to one's husband', it is only specifically commended of wives in 1 Pet. 3. 6 (as discussed above). On the other hand, children are frequently instructed to be obedient.³⁴ For this reason, I think it is far more likely that Heloise's agreement to silence should be read in the context of the monastic vow of obedience to one's spiritual father or mother (the abbot or abbess). Heloise, by agreeing to maintain silence, places Abelard firmly in the role of spiritual director, a role she had assigned to him throughout the correspondence.

A monastic context also underpins the language of the rest of the passage. Heloise's use of the word *animus* (heart/spirit/mind) as the seat of her troubled memory suggests that she is referring to rhetorical theories of memory and cognition, and the next paragraph of the letter proposes a traditional monastic solution to the problem based on such techniques:³⁵

Aliquod tamen dolori remedium vales conferre si non hunc omnino possis auferre. Ut enim insertum clavum alius expellit, sic cogitatio nova priorem excludit cum alias intentus animus priorum memoriam dimittere cogitur aut intermittere. Tanto vero amplius cogitatio quaelibet animum occupat, et ab aliis deducit, quanto quod cogitatur honestius aestimatur, et quo intendimus animum magis videtur necessarium.

³⁴ Compare, for example, the passage from Eph. 5, above, with Eph. 6. 1: 'filii oboedite parentibus vestris in Domino' (Sons, obey your parents in the Lord).

³⁵ Letter 6, pp. 241–42; see Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 94–99, for a discussion of disposing of unwanted memory.

(Yet you can provide something as a remedy, although you cannot completely remove this [i.e. her troubled mind]. For as another nail pushes out one already hammered in, so a new thought pushes out an earlier one, when a mind intent on other things is driven to dismiss or interrupt the memory of prior things. But the more fully any thought fills up the mind, and leads it away from other thoughts, the more worthy what is thought should be judged, and where we direct the mind seems more inevitable.)

The source for this passage (as Étienne Gilson and Peter Dronke have independently demonstrated) is Jerome's Letter 125 to Rusticus:³⁶

Philosophi saeculi solent amorem veterem amore novo, quasi clavum clavo expellere. Quod et Assuero regi septem principes fecere Persarum, ut Vasthi reginae desiderium, aliarum puellarum amore compescerent. Illi vitium vitio, peccatumque peccato medicantur, nos amore virtutum, vitia superemus.

(The world's philosophers are wont to drive out an old love with a new one, as a nail is driven out with a nail. And the seven princes of Persia did this to King Ahasuerus: for they curbed his regret over Queen Vashti with love of other maidens [cf. Esther 2. 1–3]. They cured a fault with a fault and a sin with a sin; we must overcome our faults with a love of the virtues.)

In this letter, Jerome was attempting to persuade Rusticus to join a coenobitic monastery as the surest means to overcome sexual temptation, suggesting that he needed three things: a superior to direct him, companions to demonstrate the virtues to him and keep watch over him, and, especially, the *cursus* of monastic observance to keep him busy and other thoughts at bay.

The next paragraph of Letter 6 confirms the context of monastic practices designed to reorientate thought, memory, and affection by Heloise's proposing an important project in language that emphasizes Abelard's role as spiritual director of the community:³⁷

Omnes itaque nos Christi ancillae et in Christo filiae tuae duo nunc a tua paternitate supplices postulamus, quae nobis admodum necessaria providemus. Quorum quidem alterum est ut nos instruere velis unde sanctimonialium ordo coeperit, et quae nostrae sit professionis auctoritas. Alterum vero est ut aliquam nobis regulam instituas, et scriptam dirigas quae feminarum sit propria et ex integro nostrae conversionis statum habitumque describat, quod nondum a Patribus sanctis actum esse conspeximus.

³⁶ Jerome, *Epistola* 125.14, in *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*, ed. by Isidore Hilberg, 3 vols, CSEL, 54–56 (1910–18), reprinted in 4 vols with an index by Margit Kamptner (1996), III, 132 (PL, XXII, col. 1080). See Étienne Gilson, *Héloïse and Abélard*, 2nd edn, trans. by L. K. Shook (London: Hollis & Carter, 1953), p. 188 n. 12, and Peter Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages: A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua († 203) to Marguerite Porete († 1310)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 305 n. 39.

³⁷ Letter 6, p. 242.

(And so all we, Christ's handmaidens, and in Christ, your humble daughters, now ask from your fatherly care two things, which we envisage altogether necessary for ourselves. Indeed, one is that you should instruct us whence began the order of nuns, and what may be the authority of our profession. And the other is that you establish some Rule for us, and that you set it down in writing, a Rule which should be proper for women, and it should prescribe anew the arrangement and ethos of our profession, because we have observed that this has not already been done by the holy Fathers.)

The text uses first person plural verbs, pronouns, and possessive adjectives, making it clear that Abelard is now being addressed on behalf of the whole community. All the Paraclete nuns are called Abelard's daughters in Christ (*in Christo filiae tuae*) and Abelard is characterized as having a fatherly care (*paternitas*) for them. The project is an ambitious call for a reform of the Paraclete so that it will conform in practice to the theories about the origin and purpose of nuns that have already been introduced in the correspondence. Moreover, this will require the institution of a completely new Rule (*ex integro*). As will be shown below, this would entail innovative changes to the liturgy, particularly at Easter.

While I have discussed the wider context of the first part of Heloise's salutation, the address to 'her lord particularly' (*Domino specialiter*), I have not yet covered the second part, Heloise's self-identification as 'his own individually' (*sua singulariter*). In analysing the first part, I have argued that the adverb *specialiter* might best be interpreted (when read in a monastic context) as referring to biblical exegesis; similarly, in the second part, the adverb *singulariter* could have called to mind its biblical context when read by a monastic reader. Surprisingly, *singulariter* occurs only once in scripture: I Maccabees 12. 36, which describes Jonathan taking a resolution to build fortresses in Judea:

et aedificare muros in Hierusalem et exaltare altitudinem magnam inter medium arcis et civitatis ut separaret eam a civitate ut esset ipsa singulariter et neque emant neque vendant.

(and to build up walls in Jerusalem, and raise a mount between the castle and the city, to separate it from the city, that so it might have no communication, and that they might neither buy nor sell.)

The phrase 'ut esset ipsa singulariter' might more literally be translated 'so that she [the fortress] might exist individually', and if an allusion to this passage was made by a monastic reader or writer, then the conventional analogies made between the walls of the city of Jerusalem and the monastic enclosure itself would not have escaped notice.³⁸ The language of the closing of Letter 6 is permeated with just this type of 'edificatory' language, addressing Abelard as lord but defining the

³⁸ For the ubiquity of this metaphor, see Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, pp. 221–76.

lordship entirely in terms of his relationship to the Paraclete as its founder, and, if he will, establisher of its new Rule. Indeed, the focus of the closing is to prepare the Paraclete for a future without Abelard's patronage:³⁹

Tibi nunc, domine, dum vivis incumbit instituere de nobis quid in perpetuum tenendum sit nobis. Tu quippe post Deum huius loci fundator, tu per Deum nostrae congregationis es plantator, tu cum Deo nostrae sis religionis institutor. Praeceptorem alium post te fortassis habiturae sumus et qui super alienum aliquid aedificet fundamentum, ideoque, veremur, de nobis minus futurus sollicitus, vel a nobis minus audiendus, et qui denique, si aequae velit, non aequae possit. Loquere tu nobis audiemus. Vale.

(Now, lord, while you live, it is incumbent upon you to establish for us what ought to be held in perpetuity by us. For you after God are the founder of this place, you through God are the transplanter of our congregation: may you be with God the establisher of our religious life. Perhaps, after you, we will have another teacher and he will be the sort who will build something upon another's foundation, and, therefore, we are afraid that he may be less careful about us, or less listened to by us, and who in the end, if he wished to be equal to you, may not be able to be equal. Speak to us yourself, we shall listen. Fare well.)

Thus, in the context of the whole letter (as read at the Paraclete), the salutation might better be translated as 'to her lord in a special biblical sense, his own, separately'.

Letter 7: Abelard to Heloise

This letter has no formal salutation, but it contains the requested treatise on the origin of nuns: Abelard has accepted the project proposed by Heloise and has accepted a specific responsibility for reforming the community. The letter starts with a sentence that reaffirms the second of the two roles Heloise had stressed in her first letter, *soror*, and which confirms her role as mother of her spiritual daughters:⁴⁰

Caritati tuae, carissima soror de origine tuae professionis tam tibi quam spiritalibus filiabus tuis sciscitanti, unde scilicet monachiam coeperit religio paucis, si potero succincteque rescribam.

(With regard for your charity, most beloved sister, which enquires about the origin of your profession, as much for yourself as for your spiritual daughters, namely whence the religious life of nuns began, I will, if I am able, write back briefly and in a few words.)

³⁹ Letter 6, p. 253.

⁴⁰ Letter 7, p. 253.

The body of this letter, once infamously described as ‘prolix and not very logical’,⁴¹ provides the extended models of holy women around which the Paraclete’s new religious identity was to be constructed. In Letter 5, Abelard had proposed Christ’s Passion and the response of his women followers as a superior model of divine love that could reorientate human desire. Moreover he had argued that nuns, as spiritual *sponsae Christi*, were specially suited to this reorientation. Now, in Letter 7, he takes up both of these points in order to justify women’s ministry. First he argues that the origin of nuns had an ‘evangelical’ basis in the women followers of Christ: just as the male disciples were a typological anticipation of monks, so the female disciples were an anticipation of nuns:⁴²

Ibi quippe [...] sanctarum legimus conuentum mulierum quae scilicet saeculo abrenuntiantes omnemque proprietatem abdicantes ut solum possiderent Christum [...] deuote illud compleuerunt, quo omnes secundum regulam a Domino traditam conuersi a saeculo ad huius uitae communitatem initiantur: ‘Nisi quis renuntiauerit omnibus quae possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus.’

(Indeed there [in the Gospels] we read of the gathering of holy women, who, clearly, renouncing the world and abdicating all property so that they might possess Christ alone [...] devoutly have fulfilled that [command] by which all those converted from the world to the community of this life are initiated, according to the rule handed down by the Lord: ‘Unless he renounces everything which he possesses, he cannot be my disciple’ [cf. Luke 14. 33].)

Then, inverting the traditional themes of women’s weakness of body and mind, Abelard distinguishes the ministries of male and female monastics, giving examples of a ‘special prerogative’ of women to minister to Christ while he was alive in the flesh. These include simple provision of physical needs, such as Martha of Bethany’s service in providing food, as well as physical acts with spiritual meanings, such as the multiple anointings of Christ by women in the Bible (John 11. 2, Luke 7. 36–50, Luke 8. 2). He attributes all of these anointings to Mary Magdalen,⁴³ making her a particularly important example for women monastics.

⁴¹ This was Betty Radice’s reason for her greatly abridged translation: *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise* (London: Penguin, 1974), pp. 180–82.

⁴² Letter 7, pp. 253–54.

⁴³ Following Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in euangelia*, ed. by Raymond Étaix, CCSL, 141 (1999), II. 25 and 33, pp. 205, 292 (PL, LXXVI, cols 1189B–1189C, 1242A). Constant Mews, ‘Heloise, the Paraclete Liturgy and Mary Magdalen’, in *The Poetic and Musical Legacy of Heloise and Abelard: An Anthology of Essays by Various Authors*, ed. by Marc Stewart and David Wulstan (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2003), pp. 100–12, points out the importance of Mary

Such ‘privileges’ are founded on the enfleshing (incarnation) of Christ through the Virgin Mary:⁴⁴

Quae est ista, obsecro, infirmioris sexus praerogativa, ut summum Christum omnibus Sancti Spiritus unguentis ab ipsa eius conceptionem regem et sacerdotem consecrans, Christum, id est, unctum corporaliter ipsum efficeret?

(What, I pray, is this prerogative of the weaker sex, that, consecrating the highest Christ as king and priest with all the Holy Spirit’s balms through her conception of him, she might show the same man to be the Christ, that is, the anointed one, corporeally?)

Although Abelard gives various traditional interpretations for the allegorical meanings of these anointings, he emphasizes the biblical narrative’s explanation of them as foreshadowing Christ’s death. In this way he creates a strong connection between a nun’s special ministry and the Easter narrative. Moreover, he argues that the anointings are superior to sacramental anointings, which, as he mentions, were (with the exception of emergency baptisms) the prerogative of men:⁴⁵

Viri [...] sacramenta figuris imprimunt, mulier vero in ipsa operata est veritate, sicut et ipsa protestatur Veritas, dicens: Bonum opus operata est in me.

(Men seal the sacraments by means of outward forms, but a woman [Mary Magdalen] worked upon the reality itself, as indeed that same Truth declared, saying: ‘She hath wrought a good work on me’ [Mark 14. 6].)

The medieval stereotype of the women’s inferior ‘bodiliness’ thus becomes a positive quality of the women followers of Jesus.

Having established the ‘dominicality’ of women’s ministry in their ‘diaconal’ ministry to Christ, Abelard turns to the supposed weakness of women’s minds. In concluding the first section of his argument, Abelard contrasts the constancy of women’s devotion to Christ at his Passion with that of the male disciples:⁴⁶

Ipsam negare non ueretur, nec semel id agit sed tertio ipsum adhuc uiuentem denegat; et a uiuo pariter omnes discipuli uno temporis puncto fugiendo deuolant a quo nec in morte uel mente uel corpore feminae sunt disiunctae. Quarum beata illa peccatrix, mortuum

Magdalen at the Paraclete, highlighting her importance in Abelard’s writings from the 1130s and in the Paraclete liturgy. However, in using only the evidence from Abelard’s two hymns for Mary Magdalen’s feast day to argue that Abelard ‘emphasized the traditional image of Mary as a blessed sinner’ (p. 107), Mews misses the important point that Abelard’s Easter hymn (*Christiani plaudite*) and his sermon both focus on her but have no allusion to her as a sinner; they therefore have exactly the same emphasis as the Paraclete Easter sequence *Epithalamica*.

⁴⁴ Letter 7, p. 254.

⁴⁵ Letter 7, pp. 254–55.

⁴⁶ Letter 7, p. 257.

etiam quaerens et Dominum suum confitens, ait: 'Tulerunt Dominum de monumento.' Et iterum: 'Si tu sustulisti eum, dicito mihi ubi posuisti eum et ego eum tollam' [...]. Cui fideliter in mortem quantum dilexerint uiuum, non tam uerbis quam rebus exhibuerunt.

(He [Peter] did not fear to deny him [Christ], and did it not once but three times, while he [Christ] was still alive, and likewise, all the disciples fled from the living one at one point in time, from whom the women were not separated at his death, neither in mind nor body. One of them [Mary Magdalen], indeed that blessed sinner seeking the dead one, and confessing her Lord, said, 'They have taken my Lord from the sepulchre' [John 20. 2]. And again: 'If thou hast borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away' [John 20. 15]. [...] They [the women] loved him faithfully as much in his death as they loved him alive, and they showed this not so much in words as in deeds.)

While Abelard reinforces the gender stereotypes of women's weakness of mind and body (assuming the inability of women to separate their affections from their bodies), he argues that this gives them a superior ability to act out their devotion. An implicit and most significant consequence of his argument is that it establishes women's institutions as being especially suited to the performance of liturgy.

The rest of Abelard's letter goes on to examine the Old Testament narratives that provide models for, and allegorically anticipate, orders of nuns, as well as the later biblical and patristic witness to women's ministries, such as a women's diaconate. These provide materials that are developed in Abelard's sermons and hymns written for the Paraclete.

Letter 8: The Rule and Liturgical Modification

Abelard's Letter 7, justifying women's monasticism, is complemented by his Rule (Letter 8), which provides a constitution specifically designed for women's institutions. Since monastic rules order and prescribe the monastic *cursus*, the creation of a rule specifically designed for women provided him with the rationale for an extensive modification of the liturgy. Although some of the innovations may either never have been fully implemented or (more likely) were eventually modified or rejected by the Paraclete community, the structure of this liturgical revision is often largely recoverable by comparing the discussions of liturgy in the correspondence, along with Abelard's known liturgical works, with the surviving (late) Paraclete liturgical sources.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Although a Paraclete liturgy for the years 1132–42 cannot be definitively established, Chrysogonus Waddell has persuasively demonstrated that is possible to trace many of its elements. See his editions and commentaries of *The Old French Paraclete Ordinary: Paris, Bibliothèque*

Heloise's most urgent critique of the liturgical provision of the Benedictine Rule (in Letter 6) was that it unwisely required the presence of men in the convent at night:⁴⁸

Illud autem prae omnibus definire te volumus quid de evangelica lectione in vigiliis nocturnis nobis agendum sit. Periculosum quippe nobis videtur eo tempore ad nos sacerdotes aut diaconos admitti, per quos haec lectio recitetur, quas praecipue ab omni hominum accessu atque aspectu segregatas esse convenit.

(But we want you to determine one thing above all others: 'What should be done by us about the Gospel reading in the night office?' For it seems to us dangerous that priests or deacons, by whom this reading should be recited, are at that time admitted to us, who ought to be separated from the sight and access of all men.)

In his Rule, Abelard instituted a radical solution to this problem by eliminating the Gospel homily or commentary from the Matins service, thereby eliminating the need to read the Gospel:⁴⁹

Nihil in ecclesia legatur aut cantetur nisi de authentica sumptum scriptura, maxime autem de novo vel veteri testamento. Quae utraque sic per lectiones distribuantur ut ex integro per annum in ecclesia legantur. Expositiones vero ipsorum vel sermones doctorum seu

Nationale Ms français 14410, and the Paraclete Breviary: Chamont, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms 31: Introduction and Commentary, CLS, 3 (1985); *The Old French Paraclete Ordinary: Edition*, CLS, 4 (1983); *The Paraclete Breviary: Edition*, 3 vols, CLS, 5–7 (1983); and *Hymn Collections from the Paraclete*, 2 vols, CLS, 8–9 (1989); these editions are hereafter cited as CLS, by series number. See also Joseph Szövérfy, *Peter Abelard's Hymnarius Paraclitensis*, 2 vols (Albany: Classical Folia, 1975). The Paraclete Institutions (*Institutiones nostrae*) were most likely compiled by Heloise and are printed as part of the appendix to Letter 8 in PL, LXXVI, cols 313–317B. Abelard's sermons (not all of which were written specifically for the Paraclete) are in PL, LXXVI, cols 379–610. See also, for the manuscript tradition of the sermons and a good conjecture on the contents of Abelard's Sermonary, *I sermoni di Abelardo per le monache del Paraclete*, ed. by Paola de Santis (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002). Although the two most important liturgical sources, edited by Waddell (CLS, 4 and 5), exist only in manuscripts dating from the late thirteenth century (the Ordinary) and the late fifteenth (the Breviary), Abelard's influence can be confirmed from the extensive prescriptions for the use of his hymns in both, from a less extensive but still significant use of his sermons, and from other unique features of the liturgy (discussed below) that are first mentioned in Letters 3, 5–8, and 10.

⁴⁸ Letter 6, p. 253.

⁴⁹ Letter 8, p. 263. The phrase *authentica scriptura* seems to include more than canonical scripture. For example, it seems unlikely that saints' lives would be excluded from the Matins readings, nor would they need to be read by a male reader. Since the Gospel reading for Matins is the same as the reading for the High Mass, its presence in Matins may have seemed to Abelard an unnecessary duplication or perhaps even an unhelpful anticipation of its reading at Mass, and he therefore specifically relocates the reading of patristic Gospel homilies to other times and places.

quaelibet scripturae aliquid aedificationis habentes ad mensam vel in capitulo recitentur et ubicumque opus sit omnium lectio concedatur.

(Nothing may be sung or read in church except what is taken from valid writings and especially from the New or Old Testaments. Both of these are to be apportioned through lections in such a way that they may be read in church in their entirety during the year. But the explanations of them, whether sermons of the Doctors, or any other writings containing something edifying, should be read at table or in Chapter, and wherever there may be a need, the reading of all of these may be allowed.)

Waddell's detailed presentation of the patterns of reading indicated in the Paraclete Ordinary shows that Gospel readings at Matins were indeed replaced, at least in part, and that a century and a half later the new pattern persisted for thirty-nine principal feasts.⁵⁰ Moreover, to replace the Gospel readings, the Paraclete nuns seem to have used a highly unusual lectionary, which drew the majority of its texts from the Old Testament, supplementing them with texts from Acts, and on one occasion I Corinthians. Waddell, who suggested that this lectionary was devised by Abelard, has also identified a special lectionary for weekday readings at meals. This contains the unusual choice of the Song of Songs for the Octave of Easter (a text, as will be seen later, that features prominently in all of the Paraclete's Easter repertory).⁵¹

Although the correspondence presents this radical alteration of reading patterns as a reaction to the pious wish not to have men in the convent at night, I suggest that another and perhaps more important motivation was a desire to reorganize and structure the ways in which scripture would be heard, experienced, and interpreted in the liturgy, thereby bringing the Paraclete liturgy into line with the new ways in which patristic scripture commentaries were being redacted, reorganized, and made more rhetorically effective by Abelard's immediate predecessors and contemporaries.⁵² Indeed, Abelard's elimination of commentaries had three effects that profoundly altered the character of feast days. First, room was made for a wider variety of Old Testament narrative that was allegorically related to the feast than could otherwise be read at night. Second, materials from

⁵⁰ CLS, 3, p. 365.

⁵¹ CLS, 3, p. 384, where the Easter season lectionary is described under the letter *h*.

⁵² See Alexander Andr  e's comments on Gilbert the Universal, above (pp. 117–46). Even the *Institutiones nostrae* (a constitution for the Paraclete attributed to Heloise, PL, LXXVI, cols 313C–317D) do not specifically prohibit the reading of a Gospel commentary or homily at Matins. This suggests that the reason for their elimination in much of the liturgy was part of a larger revision of the focus of particular feasts rather than a simple response to a practical problem.

the Gospel could instead be incorporated into a series of new antiphons and responsories, which, since they were not considered to be readings, would not require a priest or a deacon. Third, all such *historiae* (that is, biblical narratives) would remain obscure until the next day, when they were explained through allegorical exegesis in commentary and in sermons. This delay in providing interpretation seems to be Abelard's conscious decision, as can be shown in his second hymnal preface, where he describes a similar pattern behind his new festal hymns:⁵³

Ceteros uero suprapositos hymnos hac consideratione digessimus, ut qui nocturna sunt, suarum opera feriarum contineant. Diurni autem ipsorum operum alecoricam seu moralem expositionem tradant. Atque ita factum est ut obscuritas historiae nocti, lux uero expositionis reseruetur diei.

(Now we have distributed the [fast-day] hymns, written above, with this consideration: that those which are in the night office should contain the events of their days. But the daytime hymns should hand down the allegorical or moral understanding of the same events. And it is done in this way, so that the obscurity of history may be reserved for the night, but the light of understanding may be reserved for the day.)

Furthermore, Abelard's sermons (to be read or delivered in daytime) were designed to explain the allegorical and moral meanings of the feast. Abelard's preface to his Sermonary makes the point (albeit in very flowery rhetoric) that sermons are the place for direct and simple explanation:⁵⁴

Plus quippe lectioni quam sermoni deditus, expositioni insisto, planiciem quaerens, non eloquentiae compositionem: sensum litterae, non ornatum Rhetoricae. Ac fortasse pura minusque ornata locutio quanto planior fuerit, tanto simplicium intelligentiae commodior erit; et pro qualitate auditorum ipsa inculti sermonis rusticitas quaedam erit ornatus urbanitas, et quoddam condimentum saporis parvularum intelligentia facilis.

(Indeed, having been devoted more to reading than to preaching, I pursue explanation, seeking level ground, not the creation of eloquence: the meaning of the language, not the ornament of rhetoric. And perhaps the plainer a clear and less ornate speech is, the more suited to the understanding of the simple it will be, and because of the nature of the listeners, the rusticity of the uncultivated speech will itself be a certain elegance of ornament, and the young women's quick comprehension will be a certain seasoning of taste.)

⁵³ CLS, 9, p. 49.

⁵⁴ Abelard, Preface to Sermonary, PL, LXXVI, col. 379A. The Latin text is given as emended in *I sermoni di Abelardo*, p. 86. Abelard's Rule, Letter 8, p. 264, lists the chapter meeting as an occasion for an 'edifying word', while the *Institutiones nostrae*, PL, LXXVI, cols 315D–316A, state that 'Praecipuis solemnitatibus habetur sermo in capitulo' (On the highest feast days a sermon is held in Chapter).

The restructured reading and commentary in the liturgy also seem to reflect the specific programme of reading that Abelard recommended to the Paraclete nuns. Quoting Jerome's Letter 107 to Leta on the instruction of her daughter, Abelard recommends that the books that most required allegorical explanation be studied last and that the culmination of the nuns' biblical studies ought to be the proper interpretation of the Song of Songs:⁵⁵

Discat primum psalterium, his se canticis auocet; in prouerbiiis Salomonis erudiatur ad uitam, in Ecclesiaste consuescat calcare quae mundi sunt, in Iob uirtutis et patientiae exempla sectetur. Ad euangelia transeat numquam ea positura de manibus. Apostolorum acta et epistolas tota cordis inbibat uoluntate. Cumque pectoris sui cellarium impleuerit his opibus, mandet memoriae prophetas et Heptateuchum, Regum et Paralipomenon libros, Esdrae et Hester uolumina. Ad ultimum sine periculo discat Canticum Canticorum ne, si in exordio legerit, sub carnalibus uerbis spiritalium nuptiarum epithalamium non intelligens uulneretur.

(Let her first learn the Psalter, so that she may sing forth these canticles herself; let her be instructed for life with the proverbs of Solomon; with Ecclesiastes let her be accustomed to trample upon those things which are of the world; in Job, let her hunt for examples of virtue and patience. Towards the Gospels, let her proceed and never should she put them down from her hands. Let her drink the Acts and Epistles of the apostles with the whole will of her heart. And when she has filled the store-room of her breast with these works, let her commit to memory the Prophets, and Heptateuch, the Books of Kings and Chronicles, and the volumes of Ezra and Esther. At the end, without danger, let her learn the Song of Songs, lest, if she were to read it at the beginning, she would be harmed, not understanding the bridal-song of the spiritual wedding under the corporeal words.)

The Easter Season at the Paraclete

Abelard's Easter Sermon 13 characterizes the whole Lenten and Easter season theologically as a kind of *transitus*, a 'passover' from death to life:⁵⁶

Pascha autem Hebraice, phase Graece, Latine transitus dicitur. In veteri quippe Pascha, Dominus per Aegyptum transiens, primogenitis interfectis, et per transitum maris Rubri

⁵⁵ Letter 9, pp. 221–22, quoting Jerome, *Ep.* 107.12, in *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*, CSEL, 55, p. 302; PL, XXII, cols 876–77. Hugh of St Victor suggests an alternative progression of readings but also distinguishes between books or portions of books best read as *historia* and portions best read as *allegoria*, with the strong implication that the former ought to be mastered before the latter (Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon de studio legendi*, ed. by Charles H. Buttner, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin*, 10 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1961); PL, LXXVI, cols 801A, 805B); see also Gunilla Iversen, p. 204, above.

⁵⁶ PL, CLXXVIII, col. 485C.

populum suum liberans, de nomine transitus hanc solemnitatem insignivit. Praesens quoque Dominicae resurrectionis dies non incongrue Pascha dicitur. Ipsa quippe immutatio humanae naturae de mortalitate ad immortalitatem, de corruptione ad incorruptionem, quidam in Christo transitus et motus fuit.

(Now *Pascha* in Hebrew (*phase* in Greek) is called *transitus* in Latin [*Passover* in English]. Indeed in the old *Pascha*, the Lord named the solemnity from the noun *transitus*, passing through Egypt, as the first-born were killed, and freeing his people through their crossing of the Red Sea [Exod. 12. 11]. Also the present day of Resurrection is not incongruously called *Pascha*. For on that day, the interchange of human nature from mortality to immortality, from corruption to incorruption, was a certain passing over and movement in Christ.)

Abelard suggests that just as the Old Testament narrative of the salvation of Israel at the Exodus prefigured the salvation of humanity in the Resurrection, so the new life signalled by the Resurrection evoked an affective transition of the women followers of Christ: a *transitus* from lament to joy. This affective *transitus* provides the model for the proper celebration of the season at the Paraclete. For this reason, the theological meaning of the feast may be ritually enacted in a way especially suited to developing the interior disposition of a women's community:⁵⁷ as Abelard had argued in Letter 5, their sex makes it possible for them to experience this pattern more vividly (*expressius*) than other Christians.⁵⁸ Abelard thus maintains that the entire season from Lent up to the Easter Vigil Mass (celebrated at the Paraclete along with First Vespers on Holy Saturday) should be kept as a period of mourning:⁵⁹

Solet nonnullos movere: 'Cur dies Dominicae passionis, quae maxime nostram operata est salutem, celebritatis non habeat exultationem, sed in moerore potius quam in laetitia peragatur, praesertim cum singulorum passionibus sanctorum festivam jocunditatem Ecclesia persolvat?' Ad quod respondendum arbitror pro Dominicae resurrectionis gloria,

⁵⁷ The term *ritual enactment* is my neologism and is intended to acknowledge the medieval (and theological) notion that the interior dispositions of the participants in a liturgy might be transformed through a representation of a past event (such as the Eucharist). For other formulations and a thorough discussion of the issues involved, see Nils Holger Petersen's contribution to the present volume.

⁵⁸ See discussion of Letter 5 above.

⁵⁹ PL, CLXXVIII, cols 486C–486D. The construction *dies Dominicae Passionis* could refer to Passion Sunday (two weeks before Easter), but the full context of the sermon makes it clear that Abelard is speaking about Good Friday here. Note that Abelard states that some people are disturbed by the keeping of such a period of mourning. This suggests that some reformers may have wanted to change the character of Passion services. See Petersen, pp. 180–83, above, for a similar characterization of the season from Abelard's fellow Benedictine, Rupert of Deutz.

quae tertio die passioni succedit, diligenter ab Ecclesia id esse constitutum, ut quo major praecesserit in nobis de passione Domini compassio, gravior de resurrectionis gloria sequatur exultatio. Unde et paschalis solemnitatis laetitiae non solum proximum moestitiae biduum praeponitur, verum etiam totius quadragesimae abstinencia praemittitur. In qua quidem quadragesima, voces illae gaudii: Alleluia, Gloria in excelsis Deo, et apud clericos etiam: Te Deum laudamus, reticentur, et paschalibus gaudiis reservantur.

(This customarily disturbs some people: 'Why should the day of the Lord's Passion [Good Friday], which led to our salvation, not have an exultation of celebration, but be carried out in mourning rather than in joy, especially when the Church performs a joyous festival for the passion of each of the saints?' To this, I think one should answer that it was carefully established by the Church for the glory of the Sunday of the Resurrection, which follows on the third day of the Passion, so that the more compassion provokes us about the Lord's Passion, the more thankful an exultation will follow about the glory of the Resurrection. Whence, also, not only a two-day period of mourning is placed before the joy of the Paschal solemnity, but also the abstinence of the whole of Lent is put before it. Indeed, in Lent, those sounds of joy — *Alleluia*, *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, and among clerics even *Te Deum laudamus* — are kept silent, and are reserved for Paschal joys.)

The *transitus* from mourning to joy is an especially prominent part of the Easter Triduum, and since Abelard had argued that the dominical basis for women's monasticism lay in women's ministry to Christ, especially during the Passion, the revisions to the Easter Triduum were especially far-reaching.⁶⁰

Abelard's Triduum hymn cycle provides a good overview of the structure of these days, which he seems to treat as a single, extended feast, writing proper hymns for every monastic hour from Vespers of Maundy Thursday until None for Holy Saturday.⁶¹ In this cycle, Abelard breaks his own rule of confining simple narration of events to the night hours, because the structure of the entire Triduum displays the same overall structure: like a single feast day, the expanded structure provides a narration of the biblical events and stories, providing allegorical and moral exempla followed by a daytime explanation of the feast in a sermon and commentary. Thus from Maundy Thursday Vespers through to Holy Saturday Matins Abelard follows the events of the Passion in his narrative at the very hours mentioned in the biblical accounts, as shown in Table 1.

⁶⁰ I count no fewer than fifty-five items given in the Paraclete Ordinary and Breviary for the services from the Second Vespers of Maundy Thursday through to the Mass of Easter Day that are rarely found or unknown elsewhere. For a good argument from internal evidence assigning the authorship of many of these texts to Abelard, see Chrysogonus Waddell, 'Peter Abelard as Creator of Liturgical Texts', in *Petrus Abaelardus (1079–1142)* (see n. 5, above), pp. 267–86.

⁶¹ CLS, 8, pp. 73–74.

Table 1. Hymns narrating the events of the Passion⁶²

Feast/Hour	Hymn incipit	Events	Waddell, CLS
<i>Maundy Thursday</i>			
Vespers	<i>Hec nox carissimi</i> ⁶³		4.25; 9.145–46
<i>Good Friday</i>			
Matins	<i>Hec nox carissimi</i>	Judas's betrayal	4.25; 5.131; 9.145–46
Lauds	<i>Noster et omnium</i>	Trial before Annas and Caiaphas	5.132; 9.147
Prime	<i>Dampnandus, domine</i>	Trial before Pilate	5.132; 9.148
Terce	<i>Iam hora tertia</i>	Crucifixion	5.133; 9.149
Sext	<i>Sexta, qua dominus</i>	Eclipse of the Sun	5.133; 9.150
None	<i>Nona, qua vera lux</i>	Earthquake and rending of Temple Veil	5.134; 9.151
Vespers	<i>Facto iam vespere</i>	Internment by Joseph of Arimathea	5.135; 9.152
Compline	<i>Pias vigiliis</i>	Women's Vigil at the tomb	5.135; 9.153
<i>Holy Saturday</i>			
Matins	<i>Sexta iam homine</i>	Christ rests in the tomb	5.135; 9.154

The material of the hymns is supplemented by other new items for the liturgy. Each hour is supplied with a unique antiphon that quotes passages of the Psalms that were considered allegories of the Passion, such as Psalms 16, 12, 21, 1, and 13, 17; but they are presented in the antiphons without further explanation.

⁶² The references under 'Waddell, CLS' show CLS volume number followed by page number.

⁶³ *Hec nox carissimi* is listed for both Maundy Thursday Vespers and Good Friday Matins. However, I suspect that specific stanzas may have been assigned to each of the two hours: the first three stanzas are introductory and the last three stanzas apply to the whole Passion narrative. Perhaps the introductory material was sung at Vespers while the narration of the betrayal was sung (correctly) only at Matins.

Abelard's hymn series continues with hymns for Lauds to None for Holy Saturday. These daytime hymns are used to explain and comment upon the traditional allegorical and moral meanings of the feast.

Table 2. Hymns providing allegorical and moral exegesis

Feast	Hymn incipit	Allegorical & Moral Exegesis	Waddell, CLS
<i>Holy Saturday</i>			
Lauds	<i>Dormit hoc triduo</i>	Lion's whelp (exegesis of Gen. 49. 9, Ps. 16. 12, Hosea 6. 1–3, Apoc. 5. 5, and the Lion and the Phoenix (<i>Physiologus</i>))	5.136; 9.155
Prime	<i>Leonis catulum</i>		5.137; 9.156
Terce	<i>Ascensus catuli</i>		5.137; 9.157
Sext	<i>Adhuc ut dormiens</i>	Drinking of the torrent (Exegesis of Ps. 109. 7)	5.138; 9.158
None	<i>Non naturalis est</i>		5.138; 9.159

Many of the same Psalms that provided the materials for the previous evening's antiphons are used, as well as previous evening's readings, but the daytime hymns provide an explanation of them. Thus the large-scale structure of the Triduum hymn cycle (even though it is expanded to fill the first two days of the Triduum) follows Abelard's standard festal progression of an uninterpreted narration of events to be later illuminated with allegorical and moral commentary. Most prominent among these allegories is the theme from Genesis 49. 9, the Lion's whelp, the Lion of Judah who is delivered from his captors (Ps. 16. 12), revived on the third day (Hosea 6. 1–3), drinks from the torrent and rises to the prey (Ps. 109. 7), and who has prevailed (Apoc. 5. 5). Abelard mixes these images with moral allegories based on the *Physiologus*: in the natural world, the phoenix foreshadows the Resurrection by rising from its own ashes and lion cubs are vivified by their father's roar.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ A very fine late-twelfth-century manuscript of the bestiary of the *Physiologus* (Aberdeen University Library, 24) may be consulted online, along with a transcription and translation, at <www.abdn.ac.uk/bestiary>. For the lion, see fols 7^r–8^v; for the phoenix, see fols 55^r–56^v.

The Triduum hymn cycle is further unified by the use of the same metre and a doxology highlighting the affective meaning of the rite, through which the participants in the liturgy pray that they may be transformed by it:⁶⁵

Tu tibi compati
sic nos fac, domine,
tue participes
ut simus glorie,
sic presens triduum
in luctu ducere
ut risum tribuas
paschalis gratie.

(Make us, O Lord, suffer with you in such a way that we may be partners in your glory, and thus the present three days are to be conducted in sorrow, so that you may bestow the laughter of Paschal grace.)

Thus the patterns of appropriation of scripture and commentary that Abelard considered normative for the celebration of feasts are present, and the particular focus (in Abelard's Letters 5 and 7) on the special affective connections between the nuns and the Passion and Resurrection narrative is reinforced.

Easter at the Paraclete

The Easter celebration consists of an entire liturgical day, beginning with the first part of a truncated Holy Saturday Vespers service, which, at the Paraclete, introduced the Easter Vigil. Although the Paraclete sources specify only the first reading of the Vigil (Gen. 1), others may be inferred: the Exodus story (Exod. 14. 15–15. 19) is present in all known versions of the Easter Vigil, and traditional passages from Isaiah 54–55 promising solace to Jerusalem personified as a widow may have been especially attractive to a women's community. After the Vigil, the Vespers service continued.

Abelard's hymn for Vespers, *Christiani plaudite*, begins a cycle of four hymns for Easter (for First Vespers, Matins, Lauds, and Second Vespers) that are unified by a common refrain, metre, and a doxology.⁶⁶ This reinforces the conventional

⁶⁵ CLS, 5, p. 132.

⁶⁶ CLS, 9, p. 63. Although Abelard's prefaces make it clear that he planned his cycles of four hymns for major feasts to serve these Offices, the Ordinary and Breviary sometimes change their

allegory of Exodus as Easter. While the use of the word *plaudite* may come from its use in Psalms 46. 2 and 97. 8, and perhaps from Isaiah 55. 12 (where the people, rivers, and trees clap for joy in the Lord's presence), it is also likely to be intended to refer to the Exodus canticle from the Easter Vigil (Exod. 15. 1–19). In the Matins hymn, *Da Marie timpanum*, the juxtaposition of the Exodus and Easter narratives is emphasized from the perspective of their women participants. In the first stanza, Miriam is described (after Exod. 15. 20–21) as leading a second singing of the canticle with the timbrel. (This detail parallels the percussive clapping of hands that signalled the Easter rejoicing in the previous hymn, *Christiani plaudite*):⁶⁷

Da Marie timpanum.
Resurrexit Dominus
Hebreas ad canticum
cantans prouocet;
holocausta carminum
iacob immolet.

(Give Miriam the timbrel. The Lord is risen! Let her, singing, incite the Hebrews to song; let Jacob offer a burnt offering of songs.)

The final two stanzas of *Da Marie* focus on the New Testament parallel to Miriam:

Dicat timpanistria	Cantet carmen dulcius:
Resurrexit Dominus	Resurrexit Dominus!
illa quidem altera	reliquis fidelibus
re non nomine	mixta feminis
resurgentem merita	cum ipsa narrantibus
prima cernere.	hoc discipulis.

(Let the timbrel-player, that woman, indeed the other woman, in reality not just in name, who deserved first to witness him rising, say: The Lord is risen! Let her sing a sweeter song to the rest of the faithful, she, with the other women telling this to the disciples: The Lord is risen!)

The hymn text strategically withholds the name of Mary Magdalen, who, in the daytime, will be named in Abelard's Easter sermon (discussed below).

assignments. I place them here at their originally intended hours to emphasize the original plan (even though the plan may never have been fully realized, even at the Paraclete).

⁶⁷ CLS, 9, p. 64.

Several other unique items for Matins are recorded in the Ordinary:⁶⁸ the first of the Matins lections, Genesis 49, containing the imagery of the lion of Judah, and an incipit for the first responsory from the Apocalypse 5. 4–5. (As seen above, these two passages had provided material for many of the Saturday Office hymns.) The Ordinary also mentions a unique series of three canticles from the Song of Songs, which survives complete in the Paraclete Breviary.⁶⁹ Together, the three canticles narrate the sections of the Song of Songs in which first the *sponsa* rises from her bed at night and seeks her beloved through the city, then is rebuked by the watchmen, and finally finds him, but loses him again.⁷⁰ The series ends with a description of the beloved. Abelard's suggestion that the persona of the *sponsa* applies most particularly to nuns is reinforced here by actions that accompany these canticles described in the Ordinary. During the singing of the canticles the *elevatio* of the Cross took place and it was returned to the church. This would leave the 'sepulchre' empty, and so would suggest that one purpose of the nuns' singing the canticles was to anticipate (allegorically) Mary Magdalen's seeking the absent Christ at the tomb, a connection made by Gregory the Great in a sermon for the Thursday after Easter:⁷¹

Sed Maria, cum fleret, inclinavit se et prospexit in monumentum. Certe iam monumentum uacuum uiderat, iam sublatum Dominum nuntiarat; quid est quod se iterum inclinat, iterum uidere desiderat? Sed amanti semel aspexisse non sufficit, quia uis amoris intentionem multiplicat inquisitionis. Quaesiuit igitur prius et minime inuenit; perseverauit ut quaereret, unde et contigit ut inueniret, actumque est ut desideria dilata crescerent, et crescentia caperent quod inuenissent. Hinc est enim quod de eodem sponso ecclesia in Canticis canticorum dicit: *In lectulo per noctes quaesiui quem diligit anima mea; quaesiui illum et non inueni.*

(But Mary [Magdalen], when she was crying, bent down, and gazed into the sepulchre. Surely, she had already seen that the sepulchre was empty; she had already announced that the Lord was raised; why is it that she bent down again, that again she desired to see? But to have gazed one time does not meet a lover's need, for the power of love multiplies the effort of searching. Thus she sought earlier, and she scarcely found; she persevered so that she might seek, whence also she took hold so that she might find, and it was done so that, delayed, the desires might grow, and growing they might seize what they found. For this is what the Church says about that same bridegroom in the Song of Songs: 'In bed by night I sought him whom my soul loveth: I sought him, and found him not' [3. 1].)

⁶⁸ CLS, 4, p. 30.

⁶⁹ CLS, 4, p. 30; CLS, 5, pp. 386–87.

⁷⁰ Song of Songs 3. 1–5; 5. 6b–19.

⁷¹ Gregory the Great, Homily 25 (on John 20. 11–18); CCSL, 141, pp. 205–06 (PL, LXXVI, cols 1189–90).

Abelard's hymn at Lauds, *Goliath prostratus est*, may be usefully compared and contrasted with the Victorine sequence *Zima vetus* discussed by Gunilla Iversen above (pp. 242–50). In many ways, Abelard's hymn serves as another example of 'learned exegesis', containing a rich array of allegorical references:⁷²

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Goliath prostratus est;
Resurrexit Dominus.
Ense iugulatus est
Hostis proprio;
Cum suis submersus est
Ille Pharaon. | 3. Samson noster ualidus,
Resurrexit Dominus.
Circumseptus hostibus
Portas sustulit.
Frustratus a philistinis
Stupens ingemit. |
| 2. Dicant Sion filie:
Resurrexit Dominus.
Vero David obvium
Chorus proferant.
Victori victoriae
Laudes concinant. | 4. Vt leonis cubile
Resurrexit Dominus,
Quem rugitus patris
Die tertia
Suscitat vivificus
Teste phisica. |

(1. Goliath has been overthrown; the Lord is risen! The enemy has been beheaded with his own sword; with his own army, the Pharaoh has been overwhelmed. 2. Let the Daughters of Zion say: the Lord is risen! Meeting the true David they offer him a dance; let the victors sing lauds to the Victor. 3. Our strong Samson, the Lord is risen! Surrounded by the enemy he bore away the gates; deceived, the foreigner, amazed, groaned. 4. The Lord is risen, like the lion's whelp, whom the quickening fatherly roar revived on the third day, as Physiologus bears witness.)

The hymn shares quite a few of its allegorical types with the Victorine sequence (although not always the same parts of the narrative): David, Samson, and the lion's whelp are all used as figures for Christ and are all present in *Zima vetus* (strophes 6a, 6b, 7a–b). However, Abelard's hymn pays rather more attention to the singers who celebrate the feast than does *Zima vetus*: while the hymn does not directly exhort them to sing, it supplies allegorical personae for the nuns to enact. First, it is worth remembering that the refrain *Resurrexit Dominus* (for all four of Abelard's Easter hymns) is the message that the women disciples at the tomb are instructed to give to the apostles in the biblical narrative and in its *visitatio* representations from the *Quem queritis* dialogue onwards. Second, there is a playful mixture of narrative: within the first stanza David not only defeats Goliath with his own sword, but Pharaoh is also overwhelmed, along with his own army. Third, this playfulness extends into the second stanza where the Paraclete nuns are placed

⁷² CLS, 9, p. 65.

in the role of the Daughters of Zion (from the Song of Songs), who run to dance before the true David (as in I Kings 18. 6), and this also serves as an echo of Miriam's dance, narrated in the Matins hymn. In this persona, they call Samson 'our Samson'. Fourth, the hymn mimics the methods of scriptural exegesis to help connect the typology with the present celebration. In each stanza, the refrain is woven in grammatically, so that it functions almost exactly like a gloss: each allegorical type is identified as 'the Lord'. In the fourth stanza the allegory is explained by an exemplum from the bestiary, offering a proof by analogy from nature. Thus all of the biblical allegories are clearly explained (which, as Abelard argued, is appropriate for a morning hymn), related to the present feast, and rhetorically fashioned for those singing the hymn.

In his Easter sermon (most likely written for reading at the Chapter meeting which occurred just before the principal Mass), Abelard continues the direct explanation that marks his Lauds hymn. Although, as discussed above, the central theological theme is that Easter marks the passover from death to life, the sermon's principal focus is on how the season should be experienced as a passover from mourning to joy, especially by nuns. Reiterating Abelard's arguments from Letters 5 and 7, the sermon opens with the statement:⁷³

Quantum ad devotionem vel honorem feminarum paschalis exultatio solemnitate pertineat, tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti paginae testantur.

(The pages of the Old as much as of the New Testament bear witness to how much the rejoicing of the Paschal solemnity should apply to the devotion or honour of women.)

The sermon is clearly written with the full *cursus* of the liturgy in mind and it explains the allegories developed in the Matins hymn between Miriam and Mary Magdalen and in its associated readings. Abelard establishes that Moses and the sons of Israel sang a celebratory song first (Exod. 15.1) but that Miriam took up the song, playing a timbrel, and the women followed her. He points out that the text calls her a prophet (15. 20).⁷⁴ Indeed, much of this discussion summarizes portions of Letter 7, in which Abelard argues that Miriam's leadership of women is prophetic of later communities of nuns:⁷⁵

Cum itaque Maria praecinens prophetes commemoratur, videtur ipsa non tam dictando vel recitando, quam prophetando canticum istud protulisse. Quae etiam cum caeteris praecinere describitur, quam ordinate sive concorditer psallerent demonstratur. Quod

⁷³ Abelard, *Sermo* 13, PL, CLXXVIII, col. 484B.

⁷⁴ Abelard, *Sermo* 13, PL, CLXXVIII, cols 484B–485A.

⁷⁵ Letter 7, p. 261.

autem non solum voce, verum etiam tympanis et choris cecinerunt, non solum earum maximam devotionem insinuat, verum etiam mystice specialis cantici in congregationibus monasticis formam diligenter exprimit. Ad quod et Psalmista nos exhortatur, dicens: 'Laudate eum in tympano et choro' hoc est in mortificatione carnis et concordia illa charitatis de qua scriptum est: 'Quia multitudinis credentium erat cor unum et anima una.'

(And so, when Miriam, the prophet, is mentioned singing, it seems that she performs that canticle, not so much by speaking or reciting, as by prophesying. For she is described as making an incantation with the others, and it is shown how they sing concordantly and in good order. Now they prophesy not only with the voice, but indeed with timbrels and dance; not only does this make known their very great devotion, but indeed, mystically it carefully expresses the form of special song in monastic gatherings. To which indeed the Psalmist encourages us, saying: 'Praise him with timbrel and dance' [Ps. 150. 4], that is, in mortification of the flesh and that concord of charity about which is written: 'Since the multitude of believers had one heart and one soul' [Acts 4. 32].)

Again, as in the Matins hymn, Abelard speaks of Miriam's New Testament fulfillment, Mary Magdalen:⁷⁶

Quod si Novi quoque Testamenti revolamus seriem, et in hac Maria et caeteris cum ea feminis alteram Mariam, et cum ipsa devotas feminas, quibus primum Dominus suae resurrectionis gaudium exhibuit, competenter intelligamus, reperimus singula his convenienter aptari. Illa quippe prophetae memoratur, haec apostolorum apostola dicitur. Illa corporale tympanum sumpsit, haec spiritale habuit. Quo enim haec viventem Dominum amplius dilexerat, super ejus morte amplius afflicta, et quasi mortificata fuerat. Unde et prima de resurrectione consolationem meruit, quae de ejus morte amplius anxia et moesta fuit.

(Now if we also review the sequence of the New Testament, we should also — in this former Mary and the other women with her — correspondingly understand another Mary and the devout women with her, to whom the Lord first revealed the joy of his Resurrection, and suitably discover that every detail is accommodated with the former. For as much as the former is mentioned as a prophet, the latter is called apostle of the apostles. The former took up the timbrel corporally, the latter held it spiritually. For the more fully this woman had loved the Lord when he lived, the more fully was she afflicted upon his death and, so to speak, had been mortified. Whence also she who was more anxious and sorrowful about his death first deserved the consolation of the resurrection.)

As noted above, Abelard argued that the purpose of keeping a period of mourning was to produce greater exultation at Easter, so that the whole community might experience Easter in a way that corresponds to Mary Magdalen's experience.

⁷⁶ Abelard, *Sermo* 13, PL, CLXXVIII, col. 485A; see also Letter 7, pp. 257–58.

Abelard concludes the sermon by expanding the description of the phoenix that he had already developed in the Holy Saturday hymn for Lauds, where he had stated that the phoenix ‘promittit gaudia resurgentium’ (foretells the joys of those rising again).⁷⁷ He uses the bird’s incorruptible regeneration, which occurs virginally as it does in bees, as a natural proof that foretells the special role of a women’s monastic community.⁷⁸

Resurgens phoenix formam apīs induit, quae corruptionem carnis nescit; quia in illa resurrectionis gloria neque nubent neque nubentur, sed erunt sicut angeli Dei in coelo. Quam quidem gloriam et vos, Christi virgines, jam in terris adeptae, nec tam humane quam angelice viventes, tanto hujus solemnitatis diem devotius colite, quanto eam, ut ante praefati sumus, ad excellentiam vestri honoris amplius pertinere constat.

(Rising, the phoenix took on the form of a bee, which knows not the corruption of the flesh; since in the glory of the Resurrection ‘neither shall they marry, nor shall they be married, but shall be like the angels of God in heaven’ [Matt. 22. 30]. Which glory indeed, you also, Christ’s virgins, already having obtained on earth, and living not so much humanly as angelically, worship more devoutly the more fully the day of this solemnity (as we have shown above) shows itself to apply to the excellence of your honour.)

Abelard’s final description of the nuns as ‘Christ’s virgins’, who already anticipate heavenly life, calls to mind Psalm 44, a royal bridal canticle (epithalamium) that was used as a proper Psalm for most feasts of virgins and in which the virgins follow the king and queen in procession: ‘Adducentur regi virgines post eam’ (After her the virgins are brought to the king).⁷⁹ After hearing the sermon at the Chapter meeting, the nuns would make just such a procession to the oratory. The five processional chants mentioned in the Ordinary make connections both with the *visitatio* of the holy women to the sepulchre and to the epithalamium in Psalm 44. First they sang *Sedit angelus*, which rehearses the meeting of the women with the angel at the tomb and in which the Ordinary specifies that the priest sings the verse *Crucifixum*, which invites praise for the one crucified, buried, and now rising.⁸⁰ Then a short responsory taken from Psalm 44. 3 gives praises to the King: ‘Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum: diffusa est gratia in

⁷⁷ CLS, 9, p. 115, l. 8.

⁷⁸ Abelard, *Sermo* 13, PL, CLXXVIII, cols 488D–489A. For the virginal generation of bees, see the Aberdeen Bestiary (n. 64, above), fols 63^r–64^v.

⁷⁹ This Psalm was also the source for strophes 3–5a of *Virgines caste* and strophe 6a of *Rex Salomon*; see Gunilla Iversen’s chapter above, pp. 237, 253.

⁸⁰ All items are listed in CLS, 4, p. 31; for this text see CAO, III, no. 4858.

labiis tuis' (Thy beauty is resplendent above the sons of men: grace is poured abroad in thy lips).⁸¹ Next, a short versicle was sung at the Lady altar honouring the Queen: 'Speciosa facta es et suavis' (You have been made beautiful and delightful). Upon entering the choir they proceeded to sing the antiphon *Christus resurgens* and another short versicle *Surrexit Dominus vere*, and the rite concludes with the Easter collect. The procession is thus constructed not only as an Easter procession but as a kind of bridal procession that commemorates women's roles in the narrative and also enables the nuns to sing praises to the *sponsus*.

'Epithalamica'

The Paraclete Easter Mass was traditional up to the point of the sequence. But even though a number of well-known sequences were sung at the Paraclete on other days of the Easter Octave (*Mane prima sabbati* on Feria II, *Victimae Paschali laudes* on Ferias III and VI, *Pascha* [i.e. *Zima*] *vetus* on Feria IV, and even *Fulgens preclara* on the Octave),⁸² for use at the principal Mass of Easter the Ordinary calls for *Epithalamica*.⁸³ The fact that such an unusual choice was still in use at the Paraclete in the fourteenth century suggests that like the many other rare items and *unica* (and especially like the extraordinary hymn cycle) this piece was part of the early Paraclete liturgy; like these other items it was intended to focus the liturgy in a pivotal way. Indeed, placed just before the reading of the Easter Gospel, it marks the culmination of the entire cycle of readings and responses for the season.

As Iversen discusses above (pp. 203–05), the function of the sequence was undergoing a transformation during this period: an older Easter sequence, like *Fulgens preclara*, might extend the ineffable joy of the Alleluia with its *-a*

⁸¹ CAO, IV, no. 7683.

⁸² CLS, 4, pp. 32–33.

⁸³ See the anthology below, no. XVII. For the seminal article, see Chrysogonus Waddell, 'Epithalamica: An Easter Sequence by Peter Abelard', *Musical Quarterly*, 72 (1986), 239–71. For the liturgical assignment, see CLS, 4, p. 31. See also the discussions of Gunilla Iversen and Marie-Noël Colette in the present volume of the function of this sequence in BnF n.a.lat. 3126 (pp. 239–42 and 298–99). Building on Waddell's work, Thomas J. Bell has provided an exhaustive survey of sources for this sequence and *Virgines caste* in *Peter Abelard after Marriage: The Spiritual Direction of Heloise and her Nuns through Liturgical Song*, Cistercian Studies Series, 211 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2007).

assonance and its obscure but triumphant language, while a newer sequence, like *Zima vetus*, might rehearse the detailed prophecies of the day in Old Testament types and their explanations in the New Testament. *Epithalamica*, however, by using the Song of Songs as an extended narration of the joy that the bride experiences at the return of the bridegroom, combines the newer function of providing 'learned exegesis' with the older function of extending the joy of the Alleluia in preparation for the Gospel reading. In fact, because of the links that can be made from *Epithalamica* to the rest of the Paraclete Easter liturgy, *Epithalamica* might best be read as an anagogical and tropological commentary on the Easter Gospel. Anagogically, the Song of Songs is used to narrate the story of the soul's journey and final joy in God, and tropologically, it narrates the contemplative soul's anticipation of this journey in monastic devotions. Both of these interpretations draw upon the Old Testament *historiae* which allegorically foreshadow this journey and upon the New Testament *veritas*, which literally establishes it. But while many of the female precursors of nuns might be interpreted as a foreshadowing of the *sponsa*, pride of place in the Paraclete Easter liturgy is given to Mary Magdalen, whom Abelard uses as his most prominent example in arguing for the dominicality of the ministry of nuns.

Epithalamica's liturgical placement is particularly important, since it is the last of a group of three chants that lead from the Epistle reading to the ritual high-point of the Foremass, the reading of the Gospel. The first of these, the gradual *Haec dies*, announces the feast day the Lord has made and enjoins the congregation to rejoice; the Alleluia verse, *Pascha nostrum*, reiterates the Epistle's announcement that the old Passover is replaced by a new. By using *Epithalamica* as a *transitus* to the Gospel reading itself, the Paraclete liturgy connects the heavenly bridal procession narrated in *Epithalamica* with the Gospel's narration of the visit to the empty tomb, and especially with Mary Magdalen, who is named in the Easter Gospel's opening words (Mark 16. 1). The sermon (in the Chapter meeting) had anticipated this connection, referring to Mary Magdalen as the one who 'first deserved the consolation of the resurrection'.

Many textual features of *Epithalamica* build on this identification and recapitulate large portions of the Triduum liturgy. The first strophe twice uses the word *dic* to instruct the *sponsa* to tell what she knows. In liturgical writing the verb *dico* is fairly frequently used to mean 'sing', but here the *sponsa* is not only told to sing the epithalamium, but also to tell what she gazes at inwardly and outwardly. These injunctions to the *sponsa* call to mind the phrase addressed to Mary Magdalen, 'Dic nobis Maria, quid vidisti in via?' (Tell us Mary, what did you

see on the way?), which occurs in a more famous sequence (*Victimae paschali laudes*), used at the Paraclete later on in Easter week. Moreover, the second part of the first strophe gives a similar command to the sponsa: 'nos [...] de sponso nuntia' (give us tidings of the bridegroom). This looks forward to the command given to the holy women by the angelic youth in the Easter Gospel (Mark 16. 7): 'ite et dicite discipulis eius et Petro quia praecedit vos in Galilaeam' (Go and tell his disciples and Peter that he goeth before you into Galilee). This theme was also anticipated in Letter 7, in the Easter sermon, where Mary Magdalen is called 'apostle to the apostles', and at the end of the Easter Matins hymn where 'she, with the other women', announces 'The Lord is risen'.

The second strophe of *Epithalamica* addresses the *adolescentule* who lead a choral dance. Although this brings to mind the dance led by Miriam (foreshadowing Mary Magdalen), as related in the Matins hymn and in the sermon, here it is the young women themselves who lead. This is perhaps a reference to the second stanza of the Lauds hymn where the 'Daughters of Zion' offer the 'true David' (allegorically Christ) a dance after his victory over Goliath (allegorically death, hell, and sin). The opening two stanzas thus set up the female personae found in the Song of Songs text itself: a bride and her female attendants, the Daughters of Zion.

Having established the relationships between the Song of Songs and the Easter Gospel, *Epithalamica* narrates a series of events anticipated by the Easter story. In the second line 'a voice sings before [them]' (*vox precinerit*) and the women follow. This most likely refers to the *vox dilecti*, the voice of the beloved which announces his arrival in the Song of Songs, and strophes 3–5 continue to paraphrase this source (Song of Songs 2. 8–17). As Iversen points out above (p. 240), the pastoral, springtime setting of the Song of Songs is prominent in the fifth stanza. Moreover, the Song's original language has been intensified to show the *transitus* from winter to spring: in *Epithalamica* it is a 'teeth-chattering winter' (*horrens hyens*) that 'has passed over' (*transiit*) and a 'heavy flood' (*gravis ymber*) that has 'gone away' (*abiit*). The emotive adjectives help tie these descriptions to the theme of lament giving way to joy, which is developed in subsequent strophes. Moreover, the exemplum of winter giving way to spring provides a natural proof of the Resurrection which will be echoed later in the Paraclete liturgy, at the singing of Abelard's final hymn for Easter for Second Vespers, *Veris grato tempore, Resurrexit Dominus* ('In the gracious time of Spring, the Lord has risen').⁸⁴

⁸⁴ For the full text, see CLS, 9, p. 66. See Gunilla Iversen, pp. 34–36, above, on the early traditions of this topos.

Strophes 6 and 7 paraphrase those sections of the Song of Songs already sung as the Matins canticles that had accompanied the *elevatio* of the Cross and presumably prepared the way for discovering the empty tomb in the *visitatio*. In Matins, the canticle series ended with the *sponsa* not being able to find the *sponsus*. In contrast, *Epithalamica* concludes its recapitulation of these events with the bride finding the bridegroom. The events already encountered in the canticles are recapitulated in the pluperfect tense: ‘in hortum veneram in quem descenderat | at ille transiens iam declinaverat’ (she had come to the garden into which he had descended, but he, passing over, had already turned away), but after seeking him through the night, the *sponsa* says ‘Quos [vigiles] cum transieram, sponsum invenio’ (when I had passed over them [the guards], I find my beloved).

The verb *transeo*, used at many structural points in these two stanzas, again underlines Abelard’s characterization of Easter as a period of *transitus* and his use of Exodus and the *visitatio* stories as examples of transitions. Furthermore, the encounter with the *sponsus* in a garden, where he, ‘passing over, already had turned away’, would surely call to mind Mary Magdalen’s encounter with the *hortulanus* in John 20. Indeed it is not surprising that these two strophes are found in a near-contemporary source containing dramatic Easter *versus* with an indication that they are to be sung by Mary Magdalen.⁸⁵

Strophes 8 and 9a contrast the present joy with past grief — a *transitus* that Abelard had identified as the interior meaning of Easter at many points, especially in the last stanza of each of his Triduum hymns (see *Tu tibi compati*, above) and in his Easter sermon (speaking both of the season and of Mary Magdalen’s sorrow and joy). The *sponsa*’s words ‘Risi mane, flevi nocte’ (I laughed by day, I wept by night) and the commentary on them in Strophe 10 — love had grown more ardent (*vehementem*) during a sleepless night and ‘dilatione votum creverat’ (longing had contended with delay) — use language similar to Gregory the Great’s description of Mary Magdalen in his Sermon 25, quoted above (p. 336). Strophe 9b, ‘Plausus die, planctus mane’ (clapping by day, lament by night), was anticipated in Abelard’s two hymns *Christiani plaudite* and *Da Marie timpanum*, as well as in the sermon.

The final *transitus* is thus a *conversio* of music itself from *planctus* to *plausus*: in strophe 11, the Daughters of Zion are enjoined to add a psalm to the *sponsa*’s

⁸⁵ See Peter Dronke, *Nine Medieval Latin Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 100.

canticle, ‘quo mestis reddita sponsi presentia convertit elegos nostros in cantica’ (through which the bridegroom’s presence, restored to the despondent, turns our elegies into canticles). Although one must be careful to avoid classifying *Epithalamica* either poetically or musically — it is neither a lament nor does it follow any typical sequence form, and in this book we have adopted the term ‘Latin *lais*’ for such pieces — its music shares considerably more stylistic features with Abelard’s *planctus* than with any other model.⁸⁶ I think that since the song itself speaks of the transformation of ‘our elegies into canticles’, one should at least entertain the idea that the author could have intentionally adopted the form of Abelard’s *planctus*, inverting the content to express the overturning of sorrow by joy.⁸⁷

***Epithalamica* as Ritual Enactment**

Abelard had argued in Letter 7 that the women disciples of Christ anticipated the ministry of nuns, and, in Letter 5, that nuns were, by virtue of their liturgical marriage to Christ, especially suited to taking on the persona of the *sponsa* of the Song of Songs. For this reason, the use of *Epithalamica* supports not only an anagogical but also a tropological reading of the Easter narrative. Since the nuns, as Abelard argued in his Easter sermon, were ‘already living not so much humanly as angelically’, their eschatological life is already anticipated by their moral life as women monastics, and the singing of the liturgy is the corporate expression of their devotion. Thus, in performance, *Epithalamica* may have been used as a fundamental expression of their communal life and (because of the structure of the text) an expression of their individual monastic roles.

The text of *Epithalamica* implies a distribution of personae based on those found in the Song of Songs, and though we lack any sources to confirm (or deny) any specific assignments, or even comparable sequences, I think it worth conjecturing the assignments shown in Table 3:

⁸⁶ See Waddell, ‘*Epithalamica*’, pp. 255–58, 270–71; also Marie-Noël Colette’s discussion, pp. 298–300, above.

⁸⁷ Giovanni Orlandi has suggested that Abelard may have planned a set of six contrasting ‘planctus’ focusing on the models of joy found in biblical accounts; see his ‘On the Text and Interpretation of Abelard’s *Planctus*’, in *Poetry and Philosophy in the Middle Ages: A Festschrift for Peter Dronke*, ed. by John Marenbon, *Mittellateinische Studien und Texte*, 29 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 327–42.

Table 3. Conjectural assignment of personae in *Epithalamica*

Strophe	Persona	Singer	Persona	Addressee
1	narrator	<i>cantrix</i>	<i>sponsa</i>	abbess
2	narrator	<i>cantrix</i>	Daughters of Zion and friends of the <i>sponsus</i>	<i>adulescentulae</i> , and the male clergy and lay-brothers?
3	<i>sponsa</i>	abbess	daughters and friends	all
4a	<i>sponsus</i>	priest	<i>sponsa</i>	abbess
5	narrator	<i>cantrix</i> or choir	daughters and friends	all
4b	<i>sponsus</i>	priest	<i>sponsa</i>	abbess
6–9a	<i>sponsa</i>	abbess	daughters and friends	all
10, 9b	narrator	<i>cantrix</i> or choir	daughters and friends	all
11	narrator	<i>cantrix</i>	daughters and friends	all
12–14	Daughters of Zion and friends of the <i>sponsus</i>	all	not applicable	not applicable

The direct address in the first strophe is to an individual, the *sponsa*, and in the second to a group of *adulescentule*, young women (who are the Daughters of Zion in the Song of Songs), and to the *amici sponsi*, the friends of the bridegroom in the Song of Songs. This implies that the two introductory strophes could be assigned to a soloist. Normally in a monastic setting the cantor (or *cantrix*) would be in charge of all such introductions. The text of the second strophe suggests that there might be a distinction among the various groups of women present. First, the *adulescentule* are directly addressed with plural imperatives and plural pronouns (lines 1–3), and line 4 introduces a group of ‘new ladies’ (*nove domine*). It seems possible that the strophe may be constructed in this way in order to distinguish between a group of novices (*adulescentule*) and already professed nuns (*nove domine*).⁸⁸

⁸⁸ For this point I am indebted to Angela Smith, a member of my Latin seminar at the Leeds Institute for Medieval Studies.

If *Epithalamica* was written expressly for the Paraclete, such a distinction would be highly appropriate; not only did Abelard's Rule instruct the provost to acknowledge the nuns as 'his own ladies' (see the discussion of Letter 8 above), but in Letter 7 he also suggested that, since nuns are given in spiritual marriage to Christ, novices ought to profess only in festal seasons including Eastertide.⁸⁹ Strophe 3 is in the first person and begins the *sponsa*'s response to the command: 'tell news of the bridegroom'. Assigning this strophe to the abbess reflects a traditional role that the abbess plays in intoning Gospel canticles in the Office, and this marks the actual beginning of the bridal canticle with its direct paraphrase of the Song of Songs. In performing the role of the *sponsa*, the abbess would be appropriately surrounded by her spiritual daughters in the role of the Daughters of Zion. Moreover, the association of the *sponsa* with Mary Magdalen would emphasize her role as the dominical instance of the diaconal ministry of women that led to the order of nuns and which is recognized at the Paraclete by calling the abbess *diaconissa*.

Strophe 4a clearly contains the words of the *sponsus*; the priest, as the presiding man, would be the logical choice for singing this strophe, and it is worth underlining the fact that the Ordinary assigned an unusual singing role to the priest in the Easter procession just before the Mass, to similar effect. Strophe 5 is more difficult to assign: it is a paraphrase of words that the *sponsus* speaks (Song of Songs 2. 12), but here the words introduce rather than describe the song of the turtle dove. For this reason I would assign it to the choir or narrator. In Strophe 4b, the repetition of the words of the *sponsus* is assigned to his allegorical type: the turtle dove addressing his dove (*columba*); again the priest is the logical choice to sing this repetition. Strophes 6–9a continue the *sponsa*'s canticle in the first person, telling of her successful search for the *sponsus*. Strophe 10 has an abrupt change of diction (from first person to third). Here, the *sponsa* no longer speaks, but the grief, longing, and fervour of her love is described; since Strophe 9b concludes this description, both might be assigned to the choir or narrator. Indeed, for 9b the choir might be preferable, since its allusions to the Matins hymn where Miriam plays the timbrel and leads the women in dance is appropriate to the Daughters of Zion. Strophe 11, which enjoins the bridegroom's friends and the Daughters of Zion to sing a Psalm, might be assigned to the *cantrix*, performing her normal role in eliciting the singing of the choir. In some sources, three additional strophes (12–14) based on the Easter gradual *Haec dies* (Ps. 117. 24) are added for them to sing. Even though the Paraclete sources report them only

⁸⁹ Letter 7, p. 267.

as an independent sequence to be sung during the Easter Octave, they seem (as Waddell points out) very well suited to its Easter liturgy.⁹⁰

While we simply do not have information about whether such a ritual enactment of *Epithalamica* ever occurred at the Paraclete (and at various points liturgical propriety may have mitigated against it), the associations that make sense of the assignments of roles that I have suggested are clearly suggested by the constitutional Letters and could have been greatly strengthened by their liturgical performance. At the Paraclete, the choice of *Epithalamica* for the Easter sequence was inextricably tied up with its identity as an institution both created and maintained to address the specific requirements and special ministry of women, in the ways that these were ideally constructed in the letters of its founders. The creation of a radically transformed liturgy that had the performance of the Song of Songs as its high-point would provide the means for these new structures to be ritually enacted and effectively appropriated.

⁹⁰ These do not appear in BnF n.a.lat. 3126, which is the basis of the edition in the anthology below, no. XVII. This text, *Quam fecit dominus*, is assigned to Feria V and Sabbato in the Octave; see CLS, 4, p. 31.

SANCTA SONANTIA:
REFLECTIONS ON SOUND AND MEANING

Marcia Sá Cavalcante Schuback

Words sound. Words have meaning. But words need not sound in order to have meaning. Neither need words have meaning in order to sound. Sounding words can be meaningless; but words with meaning retain their meaning even when not pronounced. And words resound even in silence, implanting their meaning in our silences.

Sounding and meaning belong to words almost as a shadow belongs to a body. As a body cannot grasp its own shadow, so meaning cannot grasp the meaning of the sounding word. Why words sound as they do — why, for instance, the word *word* sound as it does — is a mystery. And a mystery is made mysterious by refusing every why and wherefore, every cause and because. Without an explanation of why words sound as they do, it becomes a commonplace to consider the sounding of words as a result of arbitrary, casual conventions.

If the idea of the arbitrariness and conventionality of the sounding of words has followed a Western idea of language since ancient Greece, then mystery has never ceased to surround the relation between the sounding and meaning of words. The argument about arbitrary conventionality of sounds has never been fully able to eradicate the astonishment provoked by the sounding force of the word.

Besides this approach, the ancients also sustained the conviction that words that resemble in sound should also resemble in meaning. Such resemblance, though, is only possible if sounding somehow already resembles meaning. The old Greek word *etymology* meant not really the origin of the words but the evidence out of which they can be understood as words. This evidence was defined as a kind of axiom, that the sound of the words entirely expresses the being of what is meant. This conviction begins to fade with the coming of Platonic philosophy but is still alive for instance in the dialogue *Cratylus*. In order to

illuminate the concealed meaning of words, assonant words should be brought together: παθεῖ μαθεῖ; *lumen numen*; *nomen omen*. The assonant method, this way of dealing with words, remained in use until the birth of the science of comparative linguistics in the nineteenth century. Such a means of thinking about the magical correspondence between sounds and meanings can be traced back to the Pythagoreans who, trying to understand the names of gods, admitted not only the correspondence of sound and meaning but even that it was in the mystery of assonance that the correspondence between meaning and being could be found.

Nomen omen. This celebrated paronomasia remains impressive in that it does not simply suggest the magical correspondence of names and beings in its meaning, but also indicates it by means of the correspondence between sound and meaning. *Nomen omen* expresses several nuances of this magical correspondence. In Plautus's *Persa* (IV.4.77), it tells us that the young Lucris has the meaning of the whole story inscribed in her name: the name is revealed as an eloquent one. When used by Martianus Capella in a more esoteric context, it indicates that names are fates, carrying destiny in themselves. But the expressive assonance between *nomen* and *omen* in itself bears witness to the proper quality of this correspondence in meaning of name and being. It seems that the destiny of language is to be related to things, and thereby to relate to things in the form of a resemblance or correspondence. Truth has been defined for a long time as *adaequatio*, as correspondence between meaning and things, between language and being. By resemblance or correspondence we mean that a fundamental distinction between words and things is necessarily at play. When pronounced aloud or in silence, the word *apple* can stimulate hunger; the word *Madeleine* can feed our memory. But still we cannot eat words or memories.

A difficult question that has structured philosophical concerns about the nature and essence of language for some time is the matter of how words correspond to things and things to words and concepts. This question presupposes an idea of correspondence, of resemblance, that is in itself quite obscure. The obscurity lies in the very origin of the words. Words almost have the substance of things: they can be heard and read, belonging to the material world as a bird or a book. And yet, they belong only to the material world of sounds and visions, keeping themselves paradoxically in a spiritual or intelligible dimension. Words refer to things without being the things they refer to. Words refer to other than themselves, manifesting the presence of otherness in sameness. Words stand simultaneously beyond themselves and in themselves. The difference between words and things cannot therefore be described in the same way as the difference between a bird and a book.

Words both are and are not things. This paradoxical way of being has been conceived in a spectrum of terms such as correspondence, resemblance, and symbol. By those terms, various philosophical and theoretical approaches to the question of the nature and essence of the word have tried to solve the paradoxical constitution of the word instead of revealing the reality of this paradox. If paradoxes are to be solved or to appear as visionary thresholds then this is an important issue to be kept in mind. Pythagorean thinking is important for investigating how the paradoxical character of words — as being and not being things — was conceived in terms of resemblance. In this Pythagorean tradition, though, the motive of resemblance is always connected to the magical sounding resemblance between words and their meanings. Paying attention to this relationship between sounds and meaning, words and things, a relationship that astonished the ancient and medieval worlds, one can come to ask why the Western understanding of the relationship between words and things has been centred on the idea of correspondence, of resemblance. The sounding correspondence reveals the meaning; it shows how correspondences can be conceived. At stake is the issue of identity and difference, of being and not being.

The complex and mysterious relationship between sounds and meaning, words and things reached its paradigmatic formula in Aristotle's *De interpretatione*, one of his most important writings if we consider the history of its reception and influence. The *De interpretatione* was the most important text of the *logica vetus* or *ars vetus*, which sustained medieval concerns about language. Aristotle's primary definition of this intricate relationship begins thus:

Ἔστι μὲν οὖν τὰ ἐν τῇ φωνῇ τῶν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ παθημάτων σύμβολα, καὶ τὰ γραφόμενα τῶν ἐν τῇ φωνῇ. καὶ ὥσπερ οὐδὲ γράμματα πᾶσι τὰ αὐτά, οὐδὲ φωναὶ αἱ αὐταί. ὧν μέντοι ταῦτα σημεῖα πρώτων, ταῦτ' αἰσιν παθήματα τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ ὧν ταῦτα ὁμοιώματα, πρᾶγματα ἤδη ταῦτά.¹

(Words spoken are symbols or signs of affections or impressions of the soul; written words are the signs of words spoken. As writing, so also is speech not the same for all races of men. But the mental affections themselves, of which those words are primarily signs, are the same for the whole of mankind, as are also the objects of which those affections are representations or likenesses, images, copies.)

¹ *De interpretatione*, 16a, in Aristotle, *Categoriae et liber de interpretatione*, ed. by Lorenzo Minio-Paluello (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), p. 49. The translation follows *The Categories; On Interpretation*, ed. and trans. by Harold P. Cooke, Loeb Classical Library, 325 (London: Heinemann, 1938), p. 115. Immediately following this passage Aristotle reminds us that he has dealt with these points in his treatise on the soul. See David Ross's commentary on this passage in his *Aristotle* (London: Methuen, 1923; 6th edn, Routledge, 1995), p. 10.

In this definition, we can see that the relationship between the different layers of the word is understood as resemblance. The relationship between the sounding word (ἐν τῇ φωνῇ) and the written word (γραφόμενα) is defined as 'sign', that is, in a translation closer to the Greek, as a symbolic one (σύμβολα). Words in general are σημεία, signs of 'mental affections' (παθήματα τῆς ψυχῆς). And mental affections are in their turn ὁμοιώματα: representations, likenesses, images, copies. In this passage of Aristotle we find the main vocabulary of Western understanding of the relationship between names, thought, and things. This vocabulary is built around an idea of mimesis, of mimetic resemblance.²

In this paradigmatic passage from Aristotle we can read that both the symbolic and the semiotic dimensions of language are present and interdependent. This text of Aristotle was first translated in the sixth century by Boethius and again in the thirteenth by William of Moerbeke. Boethius's translation reads as follows:

Sunt ergo ea quae sunt in voce earum quae sunt in anima passionum notae, et ea quae scribuntur eorum quae sunt in voce. Et quemadmodum nec litterae omnibus eadem, sic nec eadem voces; quorum autem hae primorum notae, eadem omnibus passiones animae sunt, et quorum hae similitudines, res etiam eadem.³

Boethius neglects Aristotle's distinction between symbols and signs (σύμβολα and σημεία), rendering both terms as 'nota'. In this respect Boethius's reading of Aristotle is resistant to the modern linguistic distinction between the two terms, which lends support to the modern idea that the Middle Ages saw a transition from a symbolic understanding of language to a non-symbolic, more referential understanding. More significant than this combination of terms is the fundamental understanding of the difference between sounds, meaning, and things as *similitudines*, as mimetic resemblance.

² There is somehow a consensus that during the thirteenth century a transformation of the medieval understanding of the essence and nature of language and words took place. This transformation (or revolution) is supposedly due to the discovery of additional works of Aristotle on logic discussing the doctrine of syllogism. One of the principal issues in this presumed transformation is that of the transition from a symbolic understanding of language to another based on the notion of sign. However, this is a distinction based on modern linguistics, developed in the main by Saussure and expressed, for example, in Julia Kristeva's article 'Du symbole au signe', in *Le Texte du roman: approche sémiologique d'une structure discursive transformationnelle* (The Hague: Mouton, 1970), pp. 25–35 (trans. by Seán Hand as 'From Symbol to Sign', in *The Kristeva Reader*, ed. by Toril Moi (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), pp. 62–73).

³ *De interpretatione vel Peri hermeneias translatio Boethii*, ed. by Lorenzo Minio-Paluello and others (Leiden: Brill, 1965).

Moerbeke's later translation reads differently from that of Boethius mainly because he does distinguish symbol and sign:

Sunt quidem igitur que in voce earum que in anima passionum symbola et que scribuntur eorum que in voce. Et sicut neque littere omnibus eedem, sic neque voces eedem; quorum tamen hec signa primum, eedem omnibus passiones anime, et quarum hec similitudines, res iam eedem.⁴

These differences are not only historical questions concerning ancient and medieval issues of the relationship between symbols and signs, names and things; they are questions haunting us in our own destiny as human, mortal beings — as beings in language. *Nomen omen*: names are omens even in this fundamental sense that being human means being the destiny of names. As destiny pursues us, so also do names.

In using such terms as symbol, sign, representation, likeness, image, copy, mimetic resemblance, we admit differences within identity and identity within differences. This becomes very clear when Aristotle later in the same treatise develops the idea that 'combination and division are essential before one can have falsity and truth' (περὶ γὰρ σύνθεσιν καὶ διαίρεσιν ἔστι τὸ ψεῦδος καὶ τὸ ἀληθές).⁵ Language as the complexity of sounding and meaning names betrays the very strangeness of simultaneously combining and dividing, uniting and disuniting. Even if Aristotle had seen this simultaneity, he tried to establish a conceptuality that would be able to avoid this fundamental paradox. That seems to be why he denies ὄνομα (noun, name, word) the only meaning it is admitted in a sentence or proposition, where a noun is combined with a verb and can produce either a statement or a predicament.⁶ Aristotle makes a further distinction

⁴ See also the commentary by Ammonius, *Commentaire sur le Peri hermeneias d'Aristote: Traduction de Guillaume de Moerbeke*, ed. by Gérard Verbeke, *Corpus latinum commentariorum in Aristotelem graecorum*, 2 (Louvain: Publications universitaires de Louvain, 1961).

⁵ In Boethius's translation, 'circa compositionem enim et divisionem est falsitas veritasque'; in Moerbeke's translation, 'circa compositionem enim et divisionem veritas et falsitas'.

⁶ What is a name? Aristotle presents in *Peri hermeneias* the main concepts concerning the essence of λόγος understood as language. Language consists for Aristotle in the interrelationship between nouns, verbs, denials, affirmations, propositions, and sentences. He defines nouns and verbs in *Peri hermeneias* in the following way: 'a noun is a sound having meaning established by convention alone but no reference whatever to time, while no part of it has any meaning, considered apart from the whole [...]. We have already said that a noun signifies this or that by convention. No sound is by nature a noun: it becomes one, becoming a symbol [...] A verb is a sound which not only conveys a particular meaning but also has a time reference. No part by itself has meaning. It indicates always that something is said or asserted of something.' In the twentieth

between the sentence that has meaning — λόγος σημαντικός, generally rendered in English as ‘statements’ — and the enunciative proposition, λόγος ἀποφαντικός. He admits that every sentence or speech, every λόγος, has meaning, has semantic content (a non-sense is still a meaning, but one without sense), but not every sentence with meaning is an enunciative proposition. Enunciative propositions are those that can be said to be true or false. Theoretical enunciative propositions can be false or true. But the same cannot be said, for instance, about a prayer. Accordingly to Aristotle, the prayer, ἡ εὐχή, is still a sentence with meaning, a λόγος σημαντικός, but one whose meaning has nothing to do with questions concerning truth and falsity. Aristotle further discusses questions of truth and falsity in *Peri Hermeneias* and in other logical writings, in terms of how to avoid contradictions and paradoxes, that is, levels of speech which would admit the simultaneity of an affirmation and a negation, of identity and difference.

Prayers are strange meanings, meanings that cannot be grasped by the logic of contradiction. Words in themselves have no meaning, Aristotle tells us. But words are the most mysterious evidence of a coincidence of opposites because they mean something else at the same time that they mean themselves. If we think further of what Aristotle can mean by defining words as non-meaning and prayer as a meaning that cannot be grasped by the law of contradiction, we might open up a new dimension in which to envisage the mimetic relationship between sound and meaning. How can words be considered in themselves as a coincidence of opposites? In saying *apple* we mean the thing *apple*, but we say at the same time that we are saying the word. Every word tells about something, either concrete or abstract, insofar it tells about itself — that is, about its being a word. It is a strange fact that however complete and unavoidable this simultaneity may be, we miss it every time we speak, believing that the word *apple* means only the thing *apple*. The act of saying, the sounding of the word, seems to disappear from our memory once we have said it. The thing to which it refers seems to take the place of the sounding word. Even when saying the word *word*, we miss this simultaneity, paying attention to this theoretical object, the word. But here — that is, with

chapter of Aristotle's *Poetics* we find similar definitions: see the commentaries by Roselyne Dupont-Roc and Jean Lallot in *Aristote: La Poétique*, with a preface by T. Todorov (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1980). We find here a key for discussing the relationship between Aristotle's *De interpretatione* and the *Ars Poetica*. Even if the *Poetics* was not widely disseminated until the fifteenth century, Aristotle's conception of the essence and nature of language, of speech and words, is well enough known through the *De interpretatione*, which contributed decisively to a common world-view about these topics.

words — it seems that the only possibility of viewing this simultaneity is precisely when losing it from view. Words are in this sense closer to horizons and to lightening: as we approach the horizon, the horizon grows further away, and if we say that lightening produces light we neglect it, because no lightening can be considered the subject of an action. Here the action is the subject itself and the subject is the action: lightening exists only while producing light.

What astonishes in this simultaneity, the aspect that characterizes the event of the word itself, is the fact that the act of saying can happen only while something is said, and thereby while meaning is being constituted. Simultaneity here means that both layers of the word can only be experienced as two while being one and the same event. It means that in saying something we are brought together to the saying of what is said. This simultaneous bringing together is the literal meaning of the Greek verb συμβάλλω, and further of the noun τὸ σύμβολον. In this sense, the opposite of συμβάλλω is a refusal to associate the saying of something with its meaning, a separation of the two layers. This is expressed with the word διαβόλον. In the words of the psalmist, ‘unum locutus est Deus duo haec audiui’ (God spoke once, and twice I have heard; Ps. 61. 11).

Considering this mysterious simultaneity of saying and meaning, we meet difficult questions such as how to grasp the difference between names and things, how to conceive the otherness implied in this relationship, and how to find a word that would be able to express how saying and meaning coincide. In Aristotelian terms, the question is one of how the resemblance, *similitudo*, between the same and the other, between identity and difference, should be understood.

Those questions are complicated by the fact that we have no words to explain how sameness can include otherness and otherness sameness. But if we ask the question about how this mysterious simultaneity was conceived as resemblance, as *similitudo* of symbols and signs, we must remember that those are concepts grounded in experience of language in which the sounding word, φωνή, *vox*, has the primacy. The written word comes after, as it is a ‘symbol’ of the sounding, spoken word. The genealogy of those concepts is to be found, as the Pythagoreans were very aware, in the mystery of sound and sounding itself, a mystery that involves a fundamental moment of not being able to say. What is sound if not the mysterious simultaneity of sameness and otherness, the mystery discovered by Pythagoreans and which guided mystical souls into the realms of mystery? What is sound if not the musical dimension where not being able to say with words is the only way of saying with meaning?

The Middle Ages brings a historical landscape where this experience of the sounding word flourished widely. Singing to God in prayer implies an awareness of those complicated matters of the word, of the relationship between names and

things, between sounding and meaning. The most decisive distinction between the ancient Greek conception of language and the medieval is that the paradox of speech — that if we were to try to say without meaning we would fail because the meaning would come out, and if we try to mean without pronouncing we would fail because the word would be sounded — becomes more evident and unavoidable. The central difference here between ancient Greece and the Christian Middle Ages may be observed in the point of view of the relationship between comprehension and paradox. While the Greeks saw that to comprehend is to avoid paradox, the Christian medieval soul saw comprehension as giving place to paradox. The mystery of the Incarnation, of the incarnate λόγος, cannot be conceived other than as paradoxical. If we refuse to embrace paradox then we can never understand it; only by embracing this paradox can we adhere to it. With Christianity, understanding is shown in a bringing together with the paradox of the divine reality; it reveals itself in its concealment, and gives itself as mystery.

In this spiritual landscape, praying and singing to God is understood as the experience that nothing can be said *about* God, but everything can be said *to* God. In a prayer, words and speeches do not say anything *about* a thing, but the prayer is directed toward another, to God. A word toward, a prayer, is a word-gift, an offering word. That is why the praying word cannot be grasped, cannot be understood or submitted to the logic of contradiction and its interpretations of truth and falsity. The praying word may be sung, be given, or be offered. It thereby has another structure of meaning, in which the meaning lies in making explicit the moment of saying when addressing something to another. In this other structure of meaning that belongs to the prayer, it becomes explicit that words are and are not things, and that humans are absolutely distinct from God. In order to understand the praying singing word it is important to keep in mind this directing of words *to* — the gesture of gift and offering.

Praying and singing *to* God are only possible when listening to the *sancta sonantia*. This experience is more difficult to embrace in the complexity of modernity than it was in past eras: the religious experience in which nothing can be said about God at the same time that everything is said *to* God presupposes that when we seek to comprehend the divine mystery we lose our comprehension of it, and that only in this loss can our attempt to grasp the mystery in itself be experienced. In Christian spirituality a search for God entails a loss of comprehension, and this loss in turn leads to spiritual discovery, recalling a recurrent formulation in the Gospels:

quicumque quaesierit animam suam salvare perdet illam et qui perdiderit illam vivificabit eam. (Luke 17. 33)

qui enim voluerit animam suam salvam facere perdet illam nam qui perdiderit animam suam propter me salvam faciet illam. (Luke 9. 24)

qui invenit animam suam perdet illam et qui perdiderit animam suam propter me inveniet eam. (Matthew 10. 39)

amat animam suam perdet eam et qui odit animam suam in hoc mundo in vitam aeternam custodit eam. (John 12. 25)

(Whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life shall preserve it. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it; but whosoever will lose his life for my sake, the same shall save it. He that findeth his life shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it. He that loveth his life shall lose it; and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal.)

The result of this is that the sung word addressed to God in prayer is the word that is said *to* God, because it arises from the impossibility of saying something about God. In naming God, singing to God, saying everything to God, the experience of being taken beyond normal means of speaking becomes most manifest. Human words are not enough to say something about God, about mystery. But it is precisely because man is not able to speak *about* what transcends his nature that he can say everything *to* God, and can dedicate human words to the mystery. There are different means of dedicating words to this purpose — prayers, Psalms, songs, and even with words of meditation that reflect ‘through the saint eyes of the spirit’. Those different kinds of dedication can be considered as different ways of using words of prayer, of praising the divine mystery or rather the divinity of the mystery, by assuming the radical limits of the human word. It means that words of dedication to God have a certain structure, a negative structure.

This negative structure is effected through statement of the contrary. ‘I do nothing of myself’, says Christ, ‘but as my Father has taught me, I speak these things’ (a me ipso facio nihil sed sicut docuit me Pater haec loquor; John 8. 28). It tells us that no human word is able to say something about the divine mystery of God, but is only able to express what it is not able to say. In order to remain faithful to the mystery of mystery, the human word has to be as entirely faithful as possible to the finitude of man, to the human condition in which ‘I do nothing by my own’. The negative structure of the word that names God, that sings to God, that prays to God, follows the law of a radical analogy: that the highest category in human understanding, the category of substance — that is, of being — is in relation to the divine mystery the lowest one, and that the lowest category in human understanding — the category of relation — is the closest we can come to the divine. The more distant we are from grasping the divine mystery

with words, the closer we are to God. The more we develop logical approaches to the divine, the more distant we are from comprehending the mystery.

It is in the work of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite that we find the first systematic approach to the negative structure of naming the word of the divine mystery, the radical and absolute other. In the *Divine Names*, he explains his starting point as follows:

Νῦν δὴ, ὦ μακάριε, μετὰ τὰς θεολογίας ὑποτυπώσεις ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν θείων ὀνομάτων ἀνάπτειν, ὡς ἐφικτὸν, μετελευσομαι. Ἔστω δὲ καὶ νῦν ἡμῖν ὁ τῶν λογίων θεσμός προδιωρισμένος, τὸ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἡμᾶς καταδείσασθαι τῶν περὶ θεοῦ λεγομένων, οὐκ ἐν πειθοῖς σοφίας ἀνθρωπίνης λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀποδείξει τῆς πνευματοκινήτου τῶν θεολόγων δυνάμεως, καθ' ἣν τοῖς ἀφθέγκτοις καὶ ἀγνωστοῖς ἀφθέκτως καὶ ἀγνώστως συναπτόμεθα, κατὰ τὴν κρείττονα τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς λογικῆς, καὶ νοεῶς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐνεργείας ἔνωσιν.

(Now, blessed one, the outlines of divinity being ended, I will proceed, as far as possible, to an explication of the divine names. Here too let us hold on to the scriptural rule that when we say anything about God, we should set down the truth *not in the plausible words of human wisdom but in demonstration of the power granted by the Spirit* to the writers of scripture, whereby, in a manner without words and without knowledge, we reach a union superior to anything available to us by way of our own abilities or activities in the realm of discourse or of intellect.)⁷

The word here translated by adhering without words and without knowledge is in Greek ἀποδειξει, from ἀπόδειξις, that which shows itself by itself, without the need of speech or of knowledge. This is possible only through a union in the way of contact (συναπτόμεθα). However, this union by contact, we could say, has nothing to do with a sensitive experience of the essence of the divine. This union by contact arises through developing a routine of taking care not to say what cannot be said. It takes place in avoiding to presume to say more than words can say, which leads to a knowledge of not-knowing — a *docta ignorantia*, to recall Nicolas Cusanus's phrase. Dionysius refers to this knowledge of not-knowing, to this ἀγνώσις, defining it as follows:

Τῆς γὰρ ὑπερ λόγον καὶ νοῦν καὶ οὐσίαν αὐτῆς ὑπερουσιότητος ἀγνώσις, αὕτη τὴν ὑπερουσίον ἐπιστήμην ἀναθετέον, τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ τὸ ἄναντες ἀνανεύοντας.

(For a superessential understanding of it is proper to unknowing, which lies in its super-essence surpassing discourse, intuition, and being.)⁸

⁷ PG, III, col. 586; translation adapted from *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works*, trans. by Colm Luibheid (London: SPCK, 1987), p. 49. The portion in italics is I Cor. 2. 4.

⁸ PG, III, cols 587–88.

The fundamental tenor of this ἀγνωσία is the apprehension that the Godhead — mystery as mystery — surpasses man so infinitely that even the word *God* is not able to reveal the infinite transcendence of the divine. That is why Meister Eckhart prays to God to help him escape from God. He prays for escape from confusing the superessential mystery of God with human representations, notions, ideas, and images of God. God transcends all senses of being, is beyond all human representation of a self. The Godhead is no thing, but rather the nothingness of being.

Being unable to say anything about the divine superessential mystery of the Godhead, human words can speak only out of finitude, out of ἀγνωσία. As a result, the more human words adhere entirely to finitude and thereby embrace their own distance from the mystery, the closer they come to the unpronounceable, divine, superessential mystery of the Godhead.

Dionysius attempts a symbolic realization of the naming word that is pronounced out of human ἀγνωσία, out of knowing the not-knowing. In the *Celestial Hierarchy*, he provides a definition of ‘revealing symbols’, describing them, however, as ‘symbols without resemblance’. The biblical symbols are necessary because

Καὶ γὰρ ἀτέχνως ἡ θεολογία ταῖς ποιητικαῖς ἱεροπλαστίαις ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσχηματίστων νοῶν ἐχρήσατο, τὸν καθ’ ἡμᾶς, ὡς εἴρηται, νοῦν ἀνασκεψαμένη, καὶ τῆς οἰκείας αὐτῷ καὶ συμφυοῦς ἀναγωγῆς προνοήσασα, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναπλάσασα τὰς ἀναγωγικὰς ἱερογραφίας.

(The Word of God makes use of poetic imagery when discussing these formless intelligences but, as I have already said, it does so not for the sake of art, but as a concession to the nature of our own mind. It uses scriptural passages in an uplifting fashion as a way, provided for us from the first, to uplift our mind in a manner suitable to our nature.)⁹

Dionysius speaks about symbols, allegories, metaphors, without making distinctions between them. For him, it is most important to show that words are, even if in different ways, always an image (εἰκὼν) of that which is named. But in contrast to the ancient Greek, Aristotelian conception of similitude, he understands these images of being as ‘images without resemblance’ (ἀνομοίον ἀναπλάσις).¹⁰ Every image is a resemblance. The question for us is one of how to conceive the paradox of a resemblance or image without resemblance. This paradox expresses the heart of the Christian metaphysics of Creation. An image without resemblance is a profound expression for the *imago Dei*. Creatures are images of the Godhead; but the Godhead is not something that can be

⁹ *De coelesti hierarchia*, chap. 2; PG, III, col. 137B; trans. by Luibheid, p. 148.

¹⁰ *De coelesti hierarchia*, chap. 2; PG, III, col. 141.

represented, named, grasped as a thing, as a being, as a 'self'. From the point of view of this inability of the human finite comprehension for naming, representing, conceiving it, the Godhead is nothing. Creatures are images of the nothingness of the mystery, of a *purum nihil*. It means that the human soul is an image not of God, but of God's creation. *Imago Dei* therefore means a *creatio continua*, a continuous *creatio ex nihilo*.

An image without resemblance, the symbolic word, is what makes impossible the identification of God with a being, with a self, with a thesis. The symbolic word pronounces a proportional degree of inadequacy, reaching the unreachable dimension of the unfathomable (ἄρρετον). Those symbols do not reveal the superessential mystery of the Godhead but its absolute and radical transcendence, its radical being beyond being; they name the nameless name of the mystery. Dionysius refers in this context to two passages of scripture. The first is Genesis 32. 29, in which 'Jacob asked him, and said, Tell me, I pray thee, thy name. And he said, Wherefore is it that thou dost ask after my name? And he blessed him there.' The second, Judges 13. 17–18, describes how 'Manoah said unto the angel of the Lord, What is thy name, that when thy sayings come to pass we may do thee honour? And the angel of the Lord said unto him, Why askest thou thus after my name, seeing it is secret?' (θαυματόν, that is, mystery).

The mysterious name of God is a nameless name that shows itself as such in all names. That is why, according to Dionysius, both the namelessness of God and the multiplicity of names can convey the meaning of the Godhead. Both convey because without having a name for God we use all names to confirm the unpronounceable namelessness of God. That is why the Bible uses expressions that correspond more or less to 'God of Gods', 'Master of Masters', 'substantiality that surpasses all substances', 'good beyond all good', 'superessence beyond all being', 'unity beyond the principle of unity', and so on. Dionysius writes of these multiple and various symbolic names of God as follows:

καθάπερ φῶτα λαμπτήρων (ἵνα αἰσθητοῖς καὶ οἰκείοις χρήσωμαι παραδείγμασιν),
ὄντα ἐν οἴκῳ ἐνὶ, καὶ ὅλα ἐν ἀλλήλοις ὅλοις ἐστίν, ἀκραιφνή καὶ ἀκριβή τὴν ἀπ'
ἀλλήλων ἰδικῶς ὑφισταμένην ἔχει διάκρισιν, ἡνωμένα τῇ διακρίσει, καὶ τῇ ἐνώσει
διακεκρίμενα.

(Even so do we see, when there are many lamps in a house, how the lights of them all are unified into one undifferentiated light, so that there shines forth from them one indivisible brightness; and no one, it seems, could separate the light of one particular lamp from the others, in isolation from the air which embraces them all, nor could he see one light without another, inasmuch as, without confusion, they yet are wholly commingled.)¹¹

¹¹ PG, III, col. 640D.

These multiple names cannot serve adequately to name God, but together with the unpronounceable namelessness of God they serve to bring us together in the obscurity of mystery. As finite beings, humans are always haunted by the diabolical force of names and risk becoming blended together by the symbolic force of those names. It is therefore important to remember again and again that wherever the symbolic name of God is pronounced a lightning star extinguishes. The millions of symbolic names of God are lights in the darkness not because they illuminate the mystery of the godhead of God but because they show us the limits of man and its names. The myriad symbolic names of God do not reveal or define properties of God but the necessity that mankind should detach himself from things in order to receive the mystery of God's superessential creation. In the symbolic polynomy of God, what appears is not God 'as such' but the necessity of an ἄσκησις in order to get closer to the divine namelessness of the mystery.

The presupposition of the symbolic word according to Dionysius is the contingency of the human word. Even aware of the finitude of words, humans cannot refrain from trying to pronounce the unspeakable. This means that in this awareness, the human word is spoken out of an adhesion to its own finite condition.

Dionysius exposes the naming of God as a *via mystica*. To name God is a mystical means of learning to detach from names in order to adhere to the silent and ecstatic *visio dei*, the vision of mystery as mystery. This is Dionysius's main concern in his *Mystical Theology*. This writing is the central core of the Christian mystical tradition and constitutes one of the most important sources of its spirituality. Theology is here assumed in the literal sense of the λόγος of God, the divine and mysterious word. 'Mystical' is used here in the literal sense of closing the eyes.

Dionysius defines this progression along the *via mystica*, in which learning of nothingness leads to the deepening of the soul, as a twofold theology. Insofar as each affirmation is a negation and every negation an affirmation, the finite word can always give two meanings. This character of twofoldness of the finite human word is known as analogy, the proportional and analogical correspondence between God's words and the human word. This proportional and analogical resemblance expresses the image without the resemblance that defines the essence of the human word of prayer or praise.

One theology is the affirmative, cataphatic theology. Cataphatic theology is concerned with the tension that sustains the arch between the total transcendence of God and the total immanence of man. By increasing the tension of this arch made by the string of the mysterious godhead of God, it becomes possible to

experience the silence of speech and the sounding of silence, how human words become closer to the mystery of the Godhead when they become nearer to their own finitude and inability to be named. To affirm God means therefore to affirm that one cannot know how to affirm the mystery with words. The image of the arch is intended to show that absolute transcendence and absolute immanence are found on the same line from which God's words can sound and mean. The absolute difference between creator and creatures, the absolute otherness of God's transcendence, need not mean that there are two separate worlds, but that they are always one and the same, because there is nothing outside of God. All differences occur within the godhead of God. This affirmative, cataphatic language is the language of the myriad symbolic names of God, the language of myriad superlative names. It is a language prefixed by 'hyper-', 'ultra-', and 'super-', by excess and abundance. The Neoplatonic, Hellenistic language of Dionysius speaks in terms of hyper-deity, ultra-essence, of the super-celestial; it talks of indefinibility (ἀοριστία), of the infinite (ἄπειρία) and unpronounceable (ἄρρητον) mystery. It is unpronounceable, inconceivable, indefinable, but not untransmittable. It is not communicable as we understand communication today, but may be transmitted through repercussion, as we talk about the percussive force of sounds, the propagation of light. It can only lighten, resound, irradiate; on its own initiative and in the way that conveys its goodness, it manifests continuously this superessential irradiation illuminating each creature proportionally to his receptive capacities.

Through this superlative language, beings are considered from the point of view of the highest. This is the perspective of the highest bells of a cathedral, from the highest tower, from the celestial heights. From this point of view, language describes the limits of things, their infinite smallness. In this perspective, everything that exists, the world of images, of figures, of determinations, compresses itself when measured against the mystery. From this abundance, the multiplicity of created beings appears under the lightness of virtual nothingness when compared with the absolute all-encompassing and all-embracing abundance of the mystery. Said in this way, the cataphatic position shows the little by means of the abundant and the many by means of the few. In affirming God by means of symbolic names, the mystical soul pronounces the unpronounceability of the divine mystery. Human words can only say in parts what is in itself indivisible. That is why when God says one, we hear two; why, not being able to say, we say too much and thereby too little. Affirming this, we affirm the namelessness of the mystery being fundamentally negative.

The other theology is the negative, apophatic theology. What is meant by this title is again the praxis of ἀγνώσις, of a knowing unknowing. It is a way of learning that loses the realm of multiplicity of both sensible and intelligible images by exercising detachment, that is by becoming similar to the nothingness of the mystery of the Godhead. In fact, it is in this very place that the distinction between godhead and God can be realized. The godhead of God is beyond any representation, concept, or image of God. Negative theology speaks in terms of 'neither ... nor': neither matter nor body, neither figure nor form, nor quality, nor quantity, nor mass. It speaks in terms of 'not white', 'not day', 'not night'. It puts non-otherness into words. It gives no privilege to negative attributes, but denies attribution itself. In this negative way of naming God, the necessity of abandoning determination is at stake, not merely of changing affirmative into negative definitions. Negative language operates by means of carving away to give space and place to emptiness, to nothingness. Not only sensible representations are carved, however: super-sensible, intelligible representations may be made in this *via negativa* where the self has to learn to become empty. The mystery of the nature of the Godhead is neither soul, nor reason, nor number, nor order, nor equality, nor inequality, nor potency, nor light; neither what belongs to being nor what belongs to non-being. Emptiness, nothingness, is the place being carved, the best and the proper place to correspond to the total hyper-divine essence of the mystery of the Godhead. In becoming nothing, God can become all in one's heart. That is why Dionysius writes that 'when we talk about God's unknowableness and insensibility, this negation shall be taken in a transcendent and abundant sense, not in a privative sense'.¹² In this emptiness carved in the negation of words, a space of resonance takes place. And in that space may resound the mystery of the *sancta sonantia*.

¹² *De divinis nominibus*; PG, III, cols 868–69.

READINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS OF
BOETHIUS'S *DE INSTITUTIONE MUSICA*
IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

Nicolas Bell

Throughout the Middle Ages the primary text for the understanding of music was Boethius's *De institutione musica*. Boethius was essentially a philosopher. The purpose of his discourses in the liberal arts was to enable the mind to move closer to an abstract truth: it was only after one understood the truth that was inherent in music, in arithmetic, or in the other liberal arts, that one could begin to have an understanding of philosophy.¹ He was also a theologian — or at least, as far as Boethius was concerned, the purpose of the study of music was essentially a theological one. In the *De institutione musica*, the extensive discussions of instrumental music were intended not simply as an exemplification of the geometrical principles of harmonic theory; they were also the first stage in an intellectual progression, first from *musica instrumentalis* to *musica humana* — from the practical understanding of the monochord to the understanding of the human soul — and ultimately from *musica humana* to *musica mundana* — to the divine plan of the world and the heavens, the music of the spheres.

Of the four branches of mathematics which together comprised the *quadrivium* — arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy — the study of music was alone in providing such a direct link between concrete understandings and divine

¹ See Calvin M. Bower, 'The Role of Boethius' *De institutione musica* in the Speculative Tradition of Western Musical Thought', in *Boethius and the Liberal Arts: A Collection of Essays*, ed. by Michael Masi, Utah Studies in Literature and Linguistics, 18 (Bern: Lang, 1981), pp. 157–74.

cosmology. It therefore stands in a special position in terms of its development over the Middle Ages, since it is usually treated as both a conventional academic subject and a means of theological understanding. The mathematical ratios of instrumental music inform our understanding of the cosmos, and thereby of divine order. As the ninth-century *Musica enchiriadis* states:

Eiusdem moderationis ratio, quae concinentias temperat vocum, mortalium naturas modificet, quodque isdem numerorum partibus, quibus sibi collati inaequales soni concordant, et vitae cum corporibus et compugnantiae elementorum totiusque mundi concordia aeterna coierit.

(The same guiding principle that controls the concord of pitches regulates the natures of mortals. Through these numerical relationships, by which unlike sounds concord with each other, the eternal harmony of life and of the conflicting elements of the whole world is united as one with material things.)²

This understanding of the function of music is nowhere more famously demonstrated than in the illustration of the Crucifixion from the magnificent Gospel book produced in Regensburg for Abbess Uta of Niedermünster, near Regensburg, in around 1025 (Plate 15). Christ is portrayed triumphant, with stole and crown of gold, as priest and king. On the upper corners are the figures of Sun and Moon, at the bottom the resurrected figures of the New Jerusalem contrast with the ripped Veil of the Temple, and halfway down each side are Grace (for the new rite) and the Law (for the Synagogue). At the foot of the Cross stand Life and Death: Death is on the side of the Moon, the Law, and the Temple, spurned by an offshoot from the life-giving wood of the Cross.³

² *Musica et Scolica enchiriadis una cum aliquibus tractatulis adiunctis*, ed. by Hans Schmid (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981), p. 56; *Musica enchiriadis and Scolica enchiriadis*, trans. by Raymond Erickson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 30–31.

³ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, c.l.m. 13601, fol. 3^v. This picture has been widely discussed in the art-historical literature. See especially Georg Swarzenski, *Die Regensburger Buchmalerei des X. und XI. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1901), pp. 93–97; Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottoman Book Illumination: An Historical Study*, 2 vols (London: Harvey Miller, 1991), I, 126–29; Jutta Rütz, *Text im Bild: Funktion und Bedeutung der Beischriften in den Miniaturen des Uta-Evangelistars*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, 28, 119 (Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 1991); and Adam S. Cohen, *The Uta Codex: Art, Philosophy, and Reform in Eleventh-Century Germany* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), all of which reproduce the image. The theme of the old Law of the Synagogue being overturned by the new rite is discussed by Gunilla Iversen, pp. 245–46, above.

There are numerous complex symbolic aspects of this picture, many of them alluded to in the various Latin inscriptions that surround the figures. Most important for the present discussion are the diagrams behind the figure of Christ himself.⁴ Beneath Christ's arms are four words written in square boxes: *MORS*, *MUNDUS*, *INFERNUS*, and *PLINTESPILON* — death, the world, hell, and 'plin-tespilon' is apparently a contraction of the Greek 'πλὴν τεσσαρῶν πυλῶν', 'beyond the four gates of the world'.⁵ Beneath each box is a number, showing the number of letters in each of the words: four for *mors*, six for *mundus*, eight for *infernus*, and twelve for *plintespilon*. Beneath this is a description of each number: four is *primus tetragonus*, the first square number; six is the first perfect number; eight is the first cubed number; and twelve is *symphonicus*, the number within which all the previous numbers sound. The ratios of 4 : 6 and 8 : 12 are shown by arched lines to be *diapente*, the proportion of the perfect fifth, and that of 6 : 8 is *diatessaron*, the perfect fourth; the ratios 4 : 8 and 6 : 12 are the octave, *diapason symphoniarum*. The diagram thus displays all the perfect consonances, and placed in this context represents the harmony of opposites — sun and moon, life and death — that was effected by Christ in his death on the Cross. The Saviour's span is interpreted by the diagram as extending *dia pason*, through all things, and the diagrams thereby have a comparable effect to the Alpha and Omega written in red above his head.

Written around this diagram are some hexameter verses in green, blue, and black ink. The first line reads 'Christe fidem solidans vincens bene tetrago[nizans]' (O Christ, strengthening [our] faith, conquering, 'rectangulizing' well). By 'tetragonizans' is meant both 'making things square' in the square boxes beneath the inscription, and also 'bringing together four elements in harmony': this could refer to the four words written in the boxes, but also particularly the four gates of the ends of the world inherent in the word *plintespilon*. The second verse, written in blue ink in a semicircle that arches over the top of the four squares, reads 'Festa triumphorum dant celica iubila rerum' (The feasts of triumphs give heavenly

⁴ The details are less clear than they once were, and some letters are no longer decipherable. However, there is a useful fifteenth-century copy of the image, made at a time when the text was more visible: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, c.l.m. 8201, fol. 97^v, reproduced in Cohen, *The Uta Codex*, p. 56.

⁵ See F. Zamminer and T. Ertelt, *Rezeption des antiken Fachs im Mittelalter*, Geschichte der Musiktheorie, 3 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990), p. vi. Cohen (*The Uta Codex*, pp. 70–71) proposes *plen[aria] tes[saron] pulon*, 'the fulfilment of the four gates', as the fitting completion to the series.

shouts of joy of the world).⁶ From its position, we must understand that this line is the explanation of the diagrams over which it arches: that the function of perfect consonance is divine praise. Beneath the diagrams are two further verses: 'Ritmus grammarum struit organa symphon[iarum]' (The number of letters orders the polyphonies of the symphonic intervals — precisely what is meant by each of these words is a considerable problem), and a fourth verse in black ink: 'Forcior occisus vicit hec forcia Christus' (Christ, though killed, is stronger [than death], and is victorious over these strong things — possibly a reference to the *mors*, *mundus*, *infernus*, and *plintespilon*).

The design of this immensely sophisticated programme of illumination is generally attributed to Hartwic, a pupil of Fulbert of Chartres, and as a result it combines the influence of a northern French intellectual milieu with the grand imperial concept of world order that characterized Regensburg under Ottonian rule. It brings to the fore the theological ramifications of the Boethian theory of music, showing how music theory was one aspect of the much wider concept of world harmony, and is thereby directly related to the Crucifixion and Resurrection of Christ.

In the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the rise of the scholastic mentality led to an increased desire to combine the cosmological understandings shown in the ancient authors with the theological evidence of the book of Genesis. This had begun much earlier, in the various Carolingian commentaries on Plato's *Timaeus*, for example, but in the thirteenth century Aristotle became increasingly important to such discussions, and led to a specific challenge to Boethius's position on the function of music as an earthly reflection of the harmony of the spheres. The importance of angels in the task of moving the heavenly spheres had been laid out by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite when he established the angelic hierarchy in the early sixth century. Aristotle, though, had earlier labelled the movers of the spheres as *intelligentiae*, energies that served to animate the planets and stars. The problems which came to be discussed were of whether the movers of the spheres should be considered to exist materially or only spiritually, and the extent to which the spheres, or the *intelligentiae* that moved them, depended on the authority of the *primus movens*, the creator God.

More specifically, Aristotle's *De caelo*, which had been translated into Latin for the first time at the end of the twelfth century, states quite clearly that it is impossible that the spheres produce actual sound. The assumption that the planets do produce sound was discussed by the Pythagoreans, by Plato in the

⁶ Cohen rightly proposes 'of the world' for *rerum* (*The Uta Codex*, p. 222 n. 89).

Republic, and by Cicero in his account of Scipio's Dream at the end of his *De re publica*. Boethius continued this Platonic tradition, explaining the phenomenon as follows:

Etsi ad nostras aures sonus ille non pervenit, quod multis fieri de causis necesse est, non poterit tamen motus tam velocissimus ita magnorum corporum nullos omnino sonos ciere, cum praesertim tanta sint stellarum cursus coaptatione coniuncti, ut nihil aequae compaginatum, nihil ita commissum possit intellegi.

(Although the sound of the heavenly bodies does not actually penetrate our ears — which necessarily happens for many reasons — it is nevertheless impossible that such extremely fast motion of such large bodies should produce absolutely no sound, especially since the courses of the stars are joined by such harmonious union that nothing so perfectly united, nothing so perfectly fitted together, can be realized.)⁷

Aristotle's reasoning against this was that sound is produced in objects in proportion to their size, and that in the case of the planets, the fact that we cannot hear them therefore proves that they make no sound, since if they did make a sound it would surely deafen us.⁸ A logical continuation of Aristotle's explanation would call into question the study of *musica instrumentalis*, since without being a means of understanding the sounding of the music of the spheres, the theological purpose underlying the study of instrumental music is removed.⁹

Another change in the understanding of the harmony of the spheres was brought about in the twelfth century through the translation of Ptolemy's astronomical works, mainly from derivative Arabic treatises. Ptolemy had measured planetary motions more carefully than other ancient authors, and the task therefore arose to correlate this information with the harmonic theory of *musica instrumentalis*. (Boethius had stated in Book I of his *De institutione musica* that he would return to the question of celestial revolution at a later point in the

⁷ Boethius, *De institutione musica libri quinque*, ed. by Gottfried Friedlein (Leipzig: Teubner, 1867), pp. 187–88; the translation follows *The Fundamentals of Music*, trans. by Calvin M. Bower, intro. by Claude V. Palisca (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 9.

⁸ *De caelo*, II.9.291a.

⁹ Two recent articles discussing this anomaly are Gabriela Ilnitchi, 'Musica mundana, Aristotelian Natural Philosophy and Ptolomaic Astronomy', *Early Music History*, 21 (2002), 37–74, and Gilles Rico, "Auctoritas cererum haber nasum": Boethius, Aristotle, and the Music of the Spheres in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries', in *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned*, ed. by Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music*, 4 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), pp. 20–28. See also Susan Rankin's article 'Naturalis concordia vocum cum planetis: Conceptualizing the Harmony of the Spheres in the Early Middle Ages', in *ibid.*, pp. 3–19.

treatise, with the words 'de quibus posterius studiosus disputandum est',¹⁰ but alas never did so.)

At the same time, the great expansion in intellectual activity brought on by the new universities engendered a degree of specialization within individual disciplines that had not been previously paralleled. In the theoretical literature of music, where many earlier writers had attempted to cover a very broad field of study in their writings, the new treatises were often aimed at a very specific purpose, to aid the interpretation of particular new styles of music. In the course of the thirteenth century, music theorists came to devote increasing time to the discussion of technical details of performance, and in doing so developed a theoretical tradition in many respects detached from that of Boethius and others. Their purpose was not to discuss the place of music among the liberal arts, but more simply to enable the singing of increasingly complex music.

Two of the most famous treatises in this category are those of Johannes de Garlandia, written sometime after 1240, and Franco of Cologne, perhaps written a decade or two later, both of which are chiefly concerned with the technical details of the performance of polyphonic music, and serve to explain the modal system of rhythmic notation. They are the best known amongst a large number of treatises on the notation and performance of polyphony which sprang up in the second half of the thirteenth century, and which may be considered to be almost entirely separate from the speculative musical tradition of Boethius, Martianus Capella, and others. The rational scheme underlying Franco's systematization of musical rhythm betrays a distinctly scholastic mentality, but one which was applied in quite a different way from those who wrote commentaries on Boethius.¹¹

A simple distinction is often drawn between the speculative tradition of music theory in which Boethius stands pre-eminent and the practical explanatory treatises such as those of Garlandia and Franco. Though there is certainly a palpable difference between these traditions, it is worth remembering that both Garlandia and Franco represent very much an idealized view of the principles of

¹⁰ Boethius, *De institutione musica*, p. 188.

¹¹ For modern editions of these two treatises, see Johannes de Garlandia, *De mensurabili musica*, ed. by Erich Reimer, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, 10–11 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1972) and Franco of Cologne, *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, ed. by Gilbert Reaney and André Gilles, CSM, 18 (1974). On the intellectual context of Franco's treatise, see in particular Michel Huglo, 'La Notation franconienne: antécédents et devenir', in *La Notation des musiques polyphoniques aux XI–XIII^e siècles*, Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, 31 (Poitiers: Centre d'études supérieures de civilisation médiévale, 1988), pp. 123–32.

rhythmic notation, one that probably exerted little direct influence on musical practice. No musical source survives that is written in Franconian notation, if that term is used very strictly to refer to precisely the form of notation prescribed by Franco in his treatise, and the same applies with Garlandia. There is no doubt, though, that these are two of the most elegantly and systematically composed treatises on the subject. Their fame rests more on their literary merit than their musical influence. For treatises more directly related to musical practice, we are therefore better off looking among the large body of anonymous texts on rhythmic notation from the period, some of which claim Franco as author, some as model, and others of which display his incontestable influence in their form and language. Some of these are concerned much more directly with musical practice, written by and for performers with the pragmatic goal of showing how to perform the music, and therefore form a much clearer antithesis to the speculative tradition, if one is really needed.

From within the context of these anonymous, practical treatises, Garlandia and Franco's writings may usefully be seen from a different perspective as evidence that the subject of musical rhythm was considered worthy of systematic exegesis, following scholastic models. In other words, we could speak less of the difference between this new tradition and that of Boethius being one of the study of *musica* as a component of the *quadrivium* versus a practical treatise on the performance of the latest forms of polyphony, and more of the new forms of polyphony as being treated to lengthy discussion in the type of treatise that was now becoming more fashionable in other branches of learning in the universities.

This new-found scholastic approach to the discussion of musical rhythm is nowhere taken further than in an anonymous manuscript from the library of St Emmeram copied and quite possibly also composed in 1279.¹² The treatise is written in the highly artificial form of a poem in leonine hexameters complete with its own gloss and excessively verbose commentary. It is quite clear, from the way in which the poem is made deliberately obscure in order to demand being glossed and commented upon, that the poem, gloss, and commentary are all the work of the same author. The structure is therefore a conceit. Of particular interest here is the fact that the author has seen fit to treat a subject as pragmatic

¹² *De musica mensurata: The Anonymous of St Emmeram*, ed. and trans. by Jeremy Yudkin (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990) replaces the older edition by Heinrich Sowa, *Ein anonymes glossierter Mensuraltraktat 1279*, Königsberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, 9 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1930). Sowa includes a plate showing the format of the manuscript, with interlinear gloss and marginal commentary.

and technical as the proper performance of measured polyphony to the sort of scholarly thoroughness that had previously been afforded only to commentaries on ancient authors. Even a manual for musical performance is worthy of being considered as a 'text'.

However elevated his tone may have been, it did not occur to the St Emmeram Anonymous, nor to any other thirteenth-century writer on *musica mensurabilis*, to try to assimilate this practical aspect of music making into the Boethian paradigm of *musica mundana, humana*, and *instrumentalis*. We have to remember, though, that Boethius remained the chief staple of the academic study of music throughout this period. Of the many surviving manuscripts of Boethius's *De institutione musica*, around forty (one-third of the total number) date from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, and the tradition of glossing and commenting on the treatise continued through this time.¹³ Many of these later sources are composite manuscripts, collecting together numerous texts, but in no case is Boethius's work found in the same volume as one of these new polyphonic treatises. Rather, they continue to be combined with the *Musica* and *Scolica enchiridiadis*, the treatises of Hucbald, John, and the like, or with Euclid, Ptolemy, and other so-called 'school texts' of the quadrivium. The nature of the glosses and commentaries on Boethius is likewise directed entirely at the schoolroom: the exegeses they provide generally have the purpose of enhancing the study of the text in itself, rather than showing its relevance to musical practice. In short, it is in many respects fair to say that through the thirteenth century the manuscript tradition does show us a distinction between the study of Boethius on the one hand and Franco and related treatises on the other.

This wide circulation of the *De institutione musica* makes it reasonably clear that a knowledge of Boethius may be assumed for the writers and intended readers of many thirteenth-century treatises, especially those which may be connected

¹³ See Calvin M. Bower, 'Boethius's *De institutione musica*: A Handlist of Manuscripts', *Scriptorium*, 42 (1988), 205–51. The older gloss tradition has been edited as *Glossa maior in institutionem musicam Boethii*, ed. by Michael Bernhard and Calvin M. Bower, Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission, 9–11 (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1993–96). Systematic commentaries on the text are rare, but two contrasting examples have recently been edited: a substantial commentary intended as a text for teaching Boethius at Oxford in the second half of the fourteenth century in *Commentum Oxoniense in musicam Boethii: eine Quelle zur Musiktheorie an der spätmittelalterlichen Universität*, ed. by Matthias Hochadel (Munich: Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2002), and a shorter, possibly Italian commentary on the first two books from the thirteenth century, published by Alexander Rausch, 'Der Boethius-Kommentar in der Handschrift St. Florian XI 282', *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 48 (2002), 7–83.

with universities. Franco of Cologne informs his readers straight away that he is treating an aspect of music that is entirely inferior to plainchant, a subject that has been treated by Boethius theoretically, Guido d'Arezzo practically, and Gregory doctrinally:

Cum de plana musica quidam philosophi sufficienter tractaverint, ipsamque nobis tam theoricæ quam practice efficaciter illucidaverint, theoricæ præcipue Boethius, practice vero Guido monachus, et maxime de tropis ecclesiasticis beatus Gregorius, idcirco nos de mensurabili musica, quam ipsa plana præcedit tanquam principalis subalternam, ad preces quorundam magnatum tractare proponentes, non pervertendo ordinem ipsam planam perfectissime a prædictis philosophis supponimus propalam.

(Now that the philosophers have treated sufficiently of plainsong and have fully explained it to us both theoretically and practically — theoretically above all Boethius, practically Guido the monk, and as to the ecclesiastical tropes, especially the blessed Gregory — we propose, in accordance with the entreaties of certain influential persons and without losing sight of the natural order, to treat of measurable music, which plainsong, described so well by the philosophers cited above, precedes as the principal precedes the subaltern.)¹⁴

By invoking these authorities before entering into discussion of *musica mensurabilis*, Franco situates his own task in a wider context and shows that there is ultimately a higher purpose to his discussion than at first meets the eye. However, a simple mention like this cannot lead us to assume that Franco was thoroughly cognizant of the whole treatise: in citing authoritative names such as this, Franco was intending to place his treatise on a higher plane than the merely practical, as one might by citing Cicero in a rhetorical treatise. In the absence of a classical authority for harmonic theory, Boethius served a prophylactic function, presenting the teachings of Nicomachus in an accessible and widely disseminated form.

This connection between the Boethian musical paradigm and the new *musica mensurabilis* is nowhere more obvious than in the famous manuscript of Notre Dame polyphony now housed in the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana in Florence.¹⁵ Facing the first piece in the book, the extraordinary four-part setting of the Christmas Gradual chant *Viderunt omnes*, is a depiction of Musica directing

¹⁴ Franco of Cologne, *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, p. 23; translation adapted from *Source Readings in Music History*, ed. by Oliver Strunk, rev. edn by Leo Treitler (New York: Norton, 1998), p. 227.

¹⁵ MS Pluteus 29.1, fols 0^v–1^r, reproduced in *Faksimile-Ausgabe der Handschrift Firenze, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1*, ed. by Luther A. Dittmer, *Veröffentlichungen mittelalterlicher Musikhandschriften*, 10, 2 vols (New York: Institute of Mediaeval Music, [1966–67]), I, fols 0^v–1^r. The frontispiece is reproduced in colour as the frontispiece to *Les Quadrupla et tripla de Paris*, ed. by Edward H. Roesner, *Le Magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*, I (Les Remparts, Monaco: Éditions de l'oiseau lyre, 1993).

the three types of music, *instrumentalis*, *humana*, and above them both *musica mundana*. In juxtaposing this image with the music of unprecedented sophistication, those responsible for the design of this magnificent volume are making a very clear statement: that this earthly music is inspired by the same forces that govern the harmony of the cosmos. Boethian principles underpin the function of the music. In the illustration, *musica mundana* is clearly conceived in a sphere representing the cosmos, containing within it earth, sea, sky, sun, and moon, and at the bottom *musica instrumentalis* is also clearly represented by a musician surrounded by eight familiar instruments, but the middle image presents what is perhaps a rather debatable understanding of *musica humana*, which Boethius defines in the sentence 'Humanam vero musicam quisquis in sese ipsum descendit intellegit' (Whoever penetrates into his own self perceives human music).¹⁶ In this case, the interaction between body and soul is represented by dance, which as far as I am aware is a novel understanding of this definition. Dance requires an internal understanding between the various parts of the body, and may therefore be understood within the Boethian paradigm inasmuch as it demonstrates an internal harmony, not directly perceptible to outsiders.

This novel understanding of *musica humana* contrasts with the more conventional interpretation of 'in sese ipsum descendit', which is to be brought about by philosophical contemplation and discussion. In one well-known illustration this is represented by a discussion between Plato and Nicomachus.¹⁷ By this debate, we are to understand, their souls will be enriched through a fuller understanding, and thereby *musica humana* will be achieved, itself the nearest the human soul may reach towards *musica mundana*.

The new interpretation of *musica humana* in the Florence manuscript is one example of the type of new understanding of the Boethian paradigm that was coming into play in the course of the thirteenth century. Others are provided in theoretical writings. Boethius is invoked in various treatises as an ancient authority, but usually only in passing. One attractive example is a short anonymous treatise *De plana musica* in BnF lat. 15128. In a brief prologue the author writes the following:

¹⁶ Boethius, *De institutione musica*, I.2, p. 188. Unfortunately neither of the commentaries nor the gloss to Boethius cited in n. 13 above sheds interpretative light on this phrase.

¹⁷ Cambridge University Library, Ii.3.12, fol. 61^v, a copy of Boethius's treatises on arithmetic and music from Christ Church Canterbury dating from the first half of the twelfth century. The picture is reproduced, *inter alia*, in Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, *Musikerziehung: Lehre und Theorie der Musik im Mittelalter*, Musikgeschichte in Bildern, 3.3 (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1969), p. 57.

Musica est liberalis sciencia perite cantandi copiam subministrans. Unde dicit Boecius inter septem artes liberales optinet musica principatum. Inter enim omnes liberales [artes] siue sciencias ipsa est enim liberalior iocondior leciior amabilior curialior.

(Music is a liberal art that supplies the resources for singing skilfully, for which reason Boethius says that among the seven liberal arts music has primacy. For among all liberal arts or sciences it is indeed the more liberal, more delightful, more joyful, more lovely, and more courtly.)¹⁸

This sentiment is a very simple one, but as with Franco it at least hints that there is more to the subsequent explanation of the notes of the scale than merely a course of practical instruction. By invoking the name of Boethius, the author again invests his subject of music with a higher dignity.

There are various comparable mentions of Boethius in other thirteenth-century treatises, but only very rarely is the idea of *musica speculativa*, or the music of the spheres, brought into a discussion of practical musicianship. An exception is the *Summa musice*, a lengthy treatise possibly written in Germany around 1200 by two authors named Perseus and Petrus (though both the date and the authorship are very much open to question, and a date later in the thirteenth century is more probable).¹⁹ It is an attractively simple manual for teaching boys to sing plainsong, practical in every aspect and therefore invaluable for the information it sheds on the performance techniques of its time. Each chapter is followed by a resumé in verse of the preceding discussion, and the relevant passage of the verse summary is as follows:

Ut naturalis, instrumentalis habetur
Musica; sic species binas proferre videtur.
Et naturalem binas genuisse decebit:
Mundanam velut humanam sub se retinebit.
Motu mundanam celestia corpora causant
Magno continuo que nullo tempore pausant.
Hec humana parum nos expectando moretur;
Instrumentalis prius inspicienda videtur
[...]
Humanam tamen huic videas prestantius esse,
Dum que significant voci dat verba subesse.

¹⁸ BnF lat. 15128, fol. 124^r.

¹⁹ *The 'Summa musice': A Thirteenth-Century Manual for Singers*, ed. by Christopher Page (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). On the question of date and authorship see the review by Joseph Dyer in *Early Music History*, 12 (1993), 203–23.

(Music comprises instrumental [music] and natural; in this way it offers two kinds. It also befits natural [music] to bear two [kinds]: it contains celestial [music] and human within itself. Heavenly bodies produce celestial music by their movement in a vast continuum; they never pause at any time. Human music should not delay us much; instrumental music is evidently to be considered first [...]. However, you can see that the human [instrument] takes pride of place for it provides words that carry meaning to lie beneath the note.)²⁰

Instead of the tripartite division of Boethius, there are at the first level two categories of music, *naturalis* and *instrumentalis*. This follows more closely the division into natural and artificial made in the fourth chapter of the treatise *De musica* by John, sometimes called John of Affligem.²¹ The *Summa musicae* proceeds to divide *musica naturalis* into *humana* and *mundana*; but while *musica mundana* is clearly used to describe the same concept as Boethius, it seems that the later treatise regards *musica humana* not as the harmony of the rational and irrational parts of the human soul, but rather as music sung by the human voice, which is superior to instrumental music because it ‘provides words that carry the meaning to lie beneath the note’. This is a clear departure from the original Boethian understanding of *musica humana*, which had certainly not intended any assumption that this form of music involved any outward manifestation in the form of perceptible sound.

By the end of the thirteenth century, the intellectual climate had changed further, and we may observe a propensity throughout the arts for producing encyclopedic works covering the whole of a discipline. In the case of music, some writers felt the need to bring the speculative tradition of Boethius, Isidore of Seville, Cassiodorus, and Augustine together with the tradition of plainchant theory and the rhythmic treatises, into one coherent and unified whole. That all three were closely related branches of the same discipline was clearly taken for granted by some of the writers already mentioned, but only in the fourteenth century were attempts made to explain the nature of this relationship.

One method of producing an encyclopedic work was that employed in the 1270s by Hieronymus de Moravia — Jerome of either Moravia or Moray, depending on how we read his ambiguous name — who selected passages, or sometimes whole treatises, from other sources, quoting them verbatim with a

²⁰ *The ‘Summa musicae’*, ll. 426–33, 452–54, pp. 150–51 (text), p. 63 (translation).

²¹ See John Cotton [‘Affligemensis’], *De musica cum tonario*, ed. by Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, CSM, 1 (1950), p. 57.

certain amount of additional material of his own.²² To call this an anthology would not be to belittle Jerome's role in its compilation, but it is certainly true that the intellectual effort involved in its creation was one of choosing apposite passages rather than constructing a grand, unified theory of music. There is also a certain amount of duplication between one section and another — most notably in the twenty-sixth chapter, which presents four different *positiones* on the subject of *musica mensurabilis* one after the other — the *Discantus positio vulgaris*, then the treatises of Johannes de Garlandia, Franco of Cologne, and Petrus Picardus. Fascinating and useful though this is, it does not demonstrate the degree of intellectual input that perhaps we most desire for evaluating the changing perception of music at this time: an expression of the differences between these four approaches is lacking, let alone an opinion on their relative merits.

An altogether more integrated approach to an all-encompassing theory of music was made by Jean de Murs, who was a significant writer in the field of astronomy as well as in music. The first book of his *Notitia artis musice* of 1321 is devoted to the measurement of pitch and the proportions of harmonic intervals, and is closely based on Boethius's third book.²³ The second book discusses the measurement of time in similarly rational terms: where pitch is created by the motion of air broken up by an impulse, rhythm results from the measure of sound sustained in longer or shorter motion. The complexities of Jean's rhythmic permutations exceed those found in musical practice at the time, and are characteristic of the new scheme of the logical necessity of imagining all possibilities: the theories are used as exegeses, showing the range of theoretical possibilities in the universe of knowledge. Jean's approach here and in his other musical writings is heavily influenced by Aristotle, and his approach to the understanding of number provides a fascinating attempt at a reconciliation of Aristotelian and Boethian principles.

Jean de Murs's outlandish rhythmic innovations brought a magnificent rebuttal in defence of older musical practices in the form of the *Speculum musice* of

²² Hieronymus de Moravia, *Tractatus de musica*, ed. by S. M. Cserba, Freiburger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, 2 (Regensburg: Pustet, 1935). On the question of the compiler's origins see Michel Huglo, 'La *Musica* du Fr Prêcheur Jérôme de Moray', in *Max Lütolf zum 60. Geburtstag: Festschrift*, ed. by Bernhard Hangartner and Urs Fischer (Basel: Wiese, 1994), pp. 113–16 (repr. in Michel Huglo, *La Théorie de la musique antique et médiévale*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 822 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), art. XV).

²³ Jean de Murs, *Notitia artis musicae et Compendium musicae practicae*, ed. by Ulrich Michels, CSM, 17 (1972).

Jacques de Liège, written soon after in the 1320s.²⁴ At one level, the *Speculum* is an explanation of why the older rhythmic system, where note values are divisible into three, is superior to the modern binary divisions condoned by Jean de Murs. However, the technical discussion of rhythm is reserved for the last of its seven substantial books, and the argument is prepared in the earlier books by a comprehensive discussion of Boethian and Guidonian theory. Furthermore, as its title — ‘The Mirror of Music’ — makes clear, the treatise has an ultimately philosophical and theological purpose, showing that

Musica enim, generaliter sumpta, obiective quasi ad omnia se extendit, ad Deum et ad creaturas, incorporeas et corporeas, coelestes et humanas, ad scientias theoricar et practicas.

(Music objectively extends to almost everything, God and created beings, corporeal and incorporeal, heavenly and human, theoretical and practical music.)²⁵

Although Jacques is considerably more of a traditional Boethian in outlook than was Jean de Murs, he nevertheless also incorporates aspects of the new Aristotelian thought into his discussion. For example, on the question of whether the spheres produce actual sound, Jacques presents the opposing views of Boethius and Aristotle, and then conjectures that the reason why we do not perceive the sound of the spheres is either because they are too far away from us, or because it is such a constant part of our hearing that we would notice only it by its absence if we were ever to hear real silence.²⁶

One of the most satisfying solutions to the problem of understanding modern musical phenomena in the light of Boethius and other ancient theorists was found by Walter Odington, a monk from Evesham active in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. His works include an astronomical treatise on the motion of the eighth sphere as well as a significant alchemical treatise, the *Ycokedron*. His *Summa de speculatione musicae* is carefully planned as an assessment of all aspects of music.²⁷ It is very much a *summa*, in the sense that it is a compilation of other people’s ideas, and its originality lies in the coherence obtained in bringing together these ideas; but unlike Jerome, it is not a simple anthology of theoretical

²⁴ Jacques de Liège, *Speculum musicae*, ed. by Roger Bragard, CSM, 3, 7 vols in 8 (1955–73).

²⁵ Jacques de Liège, *Speculum musicae*, I, 11.

²⁶ ‘Quare autem sonum illum non percipiamus, dicitur hoc provenire, vel propter nimiam distantiam illius ad nos, vel quia connutritus nobis est, congenitus et conplantatus, cuius numquam audivimus silentium’: Jacques de Liège, *Speculum musicae*, I, 46.

²⁷ Walter Odington, *Summa de speculatione musicae*, ed. by Frederick F. Hammond, CSM, 14 (1970).

texts quoted verbatim. The first of its six books is concerned with the properties of number and goes to some length to situate the study of music within the liberal arts and more widely in the body of *scientia*.

Following this eloquent attempt to place music in its broader intellectual context, the remaining five books discuss specific aspects of music theory. The second book treats the relation of number to sound, while the third discusses harmonic ratios, largely after Boethius. Book IV discusses metrics, the fifth is a plainsong tonary, and the final book discusses polyphonic music, and especially its rhythm. Where some earlier treatises such as the St Emmeram Anonymous had sought to establish rhythmic theory as a subject worthy of scholarly discussion for its own sake, Odington shows the bonds between metrical theory and *musica mensurabilis*, and incorporates them both into a discussion of all aspects of music. By combining aspects of Boethian theory, plainchant, and the rhythm of polyphony, Odington requires the reader to be both a scholar of music and a musician: by understanding the logical justification behind everything he does, his singing will be more genuine, and the analogy with the perfect harmony and rhythm of the cosmos will become closer. Odington is the only theorist so explicitly to make use of specific musical examples in furtherance of an ultimately Boethian goal. He is careful to interrelate the various matters he discusses, in order to make a comprehensive and integrated *summa*.

A story told in many conventional histories of medieval music suggests that there was a general movement in music theory in the thirteenth century from the speculative, Pythagorean tradition represented by Boethius's treatise to a greater concern with the practicalities of musical notation and performance. The idea that such a simple dichotomy existed between the arithmetical concerns of Pythagorean harmonic theory and the practical requirements of understanding rhythmic notation, the one supposedly supplanted by the other, is grounded less in the surviving evidence than in what have been the needs of modern scholars: for the earlier period, interests have been centred around an understanding of the reception in the early Middle Ages of the ancient theory of the Pythagoreans, of Nicomachus and others, while for the later period most interest has been shown in those music theorists who expound on the principles of rhythmic notation. It is a shame that discussion of a writer such as Walter Odington has thus far almost exclusively centred on his explanation of rhythmic notation, when his interests were spread far wider than this small but significant part of musical theory. Walter Odington and Jacques de Liège both saw the inadequacy of Boethius as a school text to explain and rationalize the totality of musical

practice, and therefore resolved to incorporate plainchant theory and rhythmic notation into what remained an essentially Boethian scheme. Though neither of them properly completes Boethius's work by describing in detail the nature of *musica humana* and *musica mundana*, they share the ultimate purpose of showing the connection between earthly harmony and salvation. Indeed, Jacques posits an additional music above *musica mundana*, a transcendental *musica divina* through the agency of which the world was created in harmony. At the end of the *Speculum musicae*, Jacques asks that he may be received into the eternal chorus of heavenly praise.²⁸

²⁸ Jacques de Liège, *Speculum musicae*, VII, 97–98.

UNDERSTANDING A TEXT:
PRESENTATION AND EDITION OF A
SEQUENCE COMMENTARY IN OXFORD,
BODLEIAN LIBRARY, AUCT. F. 6. 8

Erika Kihlman

The genre of the sequence, which came into being in the ninth century, became hugely influential through the course of the Middle Ages, as earlier chapters of this book have made clear, with new generations developing the form in new directions in succeeding centuries. In parallel to these developments, the formation of new intellectual milieux contributed to the immense growth of systematic commentary on all kinds of literary works — scripture as well as secular writings — and, eventually, sequence texts also began to attract the attention of commentators. From the latter part of the twelfth century onwards, learned monks, masters, and scholars started to compose expositions of sequence texts in which they laid out their interpretations and understandings of this liturgical poetry. Their works bear testimony to the fact that the use of sequence texts had extended beyond that of singing praise to God in the liturgy: this new approach involved using them also as material for scholarly discussion and for educational purposes.

In this chapter, an introduction to the genre of the sequence commentary will be followed by a presentation of one of the exponents of this genre, an anonymous late-thirteenth-century writer whose text is provided in a critical edition with an accompanying translation. This treatise comments on three early sequences, *Alma chorus Domini* (on the sacred names for Christ), *Alle celeste* (on the Blessed Virgin), and *Ad celebres rex* (on the angels), all of them known from manuscripts from the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries

onwards,¹ and provides us with an authentic witness from the later Middle Ages to the ways in which poetic texts from an earlier period were understood and put to new uses in a different age.

The sequence commentary emerges as a new branch within the medieval commentary tradition at the end of the twelfth century.² At the present stage of research, the earliest known example of a sequence commentary, which is also the first text to have been critically edited, is the *Expositio prosae de angelis* by Alain de Lille († 1203), included in a volume of his *textes inédits* by Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny in 1965.³ Alain de Lille also draws on sequence material in his other writings such as the *Distinctiones*, a work which could be characterized as a theological dictionary, where references to sequence strophes in order to explain the meaning of a word or a concept are not uncommon.⁴

Not long after Alain wrote his exposition, the Cistercian monk Caesarius of Heisterbach (b. 1170) composed a commentary to the sequence *Ave preclara maris stella*, which was edited together with a later anonymous commentary on the same sequence by R. B. C. Huygens in 1969.⁵

Both d'Alverny and Huygens have drawn attention to the gap in research on the subject of sequence commentaries, as did Judson B. Allen in an article of 1973, in which he treats methodological issues in prologues to a range of literary works

¹ This is the dating of the edited manuscripts in AH. *Alma chorus Domini* is edited in AH, LIII, 87; *Alle celeste* AH, VII, 98, and AH, LIII, 97; *Ad celebres rex* AH, VII, 178 (as *Has celebres rex*) and AH, LIII, 190 (as *Ad celebres rex*). The sequence texts with translations are included in the anthology of the present volume, nos VII–IX.

² The following short description of the genre and the subsequent discussion of sequence and hymn commentaries are based on research for my doctoral thesis. For a fuller account of the sequence commentary as a genre, the differences in methods and techniques applied, as well as editions of texts, see Erika Kihlman, *Expositiones sequentiarum: Medieval Sequence Commentaries and Prologues; Editions with Introductions*, SLS, 53 (2006).

³ Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille: textes inédits avec une introduction sur sa vie et ses œuvres* (Paris: Vrin, 1965). The introductory text to the *Expositio* is found on pp. 85–106, the edition proper on pp. 185–217.

⁴ See also Gunilla Iversen, pp. 249–50, above. For references to sequence texts in Alain's *Distinctiones*, see PL, CCX, for example cols 699A, 722A, 728C, 743B, 779C, 811A, 834C, 901C, 935D, 959D, and 1012D.

⁵ R. B. C. Huygens, 'Commentaires sur la séquence *Ave praeclara maris stella*', *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses*, 20 (1969), 108–69. A revised version of this article, in which a collation of a third commentary has been added, was later included under the same title in *Serta mediaevalia: textus varii saeculorum X–XIII in unum collecti*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM, 171 (2001), pp. 409–90; subsequent references are to this later version.

including hymn and sequence commentaries.⁶ Allen emphasizes the importance of these texts in providing us with examples of late-medieval critical practice in the understanding of poetry:⁷ in the prologues, we find the commentators' interpretational framework, generally accounted for in a discussion of a standardized set of topics found in academic prologues of the period, or in a discussion based on the formal, material, final, and efficient causes;⁸ and in the subsequent commentaries, we are able to investigate how the commentators' methodology is put to practice.

In researching this genre of commentary I have been able to show that Alain and Caesarius were the first in a long line of expositors in ensuing centuries, all of them so far anonymous.⁹ The commentaries hitherto discovered, so far amounting to almost a hundred manuscripts, are found across medieval Europe and date from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries.¹⁰ The provenance of the manuscripts, which is known for less than half of them, suggests that the sequence commentary was a genre of interest to monasteries and cathedral chapters alike. The commentaries can be found both in miscellanies comprising a variety of instructional texts such as grammatical treatises, vocabularies, or other kinds of commentaries, and in separate volumes dedicated to sequence commentaries only,

⁶ See d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille*, p. 91 n. 82; Huygens, 'Commentaires', p. 413; and Judson Boyce Allen, 'Commentary as Criticism: Formal Cause, Discursive Form, and the Late Medieval Accessus', in *Acta conventus neo-latini Lovaniensis: Proceedings of the First International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Louvain, 23–28 August 1971*, ed. by Jozef Ijsewijn and Eckhard Kessler (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1973), pp. 29–48 (p. 30).

⁷ Allen, 'Commentary as Criticism', pp. 30–31.

⁸ On the medieval *accessus* see Edwin A. Quain, 'The Medieval *Accessus ad auctores*', *Traditio*, 3 (1945), 215–64; Richard W. Hunt, 'The Introduction to the "Artes" in the Twelfth Century', in *Studia mediaevalia in honorem admodum reverendi patris Raymundi Josephi Martin O.P.* (Bruges: De Tempel, 1948), pp. 85–112; Alastair J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (Aldershot: Wildwood House, 1988).

⁹ According to Huygens there exists a commentary on the sequence *Ave preclara maris stella* by Stephen Langton († 1228): Huygens, 'Commentaires', pp. 413–14 n. 7. An English collection of sequence commentaries, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. misc. 524, contains the following colophon attributing authorship to one Thomas Haume: 'Explicit tropharium glossatum secundum Thomam Haume; et dicitur tropharium a trophos Grece, quod est conversio Latine, quia in illo libro continentur cantus, ad quos fit conversio post principales cantus et cetera.'

¹⁰ A list of the sequence commentary manuscripts I have hitherto discovered is included in Kihlman, *Expositiones sequentiarum*, pp. 277–80. The list comprises just under a hundred manuscripts and includes the manuscripts mentioned and listed by Allen, d'Alverny, and Huygens.

but sometimes joined with a corresponding collection of hymn commentaries, which is often the case with the manuscripts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Among these later sequence commentaries I have been able to identify various separate commentary traditions, each preceded by a specific prologue.

The layout of the sequence commentary manuscripts displays some variation, even among manuscripts belonging to the same commentary tradition. Some incorporate the complete sequence text set apart from the commentary, sometimes with interlinear glosses. The sequence text may then either precede the commentary or be broken up into shorter segments to introduce separate parts of the commentary text. In other manuscripts the sequence text and the commentary are written side by side, which means that the reader has access to as many as three layers of text at the same time: the sequence, the interlinear glosses, and the continuous text of the commentary. Other manuscripts do not provide the sequence text separately but refer to it with short lemmas or paraphrases of the text, as is the case with the commentaries that will be discussed and edited here.

The twelfth century also seems to have seen the birth of the hymn commentary, a genre which has been almost as neglected by modern scholarship as the sequence commentary. In this period was composed the famous *Expositio hymnorum* attributed to one Hilarius, as well as a commentary on the Cistercian hymnal, the latter available in a modern critical edition by John M. Beers.¹¹ Hilarius's commentary is not available in a critical edition, but a discussion of its possible conception and development and particularly of its diffusion in England is found in Helmut Gneuss's *Hymnar und Hymnen*.¹² Another type of commentary on hymns consists in the Latin glosses found in chant books. Such glosses in eleventh-century hymnals have been studied by Susan Boynton, who, amongst other things, discusses their pedagogical function in the training of young singers in the monastery.¹³

¹¹ *Explanatio super hymnos quibus utitur ordo Cisterciensis: A Commentary on the Cistercian Hymnal; A Critical Edition of Troyes, Bib. Mun. MS 658*, ed. by John Michael Beers, Henry Bradshaw Society, 103 (Gainsborough: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1983). It has not been possible to establish the identity of this Hilarius with certainty. He has been identified with Hilarius of Angers (fl. 1125), a pupil of Abelard, but as Helmut Gneuss writes in *Hymnar und Hymnen im englischen Mittelalter* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1968), p. 200, 'mehr als eine Vermutung ist das nicht'.

¹² Gneuss, *Hymnar und Hymnen*, pp. 194–206.

¹³ Susan Boynton, 'Glossed Hymns in Eleventh-Century Continental Hymnaries' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Brandeis University, 1997; UMI no. 9718573). See also her articles, 'Eleventh-Century Continental Hymnaries Containing Latin Glosses', *Scriptorium*, 53 (1999), 200–51; 'Latin Glosses on the Office Hymns in Eleventh-Century Continental

Sequence commentaries, as well as commentaries on hymns, would have been written for several reasons. As the sequence texts are often complex and rich in metaphor and imagery of crucial importance for the understanding of the Christian faith, they would naturally seem to invite comments of a theological and doctrinal nature. Such a preoccupation may be detected in all commentaries, although there are differences as to their levels of complexity. In most commentaries doctrinal matters are treated thoroughly, with the added support of gobbets from the Church Fathers, various philosophers and theologians, and from scripture itself. Sometimes the commentator offers alternative explanations and interpretations without stating a preference for either of them.

Though doctrinal matters are a great concern in many of the commentaries, they are not the only ones. The demanding word order and sophisticated vocabulary of the sequences prompt lexical and grammatical comments and the sequence texts therefore form the basis for grammatical instruction and exercises in etymological analysis.¹⁴ This fact holds true not only for the older sequence texts, where the difference in time between the composition of the poetic text and the commentator might add to the linguistic difficulties, but also for newer sequences such as the Victorine compositions; in the larger late-medieval commentary collections we find expositions to both old and new sequences treated with the same commentary technique as far as doctrinal and linguistic matters are concerned.

In such linguistic sections of the commentaries, lexical variants to the words of the sequence are added that help explain words in the sequence by providing synonyms, or by limiting or further specifying the meaning of the word. Sometimes the reason for these variants seems to be to expand the vocabulary of the readers and users. A particular word or a phrase can also be taken as the starting point for a grammatical *distinctio* or a *differentia* in which the differences in spelling, multiple meanings, or various grammatical forms of a word are treated. In this process an important and ubiquitous method is etymological analysis, which is effective and helpful in revealing the truest and deepest meaning of a word, as well

Hymnaries', *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 11 (2001), 1–26; and 'The Didactic Function and Context of Eleventh-Century Glossed Hymnaries', in *Der lateinische Hymnus im Mittelalter: Überlieferung — Ästhetik — Ausstrahlung*, ed. by Andreas Haug, Christoph März, and Lorenz Welker, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, Subsidia, 4 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2004), pp. 301–29.

¹⁴ This fact has been noted recently in relation to hymn commentaries by Peter Stotz in 'Poesie auf dem Exerzierfeld: über einen sprachlichen Kommentar zu dem Hymnus *Ut queant laxis* auf Johannes den Täufer', in *Italica — Raetica — Gallica: Studia linguarum litterarum artiumque in honorem Ricarda Liver*, ed. by Peter Wunderli, Iwar Werlen, and Matthias Grünert (Tübingen: Francke, 2001), pp. 637–53.

as being a tool for derivation and word formation.¹⁵ The syntax of the sequence text is mostly clarified and explained through paraphrases and rewording, but in manuscripts presenting the complete sequence text the syntax can also be explained through syntactical glosses.¹⁶ Through careful glossing of the chant texts, singers in the monastery choir could perhaps respond to the exhortation from Psalm 46 to sing wisely, 'psallite sapienter'.¹⁷ Referring to an observation made by Peter the Venerable in *De miraculis* of a monk using a glossed Psalter to sing the Psalms with more attention and devotion, Susan Boynton argues that this could imply that chant glosses would have been used as a means to deepen the understanding of the chants among singers in a monastery choir.¹⁸ It is not impossible that the commentaries to sequences in the form of running text could have fulfilled a similar role in certain cases, although the chant glosses and the sequence commentaries generally appear in different kind of books: glosses in chant books and commentaries in instructional miscellanies.

The role of the glosses on liturgical chant in the development of the hymn commentary is still to be determined, as is the relation between hymn and sequence commentaries.¹⁹ To judge from the manuscript evidence, the sequence commentary appears to be a later creation than the hymn commentary, which could suggest a certain dependence of the former upon the latter, at least from a conceptual point of view.²⁰ However, until further primary material becomes

¹⁵ This kind of epistemological view on the use of etymology is described by Isidore in his *Etymologies*, 1.29: Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, ed. by Wallace M. Lindsay, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911).

¹⁶ For an example of a manuscript employing Arabic numerals to indicate word order in the sequence see Kihlman, *Expositiones sequentiarum*, pp. 257–73.

¹⁷ For this phrase and the understanding of it in the earlier period, see Gunilla Iversen's discussion, pp. 13–14, above.

¹⁸ Boynton, 'The Didactic Function', pp. 301–05.

¹⁹ Gneuss and Allen seem to concur in the view that the hymn commentary developed from the early glosses and prose paraphrases: Gneuss, *Hymnar und Hymnen*, pp. 194–206; Allen, 'Commentary as Criticism', p. 31 n. 9. Beers, on the other hand, emphasizes the similarity between the Cistercian hymn commentary and the earlier commentaries on the Psalms: Beers, *Explanatio super Hymnos*, p. xxiv.

²⁰ The earliest manuscripts to present a collection of sequence commentaries for the whole liturgical year are dated to the first half or the middle of the fourteenth century (for example Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 1592, and Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Leonh. 9). The earliest manuscript of Hilarius's commentary is dated to the twelfth century (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 40): Gneuss, *Hymnar und Hymnen*, p. 200.

more readily available in the form of textual editions of specimens of glosses and commentaries, the origins of both genres remain obscure.

Taken together, however, the general characteristics of hymn and sequence commentary place them in the new intellectual and analytical approach towards both scripture and other texts that developed in the culture of the schools from the twelfth century and onwards. The commentaries enable the late-medieval students not only to construe and understand the Latin of liturgical poetry but also to guide them in reading and interpreting the figurative language of poetry in a doctrinally correct manner and, through the prologues, to help in placing it in a context of Christian hermeneutics.

The nature of the sequence commentaries suggests a pedagogical function, whether for singers, future preachers, or to improve students' knowledge of the Latin language through familiar pieces of poetry. It is therefore interesting to bear in mind certain questions when studying the commentaries. What is the commentator's main concern when expounding the text? What is his focus? What is considered worthy of comment? What is passed over in silence — that is, what is considered as general knowledge to such a degree that it does not deserve an explanation? Questions such as these could perhaps be used to detect a probable audience for the different sequence commentaries by way of identifying both the presupposed and the emphasized information in the texts.

Let us now turn to the collection of sequence commentaries that will be discussed and edited in the following, namely the expositions on *Alma chorus Domini*, *Alle celeste*, and *Ad celebres rex* found in the thirteenth-century English manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 6. 8. They are preceded by a brief prologue, and prologue and commentaries taken together constitute a small sequence commentary collection. The manuscript's exact provenance is unknown.

The volume comprises six different sections, all of which concern grammar and vocabulary:²¹

1. fols 1^{ra}–8^{vb}: 'Prepositiones Grece'. The text begins: 'Communiter solet dici Grecos esse fontes Latinos autem [...]'.
 2. fols 9^{ra}–12^{vb}: Alexander of Hales, *Exoticon*. Only a part of this work is found in this manuscript as the rest has been bound up in Bodleian Library, Digby 92.

²¹ The manuscript is included in the survey made by G. L. Bursill-Hall, *A Census of Medieval Latin Grammatical Manuscripts*, Grammatica Speculativa, 4 (Stuttgart: Bad Cannstatt, 1981). The inherent treatises, albeit not the sequence commentary, form part of the study by Tony Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-Century England*, 1: *Texts* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1991).

3. fols 13^{ra}–61^{va}: Osbern of Gloucester, *Liber derivationum* (also known as *Panormia*). The text begins: ‘amo, -as, amavi, amatum [...]’. The second column on fol. 61^v presents miscellaneous grammatical notes.
4. fols 62^{ra}–65^{ra}: ‘Tractatus trium canticorum’ (the text edited below).
5. fols 65^{rb}–66^{vb}: ‘Peniteas cito’, with a commentary and interlinear glosses. The text begins: ‘Peniteas cito peccator cum sit miserator [...]’.
6. fols 67^{ra}–68^{vb}: Grammatical notes. The text begins: ‘Nota quod hec sunt nomina neutri generis qui declinantur tantum in plurali [...]’.

That the sequence commentaries were bound together with these grammatical texts seems to testify to the fact that they were considered as instructional texts in the same manner as a treatise on grammar.

The manuscript is not particularly large: the thin parchment leaves measure 22.5 × 16.5 cm, and the text is written in double columns throughout. In the following, remarks concern only the sequence commentary on folios 62^{ra}–65^{ra}. The columns comprise fifty-six lines each, with a small and neatly written cursive script. The margins are clean and do not display any immediate signs of use, such as added glosses or other marginal notes. There are a few ‘pointing hands’ to certain passages in the text that seem to be contemporary with the main texts. The manuscript lacks initials for new sections of the text, that is, on folio 62^{ra} where the prologue begins, folio 62^{vb} where the second commentary begins and on folio 63^{va} where the last section begins, but spaces are left for them and the letter to be written in is indicated in the margin (see Plate 16).

The question of the date of composition for these three sequence commentaries is complicated by the fact that it cannot with complete certainty be said that the texts were not written separately and later copied together in this collection. The coherent style of the explanations and the commentary technique, together with a cross-reference in the second commentary (lines 327–28), seem, however, to argue against such a theory. In the prologue the commentator quotes verses from John of Garland’s *Carmen de misteriis ecclesie* dated to 1245,²² which therefore constitutes a *terminus post quem* for these texts. According to the catalogue the manuscript has been dated to the end of the thirteenth century, which would also seem to agree with the appearance of the script.²³ Thus it does not seem

²² John of Garland, *Carmen de misteriis ecclesie*, ed. by Ewald Könsgen (Leiden: Brill, 2004), p. x.

²³ *Summary Catalogue*, no. 8840. See also Plate 16. Dr Teresa Webber, Cambridge, has on inspection of photocopies of the manuscript agreed with this dating, also suggesting the very beginning of the fourteenth century as a possible date (in conversation, Cambridge, July 2004).

possible at present to date the composition of these texts more precisely than to the late thirteenth century.

The sequence text is referred to with lemmas preceding the commentary section following it. Generally the commentator first provides a longer lemma, consisting of a full strophe or a complete line, and then breaks it up into smaller segments in the subsequent paraphrase and commentary. This means that although the sequence is not presented separately from the running-text commentary in the manuscript, the (almost) complete sequence texts are nevertheless included.²⁴ All the text from the sequence is underlined in the manuscript, which facilitates orientation in the manuscript and the separation of the base text from the exposition.

The prologue, which occupies only half a column in the manuscript, does not adhere to any of the traditional schemes for a medieval *accessus*, which would comprise answers to questions as regards for example the title, the authorship, the subject-matter, the order of the inherent parts, the mode of procedure, the utility, and the discipline to which the said work belongs.²⁵ Instead, this prologue is divided into two parts, the first setting out to define three concepts concerning the type of text under scrutiny — namely *hymnus*, *canticum*, and *iubilus*²⁶ — and the second presenting a brief explanation of the four modes of interpreting scripture, in which the author borrows his example word, ‘Jerusalem’, from John Cassian († 435), perhaps mediated through Bede’s († 735) *De schematibus et tropis*, the widely used medieval textbook on rhetoric and interpretation of figurative language. This account seems to place the sequence texts, and thus also the commentaries on them, in a Christian exegetical context, which would then act as a framework for the subsequent interpretations of the sequences.

Perhaps part of the explanation for this unorthodox prologue could be that the definition of the word *canticum* opens the introductory section in the commentary on *Ad celebres rex* written by Alain de Lille, a text which has greatly

²⁴ For the words and phrases omitted in the commentary see the apparatus of the edited sequence texts in the anthology below, nos VII–IX.

²⁵ A thorough study of this kind of *accessus* is Quain, ‘The Medieval Accessus’. A typology of different kinds of *accessus* is provided in Hunt, ‘The Introduction to the “Artes”’. In Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, there is also an account of the late-medieval ‘Aristotelian prologue’.

²⁶ A definition of the word *hymnus* seems to be a standard feature in the prologues to hymn commentaries. See Beers, *Explanatio super hymnos*, pp. xxiii and 1. Similar definitions can also be seen in the prologues to Psalm commentaries. See for example the commentaries by Remigius of Auxerre (PL, CXXX, col. 148A), Honorius (PL, CLXXII, col. 270A), and Peter Lombard (PL, CXCI, col. 58A).

influenced the third commentary in our manuscript. But whereas Alain subsequently moves on to treat a selection of the expected questions mentioned above, our author does not follow his example; the brief account of the four modes of interpretation has no correspondence in Alain's text.

According to the critical apparatus in *Analecta hymnica* the three sequences commented upon are all included in a number of English proser and troper from the eleventh century onwards, and the lemmas in our manuscript display variants of the sequence text that are, with only a few exceptions, found in these English manuscripts.²⁷ It has, however, not been possible to detect a firm link between the text in our commentary and a particular manuscript or liturgical use. Suffice it to say that our commentator treats sequences in versions that would have been familiar to an English audience.

The first sequence, *Alma chorus Domini* sung on the Feast of the Holy Name (celebrated on the second Sunday after Epiphany), consists of twelve hexameter lines enumerating different names and metaphorical images for Christ. A number of these are of Greek origin, such as *sother*, *homousion*, and *pantocrator*. The vast majority of the commentator's explanations of such words are taken from Book VII of Isidore's *Etymologies*.²⁸ Often a paragraph or an explanation is repeated almost verbatim, as in the explanations of *homousion* (ll. 75–78) and *finis* (ll. 92–95), but sometimes alternative interpretations not found in the main source are added, as in the paragraph on *alpha* and *omega* (ll. 87–105). Here, phrases from Isidore are used to support an interpretation of these letters for which there is no equivalent in Isidore, which sees the shape of the letters as symbolizing the Trinity and eternity.

The text of the sequence *Alle celeste*, for the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary (8 September), is the next to be commented upon. In the edition in *Analecta hymnica* it consists of twelve parallel strophes, with a single strophe to open and end the sequence. In contrast to the previous piece, this sequence ends almost every line on *-a* to echo the Alleluia. Here, we find many typical images of the Virgin: the rose among the thorns, the dry rod of Jesse which nevertheless produced a flower, and the antithesis between Eve and Mary, among others.

Since the texts of *Alle celeste* and the following *Ad celebres rex* are syntactically more demanding than the previous, which consists mainly of a list of names, it becomes interesting to view how the commentator approaches this situation. The general strategy is to take the elements of a longer lemma and rearrange them into

²⁷ See AH, LIII, 152–53, 166–67, and 308–09.

²⁸ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, VII.2.

a natural syntactical order with brief explanatory phrases inserted in between, as we can see at lines 269–77:

FIT MOX PUELLA VERBIS CREDULA ET PUERPERA STUPET ET CASTA NATUM GESTANS
SPECIOSUM FORMA REGENTEM CUNCTA ORBIS <REGNA>

Finita Gabrielis salutacione PUELLA FIT MOX CREDULA VERBIS, scilicet angelicis, dicens, ecce ancilla Domini, ET ipsa PUERPERA, id est mater, ET CASTA, id est virgo, STUPET, id est miratur. Ipsa, dicit, GESTANS, id est portans, NATUM SPECIOSUM FORMA, unde illud: *Speciosus forma pre filiis hominum*. Natum, dicit, REGENTEM CUNCTA ORBIS REGNA eo, quod ipse rex regum.²⁹

Here, the commentator simultaneously paraphrases and explains the words of the sequence, using the brief ‘id est’ phrases to provide a synonym or an implied word to clarify the meaning of the text. The word order of the sequence lemma is changed in order to produce a prose-like word order. The clauses are separated and before each present participle the commentator repeats the (implied) subject to each (‘Ipsa, dicit, GESTANS’ and ‘Natum, dicit, REGENTEM’). After such an elucidation no reader can be in doubt as to how to construe the strophe.

If a certain word or element requires a more comprehensive comment, it is placed in immediate conjunction with the word in question, regardless of the implications for the syntax or word order of the paraphrase. One of many such examples is found at the beginning of the commentary, lines 208–17:

In principio huius cantici fit temesis huius dicionis ‘alleluya’ construendo sic: o PARAPHONISTA, id est cantor, et dicitur a ‘para’, iuxta, et ‘phonos’, sonus, et ‘sto, star’, quasi stans iuxta sonum, id est canticum, DIC CUM MERA SIMPHONIA, id est cum pura concordia. Et dicitur simphonia a ‘sin’, quod est con, et ‘phonos’, sonus, quasi consonancia. Dicitur autem quandoque quoddam instrumentum musicum. Tamen hic ponitur pro consonancia vocum. CELESTE ALLE, id est celicum cantum, NEC NON ET PERHENNELUYA, id est laudem Dei, que perhennis est. Deus enim laudandus est in perhenni seculorum tempore.³⁰

The etymology of *symphonia* could have been fitted inside the paraphrase were it not for its being developed to include an alternative meaning of the word, which disrupts the flow and structure of the paraphrase. Such additions and brief digressions seem to make manifest a twofold agenda on behalf of the commentator: on the one hand it provides a thorough explanation of the sequence; on the other it imparts as much lexical, etymological, and doctrinal knowledge as possible to the readers — knowledge that often seems to exceed what is necessary for an immediate understanding of the sequence.

²⁹ For a translation of this passage, see p. 417.

³⁰ For a translation of this passage, see p. 413.

Towards the end of this commentary there is a section treating the division of land together with the names of agrarian measurements (ll. 346–70). The commentator, not content with the simple ‘id est partes’ as the explanation for the word *climata* in the sequence, here incorporates a twenty-two-line account copied almost verbatim from Isidore’s *Etymologies*, covering in all sixteen different measurements complete with information on the differences in length and width of some. The section ends with ‘et sic patet quid sit clima’, which seems almost an anticlimax after this wealth of detailed information. This account certainly serves to place *clima* in a thematic context, in its lexical field, but also seems to go far beyond what can be considered the required knowledge for an understanding of the strophe in question.

The final commentary is to a sequence sung on the Feast of St Michael (29 September), *Ad celebres rex*.³¹ Although the name of Alain de Lille is not referred to explicitly, this commentary nevertheless draws heavily on his *Expositio prosae de angelis*, mentioned above. However, the text cannot here be defined as a mere abridgement of Alain’s work, as our author also adds new and original interpretations without counterparts in Alain’s *Expositio*.³²

The most conspicuous feature of this commentary, as of Alain’s, is a long digression from the commentary proper formed around three definitions of the concepts of hierarchy, angelic order, and theophany, the last two of which are attributed to John Scottus Eriugena, the ninth-century translator and commentator of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite’s *Celestial Hierarchy*. Apart from forming the basis of the account of the hierarchies in Alain’s *Expositio*, these definitions are found in Alain’s sermon *Quoniam homines*, as well as in the writings of Simon of Tournai, Radulfus Ardens, and other scholars associated with the teachings of Gilbert de la Porrée. However, as H. F. Dondaine has made clear, it is highly doubtful that they can be traced back to John Scottus’s original writings, as neither the definitions nor their fundamental vocabulary can be found among his extant texts. Furthermore, since the order of the angels here is not that of Dionysius, which John Scottus observes in his other writings, but that of Gregory,

³¹ This text is also included in my larger study where seven different commentaries to this sequence are edited: see Kihlman, *Expositiones sequentiarum*, pp. 59–91. This sequence is also treated in Gunilla Iversen, ‘*Supera agalmata*: Angels and the Celestial Hierarchy in Sequences and Tropes; Examples from Moissac’, in *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of C. Clifford Flanigan*, ed. by Eva Louise Lillie and Nils Holger Petersen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1996), pp. 95–133, and Gunilla Iversen, *Chanter avec les anges: poésie dans la messe médiévale; interprétations et commentaires* (Paris: Cerf, 2001), pp. 154–75.

³² For a comparison of these expositions, see Kihlman, *Expositiones sequentiarum*, pp. 65–71.

Dondaine draws the conclusion that we are dealing with a compendium — a *summa* — attributed to John Scottus but without any concrete grounding in his works.³³

A characteristic feature of this commentator's pedagogical technique is the use of mnemonic verses as summaries of a preceding account, something we can see already in lines 9–11 of the prologue, on the differences between *hymnus*, *iubilus*, and *canticum*, and at lines 26–30 on the four modes of biblical interpretation. It is also used in the same manner in the expositions themselves, for instance at lines 180–83 on some of the names for God and at lines 615–19 on the order of the angels. In all there are twelve mnemonic verses, one of which is an elegiac distich, the others hexameters. Sources for these verses have been found in only a few cases and then from metric treatises written for school use, such as the *Graecismus*, the versified Latin grammar by Eberhard of Béthune († 1212), or John of Garland's didactic poem *Carmen de misteriis ecclesie* mentioned above. The sources for the majority of the verses are, however, still unknown.

A common denominator in these three sequence texts is the presence of a large number of foreign words, many of which have to do with music, such as *palinodia*, *symphonia*, *oda*, and *paraphonista*. The silence on the subject of music is therefore perhaps surprising; there is no reference to the fact that these poetical works were to be sung and performed.³⁴ Liturgical information as regards the feast in which the sequences are sung is also omitted, in contrast to the majority of other sequence commentaries. Could this be taken as an indication that such knowledge was presupposed for the intended audience of this commentary? Although the scarcity of sequence commentaries from the early period of this genre makes it difficult to say with certainty if this omission is a characteristic of the early sequence commentary tradition, it seems more probable that it is a characteristic only of this particular text, as both Alain de Lille and Caesarius of Heisterbach mention the feast or in whose honour the sequence is to be sung, albeit not in the same formulaic fashion as is found in the later commentaries.³⁵

³³ See H. F. Dondaine, 'Cinq citations de Jean Scot chez Simon de Tournai', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 17 (1950), 303–11.

³⁴ The absence of a discussion on musical issues is not unique to this manuscript. In the commentary material surveyed so far there is only one commentator who is concerned with musical terms and definitions, the *Expositio St2*; see Kihlman, *Expositiones sequentiarum*, pp. 109–27. This commentator seems not to be particularly versed in the subject of music theory as the issues are treated in a confused manner.

³⁵ In later medieval sequence commentaries such liturgical information becomes a standard opening phrase, for example: 'Ista sequentia canitur in honore [...]' (This sequence is sung in

To judge from the information given in the texts, the commentator's primary concern in the expositions, which would reflect the needs of the audience, is to construe the sequence strophes, to explain the vocabulary of the sequence, often through an etymological analysis, and to clarify doctrinally related metaphors. In order to extend his readers' lexical knowledge, the commentator, as a good pedagogue, takes the opportunity to add further information by distinguishing between different meanings of words (*pango*, line 37, *chorus*, lines 39–40, *symphonia*, contrasted against *harmonia* at 395–99, to mention but a few). The etymological analyses provide further precision of meaning and understanding of word-formation, a knowledge that reaches beyond that of an enumeration of lexical variants. By including accounts of subjects that lie outside the immediate sphere of the sequence, such as the description of agrarian measurements or the definitions of 'hierarchy' and 'theophany', the commentator uses the sequences as a pedagogical vehicle. The sequence text has become a schoolbook.

Notes on the Edition

Since the manuscript Auct. F. 6. 8 is the unique witness to the texts edited here it has not been possible to apply a traditional critical method of collating several manuscripts and establishing a *stemma codicum* to guide the editor in choosing between textual variants. Furthermore, since the text is anonymous it is not possible to look for stylistic preferences or favoured expressions in other works as a guide for necessary emendations. Consequently, the aim for this edition has been to retain the text as transmitted in the manuscript, as far as possible. When the text appears to be faulty from the point of view of content or for syntactical reasons, emendations have been made according to the following principles. As a first option a parallel passage in the text itself has been sought as a corrective. If the error is in a passage based on an implicit or explicit source and there is no parallel in our text, then the source text has been used as guidance for the emendation. When such a base text is lacking, similar phrases in a contemporary text from a related textual genre have influenced the corrections.

The orthography of the manuscript has generally been retained in the edition. This means that in addition to features expected in medieval manuscripts, such

honour of[...]). The previously mentioned *Expositio St2*, the music commentary, is the only other example of a commentary that does not comment on the feast for the sequence; see Kihlman, *Expositiones sequentiarum*, pp. 119–27.

as the simple *e* for the diphthongs *ae* and *oe*, *ci* for *ti* and the like, the following idiosyncrasies of this manuscript have been retained: double consonants where a single is expected and vice versa, interchanges between *y* and *i*, between *ph* and *f*, writing *xc* for simple *x*, and additions or omissions of *h*.

A few standardizations have, however, been made. The scribe uses *s*, *c*, and *sc* interchangeably for the sound *s*. Even though these spellings reflect the contemporary pronunciation, they obstruct an immediate understanding of the written text. This becomes most evident when a *c* instead of an *s* changes the meaning of the written word, as with the explanation of the angelic troop of the thrones at lines 650–52, where the manuscript form *cedes* might not be understood as *sedes* by a modern, silent reader. Even though some of these spellings are recorded in dictionaries of medieval Latin they have in this edition been made to conform to the standard spelling. All such instances have been supplied with a remark in the critical apparatus on the form in the manuscript.

Almost the same arguments can be used concerning interchanges in the manuscript between the vowels *o* and *a*, and between *e* and *i*. Some of these are reported as English usage but have nevertheless been made to conform to the normal spelling here to facilitate reading of the text. Irrespective of the form in the manuscript the letter *u* is used for the vocalic and semi-vocalic sound whereas *v* is used for the consonantal. A mainly syntactical punctuation has been introduced in the text and the use of majuscules is normalized. Verbatim quotations from scripture have been italicized. Included in this category are minor dispositions as regards word order or differences in spelling, but not in grammatical form. The headings set in round brackets have no correspondence in the manuscript but are an editorial addition as an aid to the reader.

(Proemium)

Quoniam nostra intencio est exponere ista tria cantica, primo 62^a
videndum est, quid sit canticum et quid iubilus et quid ymnus. Et
postea propter expositionem vocabulorum videndum est, quot modis
exponatur sacra scriptura.

- 5 Ad primum dicendum est, quod canticum est exultacio mentis exterius
in vocem prorumpens. Iubilus est exultacio mentis propter Deum, quia
ex verbis exprimi omnino non potest nec omnino in corde taceri.
Ymnus est laus Dei cum cantico facta, unde versus:

Ymnus divina laus est; sunt cantica voces
10 leticie, que fiunt simul de celestibus ipsis.
Fertur inpleta iubilus letacio mentis.

- Item ‘canticum’ pluribus modis accipitur. Dicitur autem quandoque
applausus, qui fit ad laudem alicuius divitis; quandoque autem est
leticia de terrenis habita; quandoque autem cantus ille, quem fecerunt
15 filii Israelis, quando redierunt de servitute, unde Cantica Canticorum;
quandoque autem canticum est mentale gaudium, quod fit de
supercelestibus, et ita accipitur hic.

- Ad secundum dicitur, quod quattuor modis exponitur sacra scriptura,
scilicet hystorice, allegorice, tropologice, anagogice. Hystorice, ut
20 cum narramus rem, prout gesta est, ut Ierusalem est civitas terrena;
allegorice, ut quando per unum aliud intelligimus vel significamus,
ut per Ierusalem ecclesiam significamus; anagogice, ut per hoc, quod
dictum est vel factum, celestia significamus, ut Ierusalem est patria
summa; tropologice, quando, quod dictum est, convertimus in mores,
25 ut Ierusalem est mens fortis, unde versus:

5 canticum ... 6 prorumpens] *cf. Petr. Lomb., in psalm. praefatio, PL, CXCI, 58A.* 6 iubilus ... 7
taceri] *cf. Petr. Lomb., in psalm. 46, PL, CXCI, 456A.* 8 Ymnus ... cantico] *cf. Aug., in psalm. 148.*
17; *cf. etiam Petr. Lomb., in psalm. praefatio, PL, CXCI, 58A.* 9 Ymnus ... 10 ipsis] *cf. Eberh. Beth.,*
graecism. 12. 235–36. 11 Fertur ... mentis] *cf. Eberh. Beth., graecism. 12. 438.* 12 Item ... 17 hic]
cf. Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 194. 20 Ierusalem ... 25 fortis] *cf. Cassian., coll. 14. 8. 4.*

1 Quoniam] *litt. prima scripta est in marg., sed spatium litt. praebet cod.* 4 exponatur] *exponitur*
cod. 7 exprimi + non *ante corr.* 17 supercelestibus] *supra celestibus cod.* 24 in + vel *ad supra l. add.*
cod.

(Preface)

Since it is our intention to explain these three *cantica*, it should first be considered what a *canticum*, a *iubilus*, and a *hymnus* are. Thereafter, for the sake of the exposition of the words, it must be considered in how many ways the Holy Scripture is interpreted.

First, it should be said that a *canticum* is the rejoicing of the mind breaking forth externally in a voice. A *iubilus* is the rejoicing of the mind over God, since it cannot wholly be expressed in words nor wholly be kept silent in the heart. A *hymnus* is the praise of God made with a *canticum*, whence this verse:

Hymnus is divine praise; *cantica* are the voices
of joy made simultaneously by the heavenly creatures
themselves. *Iubilus* is said to be the full rejoicing of the mind.

Canticum is furthermore interpreted in several ways. For sometimes it is the applause made to praise a rich man; but sometimes it is the joy of the mortals; sometimes it is that song the children of Israel sang upon returning from servitude, whence *Cantica canticorum*; sometimes *canticum* is the mental joy coming from the heavenly creatures above, and so it is interpreted here.

Second, it is said that the Holy Scripture is interpreted in four ways, namely historically, allegorically, tropologically, and anagogically. Historically, as when we tell a fact as it happened, just as Jerusalem means a city here on earth; allegorically, as when we understand or signify one thing by something else, just as we signify the Church by Jerusalem; anagogically, as we signify heavenly things by that which is said or done, just as Jerusalem means the highest fatherland; and tropologically, when we transform what is said into morals, just as Jerusalem means a steadfast mind, whence the verse:

Quadruplex sensus dici valet. Ystorialis
 est unus, sequitur post allegoria, sequenter
 est tropologia, dicitur post anagoge.
 Sicut Ierusalem polis est terrena, fidelis
 30 constans ecclesia, mens fortis, patria summa.
 Et cetera.

Hiis visis accedimus ad litteram.

(Alma chorus Domini)

ALMA CHORUS

35 CORUS, id est agmen ecclesiasticorum, PANGAT, id est canat. Verbi preteritum est panxci, unde versus:

Dat pactum pepigi; cano panxci; iungere pegi.

Nota, quod 'chorus' pluribus modis accipitur, unde versus:

Est mensura chorus, ventus corus et chorus agmen.

40 Estque chorus dulcis, quod canit arte melos.

NUNC ALMA NOMINA, id est nomina sancta SUMMI DOMINI, id est Dei, qui est Dominus dominorum et rex regum. Item nota, quod 'nomen' quinque modis sumitur: quandoque pro virtute, unde illud: In nomine Patris et Filii, id est in virtute; quandoque pro potestate, unde
 45 illud: *In nomine meo demonia eicient*, id est in potestate; quandoque pro Filio Dei, unde illud: *Nomen Dei* delonge veniet; quandoque pro auctoritate, unde Lucanus: Stat magni nominis et cetera; quandoque ro fama, unde Ovidius: Quam magnum nomen habemus, id est famam.

26 Quadruplex ... 30 summa] *Joh. de Garl., carm. de mist. eccl.* 225–29. 37 Dat ... pegi] *cf. Eberh. Beth., graecism.* 26. 230: Pro pacto pepigi, cano panxi, iungoque pegi; *cf. Alex. Villa-Dei, doct.* 8544: Dat pepigi, panxi dat cantus, iungere pegi. 39 Est ... 40 melos] *cf. Eberh. Beth., graecism.* 12. 366–68: Est hic turba chorus, qui ventat in aëre chorus / Ast instrumentum dicitur esse chorus / Cancellusque chorus mensuraque sive chorea. 45 In ... eicient] *Mar. 16. 17.* 46 Nomen ... veniet] *cf. Is. 30. 27.* 47 Stat ... nominis] *Lucan. 1. 135.* 48 Quam ... habemus] *cf. Ov., rem.* 389.

27 sequenter *cum Joh. de Garl. scripsi*, sequeter *cod.* 40 dulcis] dulce *cod.* 41 Domini] dei *cod.*

The sense can be said to be fourfold. Historical
 is one, allegory comes after, subsequently
 comes tropology, thereafter the anagogy will be said.
 Just as Jerusalem means a city on earth, the faithful
 and firm Church, a steadfast mind, the highest fatherland.
 Et cetera.

These things considered, we turn to the text.

(Alma chorus Domini)

THE PROPITIOUS, THE TROOP

THE TROOP, that is the multitude of ecclesiastics, MAY CHANT, that is
 may sing. The past tense of that verb is *panxi*, whence this verse:

Something agreed upon makes *pepigi*; I sing: *panxi*; to join:
pegi.

Note that *chorus* is understood in several ways, whence this verse:

Chorus is a measure, a wind, and a multitude.
 And a *chorus* is sweet, since it sings a song artfully.

NOW THE PROPITIOUS NAMES, that is the holy names OF THE HIGHEST
 LORD, that is of God who is the Lord of lords and King of kings. Note
 furthermore that 'name' is understood in five ways: sometimes for
 virtue, whence this: 'In the name of the Father and the Son', that is, in
 their virtue; sometimes for power, whence this: 'In my name they will
 drive out demons', that is, with power; sometimes for the Son of God,
 whence this: 'The name of God will come from afar'; sometimes for
 authority, whence Lucan: 'He stood as of a mighty name' etc.; and
 sometimes for reputation, whence Ovid: 'How great a name I have',
 that is, reputation.

Quia dictum est, quod debemus canere sancta nomina, ideo canamus:

50 MESSIAS, SOTHER, EMANUEL, SABAOT, ADONAI

MESSIAS Ebraice, Latine salutaris. SOTHER Grece, salvator Latine.
 EMANUEL Ebraice, nobiscum Deus Latine, quia Dominus de virgine
 natus in carne mortali hominibus apparuit. SABAOT, Deus exercituum.
 Habet enim Deus exercitum sanctorum, qui dicuntur sui milites,
 55 quoniam martires et alii sancti viri contra diabolum et eius exercitum
 verbo et opere pugnant. ADONAI Grece, Latine Dominus Deus
 interpretatur; Deus autem secundum Ysidorum propter unitam cum
 Patre substantiam, Dominus propter servientem creaturam. Deus
 autem et homo, quia verbum et caro, unde bis genitus dicitur, sive quia
 60 Pater genuit eum sine matre in eternitate, seu quia mater sine patre
 ipsum genuit in tempore presenti. Conclusio huius versus potest
 patefieri per hos versus:

Fertur nobiscum Deus Emanuel sabaotque
 est exercituum Deus ac hec vox tibi sacra.
 65 Grece sother, Messias salvator Ebrea,
 Adonai Dominus Deus est sermone Latino.

EST UNIGENITUS, VIA, VITA, MANUS, OMOSION

EST UNIGENITUS, ut dicit Ysidorus propter dignitatis excellenciam, vel
 quia sine fratribus genitus erat. VIA, quia per ipsum ad Deum imus.
 70 VITA dicitur, quia creavit, MANUS eo, quod per ipsum omnia facta
 sunt, / quia potens est. Et est 'manus' equivocum. Versus: 62^b

Ulcio, posse, choors, manus est pars corporis, uncus.

51 Sother ... Latine²] *cf. Isid., orig. 7. 2. 7.* 52 Emanuel ... 53 apparuit] *cf. Isid., orig. 7. 2. 10.*
 53 Sabaot ... exercituum] *cf. Isid., orig. 7. 1. 7.* 56 Adonai ... Deus] *cf. Isid., orig. 7. 1. 14.*
 57 interpretatur ... 61 presenti] *cf. Isid., orig. 7. 2. 11–12.* 63 Fertur ... 66 Latino] *versus non*
inveni. 68 Est ... 69 erat] *cf. Isid., orig. 7. 2. 13.* 69 Via ... imus] *Isid., orig. 7. 2. 38.* 70 Vita ...
 creavit] *cf. Isid., orig. 7. 2. 21.* 70 manus ... 71 sunt] *cf. Isid., orig. 7. 2. 23.* 72 Ulcio ... uncus]
versum non inveni.

49 ideo *ut vid.* 54 exercitum] exercituum *cod.* 58 servientem *cum Isid. scripsi, servitutem cod. ut*
vid. 61 presenti] presentis *cod.*

Since it is said that we should sing the holy names, let us therefore sing:

MESSIAH, SOTHER, EMMANUEL, SABAOth, ADONAI

MESSIAH in Hebrew, salutary in Latin. SOTHER in Greek, saviour in Latin. EMMANUEL in Hebrew, God with us in Latin, since the Lord, born of the virgin appeared in mortal flesh to mankind. SABAOth, the God of hosts. For God holds the host of saints, who are called his soldiers, since the martyrs and other holy men fight against the devil and his army in word and deed. ADONAI in Greek is interpreted as God the Lord in Latin; God, according to Isidore, on account of the substance united with the Father, Lord on account of the serving creation. But God and man, since he is word and flesh, whence it is said that he was born twice, either because the Father begat him in eternity without a mother, or because the mother gave birth to him into the world without a father. The conclusion of this line is laid open in these verses:

Emmanuel is said to be God with us and Sabaoth
 God of the troops and this is a holy name for you.
 In Greek *sother*, Messiah in Hebrew is the saviour,
 Adonai in the Latin tongue is God the Lord.

HE IS THE ONLY BEGOTTEN, THE WAY, THE LIFE, THE HAND, THE
 HOMOUSION

HE IS THE ONLY BEGOTTEN, as Isidore says, on behalf of the excellence of his dignity or because he was born without any brothers. THE WAY, since we reach God through him. He is called LIFE, since he created, HAND because everything was made through him, since he is powerful. And 'hand' is an ambiguous word. A verse:

'Hand' means revenge, power, a troop, a bodily part,
 and a hook.

Ulcio, unde illud: *Cum sit nemo, qui de manu tua possit eruere*. Posse, unde illud: An nescis longas regibus esse manus? Uncus, unde Lucanus:

- 75 Rapidos manus inserit uncos. OMOSION dicitur ab unitate substantie, id est una substantia. ‘Omos’ Grece, unum dicitur esse Latine, ‘usia’ vel substantia. Utrumque coniunctum sonat ‘una substantia’, unde illud: *Ego et Pater unum sumus*, hoc est eiusdem cum Patre substantie.

PRINCIPIUM, PRIMOGENITUS, SAPIENCIA, VIRTUS

- 80 PRINCIPIUM eo, quod ab ipso sunt omnia et quia sine ipso nichil. PRIMOGENITUS secundum suscepcionem hominis, quia per adopcionem gracie nos fratres habere dignatus est, quibus est primogenitus; vel potest hic ‘primo’ intelligi absolute. SAPIENCIA eo, quod ipse revelat misteria sciencie et archana sapiencie. VIRTUS eo, quod omnem potestatem
- 85 Patris in se habeat et omnem celi et terre creaturam gubernet et regat.

ALPHA, CAPUT FINISQUE SIMUL VOCITATUR ET EST Ω

- ALPHA, id est primus, et si queritur, qualiter illa glosula venit, ego dico, sicut dicunt mihi peritissimi, quod alpha est prima littera Hebrayca, unde sicut est prima littera, sic Deus prius omnium, qui
- 90 preest omnibus. CAPUT dicitur, quia sicut caput est principium et principale membrum inter alia, sic et ipse Deus principatum habet in omnia super omnes et per omnia in celo et in terra. FINIS dicitur, vel quia dignatus in fine temporum humiliter in carnem nasci et mori, vel quia quicquid agimus, apud illum referimus et, cum ad
- 95 illum devenimus, ultra quod queramus, non habemus. Vel sic potest dici alpha et Ω subtiliori de causa: Alpha Ebrayce sonat a Latine. A autem est littera triangularis. Per triangulum autem potest unitas et

73 Cum ... eruere] *Iob* 10. 7. 74 An ... manus] *Ov., epist.* 17. 166. 75 Rapidos ... uncos] *Lucan.* 3. 635. | Omosion ... 78 substantie] *cf. Isid., orig.* 7. 2. 14. 78 Ego ... sumus] *Iob.* 10. 30. 80 Principium ... nichil] *cf. Isid., orig.* 7. 2. 17. 81 Primogenitus ... 82 primogenitus] *cf. Isid., orig.* 7. 2. 13. 83 Sapiencia ... 84 sapiencie] *cf. Isid., orig.* 7. 2. 25. 84 Virtus ... 85 regat] *cf. Isid., orig.* 7. 2. 24. 92 Finis ... 95 habemus] *cf. Isid., orig.* 7. 2. 18. 96 alpha ... Ω] *cf. Apoc.* 22. 13.

74 An nescis] in velles *cod. ut vid.* 75 Rapidos] rapidas *cod.* | uncos] uncas *cod.* 80 sunt] sut *cod.* 81 adopcionem] optacionem *cod.* 83 hic ut vid. 85 gubernet] gubernat *cod.* 87 qualiter dubia lectio 89 Hebrayca] Greca *exspectes* 95 quod] quid *cod.* 96 Ebrayce] Grece *exspectes*.

Revenge, whence this: 'When there is no one who can rescue me from your hand.' Power, whence this: 'Or know you not that monarchs have far-reaching hands?' Hook, whence Lucan: 'The grappling-iron hurled its swift hooks.' He is called HOMOUSION on account of the unity of the substance, that is one substance. *Omos* in Greek is said to be one in Latin, *usia* is substance. 'One substance' denotes the two conjoined, whence this: 'I and the Father are one', that is of the same substance together with the Father.

THE BEGINNING, THE FIRST-BORN, WISDOM, VIRTUE

THE BEGINNING because everything comes from him and without him there would be nothing. FIRST-BORN according to the reception of mankind, since through the adoption of grace he regarded us, for whom he is the first-born, worthy of being his brothers; or it could be understood here as 'first' in an absolute manner. WISDOM because he reveals the mysteries of knowledge and the secrets of wisdom. VIRTUE because he has in him the Father's whole power, and he governs and reigns every creature in heaven and on earth.

ALPHA, THE HEAD, AND AT THE SAME TIME CALLED THE END, AND THAT IS Ω

ALPHA, that is first, and if it is asked why this little word is here, I say as the most expert men tell me, that alpha is the first letter in the Hebrew alphabet, whence just as it is the first letter, so is God the first of everything, he who governs everything. He is called THE HEAD, since just as the head is the beginning and the principal part of all the body, so God also has the command in everything, over everyone, and through everything in heaven and on earth. He is called THE END, either because he regarded it fit to be born and die humbly in the flesh at the end of time, or because whatever we do we refer it back to him, and when we have reached him, we have nothing further to want for. Or he can be called alpha and Ω for a more subtle reason: Alpha in Hebrew denotes *a* in Latin. *A* is a triangular letter. Through the triangle the unity and the

trinitas intelligi. In eo autem, quod unita est littera, notatur indivisa
 unitas in trinitate. Preterea et Ω, id est novissimus, et hoc intellige sic,
 100 quia o longa, que sic scribitur Ω, est ultima littera Ebrayca, et dicitur
 Deus novissimus, quia iudicium novissimum ipse suscepit, vel quia ipse
 venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos. Vel dicitur Ω, id est sine principio
 et sine fine et hac de causa, quia Ω, translata in o nostram scilicet Latinam,
 est rotunda, et in pura rotunditate et non est principium nec finis, quia
 105 ibi non est punctatus.

FONS ET ORIGO BONI, PARACLITUS AC MEDIATOR

FONS dicitur, quia fovet et satiat, vel quia fundit omnia bona de
 sua agracia. ET ORIGO, quia per ipsum oriuntur cuncta bona, vel quia
 omnium bonorum origo est. PARACLITUS, id est advocatus, quia
 110 intercedit pro nobis apud Patrem suum, ut dicit beatus Iohannes:
Advocatum habemus apud Patrem, Iesum Christum iustum. Intercessor
 autem ideo vocatur, quia pro culpa nostra removenda curam gerit, vel
 pro abluendis nostris criminibus curam inponit. Vel aliter: PARACLITUS,
 id est consolator, unde in evangelio: *Rogabo Patrem meum, et alium*
 115 *paraclitum dabit vobis*, id est Spiritum sanctum tanquam consolatorem.
 Et dicitur a ‘para’, quod est iuxta, et ‘cleos’, gloria, quasi iuxta gloriam,
 quod nomen Filio et Spiritui Sancto convenit. MEDIATOR, id est medius
 inter Deum et homines constitutus, ut hominem ad Deum Patrem
 perduceret.

120 AGNUS, OVIS, VITULUS, SERPENS, ARIES, LEO, VERMIS

AGNUS dicitur propter innocentiam, OVIS propter pacienciam,
 VITULUS, quia pro nobis immolatus est. SERPENS est pro morte et
 sapiencia, cum serpens prudens animal sit. Vel dicitur serpens, quia
 sicut serpens moritur pariendo ad vivificationem catulorum, similiter
 125 Deus homo moriebatur in cruce ad vitam hominum et salutem. Vel

101 novissimus ... suscepit] *Isid., orig. 7. 2. 28.* 109 Paraclitus ... 111 iustum] *cf. Isid., orig. 7. 2. 30.*

111 Advocatum ... iustum] *1 Ioh. 2. 1.* | Intercessor ... 113 inponit] *cf. Isid., orig. 7. 2. 32.*

114 Rogabo ... 115 vobis] *cf. Ioh. 14. 16.* 117 Mediator ... 119 perduceret] *cf. Isid., orig. 7. 2. 29.*

121 Agnus ... 123 sapiencia] *cf. Isid., orig. 7. 2. 42–43.*

98 notatur] vocatur *cod.* 100 Ebrayca] *Greca expectes* 104 rotunda *ex rotundat corr. cod.*

118 Patrem *ut vid.*

Trinity can be understood. For through the united letter, the undivided unity of the Trinity is signified. Furthermore Ω, that is the last one, and this is to be understood thus: since the long *o*, written Ω, is the last letter in the Hebrew alphabet, God is also called the last since he took upon him the Last Judgement, or because he will come to judge the living and the dead. Or he is called Ω, that is with neither beginning nor end, because Ω, translated into *o* in our [language] namely Latin, is round, and in a perfect roundness there is neither beginning nor end, since there is no point there.

THE SPRING AND ORIGIN OF GOOD, PARACLETE, AND MEDIATOR

He is called THE SPRING, since he fosters and feeds, or because he established everything good by his grace. AND ORIGIN, since everything good originates from him or because he is the origin of everything good. THE PARACLETE, that is an advocate, since he intercedes for us with his Father, as St John says: 'We have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ, the righteous.' He is therefore called an intercessor, since he takes pains to remove our guilt or to wash away our sins. Or another way: PARACLETE, that is comforter, whence in the Gospel: 'I will ask my Father and he will give you another counsellor, that is the Holy Spirit as a comforter.' And it derives from *para*, which is next to, and *cleos*, glory, as 'Next to glory', which name befits the Son and the Holy Spirit. MEDIATOR, that is, placed in the middle between God and man, so that he can lead man to God, the Father.

LAMB, SHEEP, CALF, SNAKE, RAM, LION, WORM

He is called LAMB on account of his innocence, SHEEP on account of his patience, CALF since he was sacrificed for us. The SNAKE signifies death and wisdom, since the snake is a clever animal. Or he is called a snake since just as a snake dies in giving birth to its young, so did God as man die on the cross for the life and salvation of humans. Or

sic secundum teologos, quando aliqui toxicati essent antiquitus / a 62^{va}
serpente, defigebatur aeneus serpens in palo, ut per aspectum illius
sanitas recipietur; vel ita, quando nos toxicati sumus ab antiquo
serpente, Deus homo in cruce serpentem posuit ad salutem nostram.

- 130 ARIES propter principatum. LEO dicitur propter regnum et fortitudinem.
Deus dicitur VERMIS propter humilitatem vel propter resurrectionem,
sicut dicitur in littera, quia sicut vermis intrat in humum et resurgit,
similiter Deus homo humabatur humanitus et tertia die resurrexit.

OS, VERBUM, SPLENDOR, SOL, GLORIA, LUX ET YMAGO

- 135 OS Dei, verbum eius. Eius VERBUM, quia per eum omnia condidit Pater
sive iussit, unde psalmista: *Verbo Domini celi firmati sunt*. SPLENDOR
eo, quod ipse dat splendorem, ut dicit psalmista: *Speciosus forma pre
filiis hominum*. SOL autem dicitur, quia solus illuminat orbem, GLORIA,
quia ipse gloriosus est in secula, LUX, quia ad veritatem contemplandam
140 cordis oculos reserat, YMAGO propter similitudinem Patris, unde illud:
'Qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis Spiritus Sanctus'. 'Ymago' quasi ymitago.

PANIS, FLOS, VITIS, MONS, IANUA, PETRA LAPISQUE

- PANIS, quia caro panis, unde illud: *Ego sum panis vivus*. Panis, quia
nutrit creaturam; vivus, unde illud: *Si quis manducaverit ex hoc pane,*
145 *vivet in eternum*. FLOS, quia electus. Flos dicitur ethimologice quasi
Fundens Late Odorem Suum. VITIS, quia sanguine ipsius redempti
sumus. MONS, quia fortis vel quia immobilis vel quia excelsus vel
propter eius magnitudinem. *Eius magnitudinis non erit finis*. IANUA,
quia per ipsum ad Deum imus et ingredimur. PETRA, quia firmitas
150 est credencium. LAPIS, quia angularis lapis vel lapis offensionis. Lapis

126 quando ... 128 recipietur] cf. Num. 21. 7–9. 128 nos ... 129 nostram] cf. Iob. 3. 14–15.
130 Aries ... 131 resurrectionem] cf. Isid., orig. 7. 2. 42–43. 135 Os ... 136 iussit] cf. Isid., orig. 7.
2. 19–20. 136 Verbo ... sunt] Ps. 32. 6. 137 Speciosus ... 138 hominum] Ps. 44. 3. 139 lux ... 140
reserat] Isid., orig. 7. 2. 26. 140 ymago ... Patris] cf. Isid., orig. 7. 2. 21. 141 Qualis ... Sanctus]
Quicumque vult | Ymago ... ymitago] cf. Porph. Hor. carm. 1. 12. 4. 143 Ego ... vivus] Iob. 6. 51.
144 Si ... 145 eternum] Iob. 6. 51. 145 Flos ... electus] Isid., orig. 7. 2. 38. 146 Vitis ... 147 fortis]
cf. Isid., orig. 7. 2. 38. 148 Eius ... finis] cf. Ps. 144. 3. | Ianua ... 150 credencium] cf. Isid., orig. 7.
2. 38. 150 angularis lapis] cf. Is. 28. 16 et I Petr. 2. 6. | lapis ... offensionis] cf. I Petr. 2. 7–8. | Lapis
... 152 iungit] cf. Eph. 2. 11–22.

127 aeneus] ainius cod. 141 Filius ex sfilius corr. cod. 150 offensionis] offencionis cod.

just as according to the theologians, when people in former times were poisoned by a snake, a bronze snake was put on a pole so that good health would be restored through the sight of it; or thus: when we are poisoned by that snake from ancient times, God as man placed a snake on the cross for our salvation. A RAM on account of his leadership. He is called LION on account of his kingdom and his strength. God is called WORM on account of his humility or of his resurrection, just as it is said in the text since as a worm goes down into the ground and returns, so was God as man buried after the manner of men and on the third day rose again.

MOUTH, WORD, SPLENDOUR, SUN, GLORY, LIGHT, AND IMAGE

God's MOUTH is his word. His WORD, since the Father founded or ordered everything through him, whence the psalmist: 'By the word of the Lord were the heavens made.' SPLENDOUR because he himself gives the splendour, as the psalmist says: 'Beautiful above the sons of men.' But he is called SUN, since it alone illuminates the world, GLORY, since he himself is glorious in the world, LIGHT, since he opens the eyes of the heart in order to contemplate the truth, IMAGE on account of the likeness of the Father, whence this: 'Like Father like Son, like the Holy Spirit.' IMAGE as a kind of imitation.

BREAD, FLOWER, VINE, MOUNTAIN, DOOR, ROCK, AND STONE

BREAD, since the flesh is the bread, whence this: 'I am the living bread.' Bread, since it nourishes the creature; living, whence this: 'If any man eats of this bread, he shall live forever.' FLOWER, since he is picked. He is called *flos* etymologically just as *Fundens Late Odorem Suum* ['pouring his fragrance widely']. VINE, since we are redeemed through his blood. MOUNTAIN, since he is strong or because he is immobile or because he is elevated or because of his greatness: 'of his greatness there will be no end.' DOOR, since we go to and approach God through him. ROCK, since he is the firmness of the faithful. STONE, since he is the corner-stone or the rock of offence. The corner-stone

angularis parietes ex diverso de circumcissione et prepucio venientes in unam fabricam ecclesie iungit, vel quia pacem in se angelis et hominibus facit. Lapis offensionis dicitur, quia vivit humiliter; offenderunt eum increduli homines et factus est petra scandali, ut dicit apostolus: *Iudeis*
 155 *quidem scandalum.*

ANGELUS ET SPONSUS PASTORQUE, PROPHETA, SACERDOS

ANGELUS dicitur propter annunciacionem paterne ac sue voluntatis, vel angelus, id est missus, quia huic mundo apparuit verbum Dei sanctum, unde illud: *Ego a Patre exivi et veni in mundo*. Dicitur autem angelus
 160 consilii. Legitur enim de quatuor generibus angelorum. Est enim angelus sathane, angelus pacis, angelus ministerii et angelus consilii. Primus colaphisat, secundus edificat, tercius confortat, quartus liberat. De primo dicit apostolus: *Datus est mihi stimulus carnis, angelus satane*, qui me colaphisat. De secundo: *Angeli pacis amare flebunt*. De tercio ibi:
 165 *Qui facit angelos suos spiritus. Omnes enim sunt ministratorii spiritus in ministerium missi propter eos, qui hereditatem capiant salutis*. De quarto ibi legitur: *Et vocabitur nomen eius Emanuel*, magni consilii angelus. SPONSUS, quia descendens de celo adhesit ecclesie, ut pace novi testamenti essent duo in carne una. PASTOR, quia custodit oves, id est
 170 animas fidelium. PROPHETA, quia revelavit futura. SACERDOS, quia pro nobis se hostiam optulit.

ATANATOS, YSKYROS, THEOS, PANTOCRATOR, IESUS

ATHANATOS, id est immortalis, et dicitur ab ‘a’, quod est sine, et ‘thanatos’, mors, quasi immortalis. Differt enim ab homine mortali,

153 Lapis ... 155 scandalum] *cf. Isid., orig. 7. 2. 39–40. 154* Iudeis ... 155 scandalum] *I Cor. 1. 23. 157* Angelus ... voluntatis] *Isid., orig. 7. 2. 34. 158* missus ... mundo] *cf. Isid., orig. 7. 2. 35. 159* Ego ... mundo] *cf. Ioh. 16. 27–28. 163* Datus ... 164 colaphisat] *cf. II Cor. 12. 7. 164* Angeli ... flebunt] *Is. 33. 7. 165* Qui ... spiritus] *Hebr. 1. 7. | Omnes ... 166 salutis] cf. Hebr. 1. 14. 167* Et ... Emanuel] *cf. Is. 7. 14. | Et ... angelus] cf. Is. 9. 6. 168* Sponsus ... 169 una] *cf. Isid., orig. 7. 2. 33. 170* Propheta ... 171 optulit] *Isid., orig. 7. 2. 36.*

151 circumcissione] circuscione *cod.* **153** offensionis] offencionis *cod.* **159** exivi] *ex exivii corr. cod.* **160** consilii] concilii *cod.* **161** consilii] concilii *cod.* **166** hereditatem *ut vid.* **167** consilii] concilii *cod.* **168** descendens] decendens *cod.* | pace *cum Isid. scripsi*, patet *cod.* **169** essent *cum Isid. scripsi*, esse *cod.* **171** hostiam *cum Isid. scripsi*, hostia *cod.* **172** theos] thes *cod.* | pantocrator] pantoncraton *cod.* | Iesus] ysus *cod.*

joins together walls coming from opposite directions, from the circumcised and the uncircumcised, to one church building, or because he makes peace in himself for angels and men. He is called the rock of offence, since he lives humbly; the incredulous people offended him and he was made the stumbling-block, as the apostle says: 'Unto the Jews a stumbling-block.'

ANGEL AND GROOM AND SHEPHERD, PROPHET, PRIEST

He is called ANGEL due to the annunciation of his and the fatherly will, or he is called angel, that is sent, since God's holy word showed him to this world, whence this: 'I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world.' He is called the angel of counsel. For we read about four kinds of angels. There is the angel of Satan, the angel of peace, the angel of service, and the angel of counsel. The first harasses, the second edifies, the third comforts, the fourth liberates. Regarding the first the apostle says: 'A thorn was given me in the flesh, an angel of Satan, to harass me.' Regarding the second: 'The angels of peace will weep bitterly.' Regarding the third here: 'He who makes his angels spirits.' 'For they are all ministering spirits sent out to serve on behalf of those who are to inherit salvation.' Regarding the fourth we read: 'And his name shall be called Emmanuel, the angel of great counsel.' GROOM, since descending from heaven he attaches himself to the church, as through the consent of the New Testament there were two in one flesh. SHEPHERD, since he watches over his sheep, that is the souls of the faithful. PROPHET, since he reveals the things to come. PRIEST, since he offered himself as a sacrificial animal for us.

ATHANATOS, YSKYROS, THEOS, PANTOCRATOR, JESUS

ATHANATOS, that is immortal, and it derives from *a*, which is without, and *thanatos*, death, as it were immortal. For he differs from the mortal

175 quia vita perhennis est. KYRIOS, id est dominus propter servientem creaturam, vel yskyros, id est ipse fortis. THEOS, id est Deus, quia vidit et previdet, et dicitur a 'theonon', quod est videre. PANTOCRATOR, id est tota divina potestas / vel totus in divinitate potens, et dicitur a 'pan', 62^b quod est totum, et 'theos', deus, et 'cratos', potestas, unde versus:

180 Est 'agyon' sanctus, o 'theos' deus, 'yskyros' ipse
fortis et 'athanatos' vult immortalis haberi,
'eleyson' miserere sonat, nobis Deus 'ymas'
est, 'pantocrator' totum divina potestas.

Et IESUS, id est salvator eo, quod a morte eterna salvavit nos in cruce
185 moriendo pro nobis, unde Ihesus vocatur, id est terre salvator, et dicitur a 'ge', terra, et 'ysus', salvator, quasi terrenus salvator, unde versus:

Salvator Ihesus est noster rex Christus inventus.

Et quia ipse salvator est, ille NOS SALVIFICET, id est salvos faciet.

DOXA, id est gloria. PER OMNIA SECLA. Sciendum, quod seculum
190 quadrupliciter accipitur. In una enim significacione est idem quod spacium centum annorum. In alia est idem quod vita secularis. In tertia est idem quod mundana voluptas. Item aliquando accipitur pro spacio, per quod una gens potest vivere, et seculum est spacium, per quod una familia potest vivere. Quando autem pro spacio temporis ponitur, tunc
195 dicitur de 'sequor, -ris', quia unus annus alium sequitur; quando autem pro vita seculari, tunc dicitur quasi seorsum a claustro, quia qui se intendit secularibus seorsum est a claustro. Quando autem ponitur pro mundana voluptate, tunc dicitur a 'sequor' et 'cleos', gloria, quasi sequens gloriam. Seculum autem dicitur a 'secludo, -dis', unde versus:

200 Annorum spacia 'seculum' sit sic quoque vita
secularis, 'seculum' mundana sit atque voluptas.

176 yskyros ... fortis] *cf. Isid., orig. 7. 1. 3.* 180 Est ... 183 potestas] *versus non inveni.* 187 Salvator ... inventus] *versum non inveni.* 200 Annorum ... 202 cleos] *cf. Eberh. Beth., graecism. 11. 159–61.*

175 Kyrios] kyros *cod.* 177 Pantocrator] pantoncraton *cod.* 179 cratos] craton *cod.* 183 pantocrator] pantoncraton *cod.* 184 Iesus] ysus *cod.* | a morte] amor te *cod.* 193 seculum *ut vid.* 199 Seculum *ut vid.* 201 seculum + vel *ante corr.*

man, since he is eternal life. Kyrios, that is lord on account of the servile creature, or YSKYROS, which is the strong one. THEOS, that is God, since he sees and foresees, and it derives from *theon*, which is to see. PANTOCRATOR, that is the whole divine power or almighty in divinity, and it derives from *pan*, which is all, and *theos*, god, and *cratos*, power, whence the verse:

Agyos is holy, *theos* is god, *yskyros* the strong
one and *athanatos* is said to be immortal,
eleyson means have mercy, *ymas* God unto us,
and *pantocrator* as a whole is divine power.

And JESUS, that is saviour, because he saved us from eternal death in dying for us on the cross, whence he is called Jesus, that is saviour of the world, and it derives from *ge*, earth, and *ysus*, saviour, just as an earthly saviour, whence the verse:

Jesus our saviour is found to be Christ the king.

And since he himself is the saviour, MAY HE SAVE US, that is he will make us safe.

DOXA, that is glory, FOREVER AND EVER. It should be known that *saeculum* is understood in a fourfold manner. For in one sense it is the same as a period of one hundred years. In another it is the same as the wordly life. In a third it is the same as the wordly lust. Furthermore it is sometimes used for that period of time during which one generation can live, and *saeculum* is the period during which a family can live. When it is used for a period of time, then it is derived from *sequor*, *-ris*, since one year follows on another; but when it is used for the wordly life, then it derives as it were separately from the cloister, since he who seeks secular people is separate from the cloister. But when it is used for wordly lust, then it derives from *sequor* and *cleos*, glory, as it were following glory. *Saeculum* is derived from *secludo*, *-dis*, whence the verse:

A *saeculum* can be the periods of years and also wordly life,
a *saeculum* can also be wordly lust.

Dic sic 'sequor' et 'claustrum'. Tribus hiis caput est 'cleos'.
 Et 'seculum' gentis successio, 'seculus' edis.
 Fons quoque sit primi 'sequor' et 'secludo' secundi.

205 (Alle celeste)

ALLE CELESTE NEC NON ET PERHENNE LUYA DIC PARAPHONISTA CUM
 MERA SIMPHONIA et cetera.

In principio huius cantici fit temesis huius dicionis 'alleluya'
 construendo sic: O PARAPHONISTA, id est cantor, et dicitur a 'para',
 210 iuxta, et 'phonos', sonus, et 'sto, stas', quasi stans iuxta sonum, id est
 canticum, DIC CUM MERA SIMPHONIA, id est cum pura concordia.
 Et dicitur simphonia a 'sin', quod est con, et 'phonos', sonus, quasi
 consonancia. Dicitur autem quandoque quoddam instrumentum
 musicum. Tamen hic ponitur pro consonancia vocum. CELESTE ALLE,
 215 id est celicum cantum, NEC NON ET PERHENNE LUYA, id est laudem
 Dei, que perhennis est. Deus enim laudandus est in perhenni seculorum
 tempore.

Et notandum, quod 'alleluya' pluribus modis exponitur. Uno modo
 sic: Secundum Augustinum ab 'al', quod est salvum, et 'le', quod est me,
 220 et 'lu', quod est fac, et 'ya', quod est Domine, quasi salvum me fac,
 Domine. Alio modo secundum Ambrosium ab 'alle', quod est lux, et
 'lu', quod est vita, et 'ya', quod est salus, quasi lux, vita et salus. Tercio
 modo secundum Gregorium ab 'alle', quod est canta, et 'lu', quod est
 laus, et 'ya', quod est Dominus, quasi canta laudem Domino. Secundum
 225 Remigium dicitur ab 'alle', quod est Pater, et 'lu', quod est Filius, et 'ya',
 quod est Spiritus sanctus, quasi Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus.
 Versus:

203 Et ... 204 secundi] *cf. Eberh. Beth., graecism. 12. 343–44. Glossa ad graecism. l. 344: seculus*
est successio unius aedis seu domus vel familiae, vel heres qui succedit in domo, et dicitur de
*secludo is, quia heres excludit suum praedecessorem. 219 Secundum ... 226 sanctus] *cf. Auct.*
*incert. (Beda?), Excerptiones patrum, PL, XCIV, 548C; cf. etiam Guill. Durand., ration. 4. 20. 4.**

203 gentis *cum Eberh. scripsi, gens cod. | successio] suscessio cod. 206 Alle littera prima in marg.*
scripta est, sed spatium litterae praebet cod. 209 ante construendo litt. y scr. sed expunxit cod. 219 al]
ab cod.

Say thus *sequor* and *claustrum*. For these three glory is
the main word.

And *saeculum* is the succession of a generation, the
saeculus of a property.¹

The origin of the first is *sequor* and of the second *secludo*.

(Alle celeste)

PARAPHONISTA, SAY WITH A PURE SYMPHONY ALLE-, THE HEAVENLY,
AND ALSO THE ETERNAL -LUIA et cetera.

At the beginning of this song there is a tmesis in the word *Alleluia* by construing thus: O PARAPHONISTA, that is singer, and it is derived from *para*, next to, and *phonos*, sound, and *sto, stas*, as it were ‘Standing next to the sound’, that is the song, SAY IN A PURE SYMPHONY, that is with pure concord. And *symphonia* is derived from *sin*, which is with, and *phonos*, sound, just as consonance. But sometimes it is used for a musical instrument. Here, however, it is used for the consonance of voices. THE HEAVENLY ALLE-, that is the heavenly song, AND ALSO THE ETERNAL -LUIA, that is praise of God, which is eternal. For God is praiseworthy in all eternity.

And it should be noted that *alleluia* is explained in several ways. One way is this: according to Augustine, from *al*, which is saved, and *le*, which is me, and *lu*, which is make, and *ya*, which is Lord, as it were ‘Make me saved, O Lord’. In another way, according to Ambrose, from *alle*, which is light, and *lu*, which is life, and *ya*, which is salvation, as it were ‘Light, life, and salvation’. In a third manner, according to Gregory, from *alle*, which is sing, and *lu*, which is praise, and *ya*, which is Lord, as it were ‘Sing praise to the Lord’. According to Remigius, it is derived from *alle*, which is Father, and *lu*, which is Son, and *ya*, which is the Holy Spirit, as it were ‘The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit’. A verse:

¹The *Graecismus* gloss to this line translates as ‘*saeculus* is the conveying of a building or estate or of a family, or the heir who is the successor in a house, and it derives from *secludo*, -is, since the heir excludes his predecessor.’

- Al salvum, le me, lu fac, Dominus sit et ya;
 alleque lux, vita sit lu, dic ya salutem;
 alle Pater, natus lu, Spiritus ya vocatur;
 230 alleque sit canta, lu laus, Dominus sit et ya.

TUBA ET CANORA PALLINODIAM CANTA

- ET CANTA PALLINODIAM, id est cantum iteratum sicut antiphona, cum
 iteratur, CANORA TUBA, id est sonora voce. Et dicitur pallinodia a
 ‘palin’, quod est iterare, et ‘odos’, laus vel cantus, quasi cantus iteratus.
 235 In quibusdam libris legitur: Palinodia, id est cantum duplicatum vel
 multiplicatum, et dicitur a ‘palin’, quod est duplex, et ‘donum’, quod est
 honor, quasi duplex honor vel multiplex honor.

NAM OMNIS USIA CHRISTI HANC GENITRICEM DIE ISTA CONGAUDET
 EXORTAM, PER QUAM SIBI SUBLATAM CAPIT VITAM

- 240 Et merito debetur ei laus et honor, NAM, pro quia, OMNIS USIA, id est
 omnis substantia, id est omnis homo — ponitur ibi consequens pro
 antecedente per figuram — CONGAUDET, id est congaudere debet,
 HANC GENITRICEM CHRISTI EXORTAM, id est natam, DIE ISTA, PER
 QUAM SUBLATAM, id est ablatam, suple per peccatum Ade, <VITAM>
 245 SIBI, hoc est ad se, <CAPIT>.

- DAVITICA STIRPE SATA, DAVIDIS AD SEPTRA ES REGENDA PROLE
 FECUNDATA, NEC GRAVIDATA SUNT VISCERA TAMEN PER ULLA PATRIS
 MEMBRA / SET EX FIDE SOLA. AB ARCE SUMMA ASTAT ANGELUS. 63^a
 MARIA, INQUID, ALMA, AVE PLENA GRACIA SUMMA ET BENEDICTA
 250 FEMINAS INTER OMNES PARITURA REGEM, QUI DIRA MORTIS VINCULA
 DAMPNABIT CUM POTENCIA sua

Sciendum, quod hic est suspensiva constructio, et construe sic incipiendo
 a tercio versu: ANGELUS, scilicet Gabriel, ASTAT, iuxta stat vel accedit,
 scilicet ad Mariam, et INQUID: o ALMA MARIA, id est o sancta Maria,

227 Al ... 230 ya] *versus non inveni*. 235 quibusdam libris] *locum non inveni*.

236 donum *ut vid.* 241 homo *ut vid.* 244 sublatam] *sublata cod.; cf. l. 239* | ablatam] *ablata cod.*
 | vitam *supplevi* 245 ad] *a cod.* | capit *supplevi* 246 sata] *nata cod.; cf. l. 255* 247 nec] *ne cod.; cf.*
l. 258 250 qui] *que cod.; cf. l. 262* | dira] *dire cod.; cf. l. 263* 252 suspensiva] *suspensiva cod.*

Al is saved, *le* me, *lu* make, and *ya* is the Lord;
 and *alle* is light, *lu* life, and say *ya* for salvation;
alle the Father, *lu* born, the Holy Spirit is called *ya*;
 and *alle* can be sing, *lu* praise, and *ya* can be the Lord.

AND WITH A EUPHONIOUS PIPE SING A PALINODE

AND SING A PALINODE, that is a repeated song such as an antiphon when it is repeated, WITH A EUPHONIOUS PIPE, that is in a sonorous voice. And *palinodia* derives from *palin*, which is to iterate, and *odos*, praise or song, as it were an iterated song. In some books we read: *Palinodia*, that is a double or a multiplied song, and it derives from *palin*, which is twofold, and *donum*,² which is honour, as it were a twofold honour or a multiple honour.

FOR EVERY BEING MAY REJOICE OVER CHRIST'S MOTHER BEGOTTEN
 THISDAY, THROUGH WHOM HE GAINS FOR HIMSELF THE SUSTAINED LIFE

And he is rightly worthy of honour and praise, FOR, instead of because, EVERY BEING, that is every substance, that is every man — for here the result is placed for the antecedent in a figure of speech — MAY REJOICE, that is should rejoice, OVER CHRIST'S MOTHER BEGOTTEN, that is born, THISDAY, THROUGH WHOM THE SUSTAINED, that is absolved, add 'by Adam's sin', LIFE HE GAINS FOR HIMSELF, that is to himself.

YOU, ORIGINATING FROM DAVID'S STOCK, ARE PREGNANT WITH THE
 HEIR TO DAVID'S SCEPTRES TO BE RULED, AND YOUR INSIDES WERE
 NOT MADE HEAVY BY ANY OF THE FATHER'S LIMBS BUT BY FAITH
 ALONE. AT THE TOP OF THE SUMMIT THE ANGEL STANDS. HAIL
 PROPITIOUS MARY, HE SAYS, FULL OF THE HIGHEST GRACE AND
 BLESSED AMONG ALL WOMEN, YOU WHO WILL GIVE BIRTH TO THE
 KING, WHO WILL CONDEMN THE DIRE CHAINS OF DEATH WITH his
 MIGHT.

It should be known that this is a suspended construction, and construe it thus by beginning from the third verse: THE ANGEL, namely Gabriel, STANDS, stands next to or approaches, namely Mary, and HE SAYS: O PROPITIOUS MARY, that is O blessed Mary,

² The reading *donum*, which really means 'gift', is puzzling and it is quite likely that the manuscript is faulty here. In other sequence commentaries *palinodia* is usually etymologized as *palin* meaning 'double' and *oda*, *-e* meaning 'song' in Greek.

255 SATA, id est nata, DAVITICA STIRPE, AVE, tu ES FECUNDATA filio AD
 SCEPTRA, id est regna, DAVIDIS, id est Dei Patris, REGENDA. Et ponitur
 ibi sceptrum pro regno, et est sceptrum virga regalis, et ponitur hic pro
 regno ut significacio. NEC VISCERA TAMEN tua SUNT GRAVIDATA, id est
 honorata, PER ULLA PATRIS MEMBRA, id est per Filium Dei Patris, SED
 260 EX SOLA FIDE, id est ita, quod virtute credas. Ita dixit: o ALMA MARIA
 AVE. Tu, dicit, PLENA SUMMA GRACIA, id est summi, id est Dei, ET
 BENEDICTA INTER OMNES FEMINAS, que PARITURA REGEM, QUI
 DAMPNABIT, id est dissolvit, DIRA VINCULA MORTIS eterne CUM sua
 POTENCIA, id est morte sua, mortem frangendo in divinitate vivendo.

265 SUUM PLASMA SPONTE SOLVENS SUA ATQUE BEATAM DONANS VITAM
 Rex, dicit supra, Christus, SOLVENS, id est liberans, SUUM PLASMA, id
 est, homo est, quem plasmavit, SUA SPONTE, id est mera voluntate,
 ATQUE DONANS, scilicet ei, BEATAM VITAM, id est vitam celestem.

FIT MOX PUELLA VERBIS CREDULA ET PUERPERA STUPET ET CASTA
 270 NATUM GESTANS SPECIOSUM FORMA REGENTEM CUNCTA ORBIS
 <REGNA>.

Finita Gabrielis salutacione PUELLA FIT MOX CREDULA VERBIS, scilicet
 angelicis, dicens, ecce ancilla Domini, ET ipsa PUERPERA, id est mater,
 ET CASTA, id est virgo, STUPET, id est miratur. Ipsa, dicit, GESTANS, id
 275 est portans, NATUM SPECIOSUM FORMA, unde illud: *Speciosus forma pre
 filiis hominum*. NATUM, dicit, REGENTEM CUNCTA ORBIS REGNA eo,
 quod ipse rex regum.

HEC EST VIRGA NON IRRIGATA SED DEI GRACIA FLORIGERA, HEC EST
 SOLA CUNCTORUM HERA MATERNA OBSCURANS PIACULA

280 Prophetatum est ab antiquis patribus qualiter virga Iesse non irrigata
 floruit et est mysticus intellectus, quod virgo inviolata florem gessit, quia
 Christum florem mystice, unde construe sic: HEC, scilicet beata Maria,

275 Speciosus ... 276 hominum] *Ps. 44. 3.*

256 sceptrum] ceptra *cod.* 257 sceptrum¹] ceptrum *cod.* | sceptrum²] ceptrum *cod.* 260 virtute
 credas *ut vid.* 265 Suum] summi *cod.*; *cf. l.* 266 267 homo *ut vid.* 269 Fit] et *cod.*; *cf. l.* 272
 270 cuncta] cuncta *cod.* 271 regna *supplevi*; *cf. l.* 276 278 florigera] florigerata *cod.* 281 gessit]
 iessit *cod.*

ORIGINATING, that is born, FROM DAVID'S STOCK, HAIL, YOU ARE PREGNANT with the son TO THE SCEPTRES, that is kingdoms, of DAVID'S, that is of God the Father, TO BE RULED. And 'sceptre' is used here for kingdom, and 'sceptre' is the regal sceptre and it is used here as a sign for a kingdom. AND YET your INSIDES ARE NOT MADE HEAVY, that is honoured, BY ANY OF THE FATHER'S LIMBS, that is by the Son of God, the Father, BUT FROM FAITH ALONE, that is, you should believe by virtue. He thus said: O HAIL PROPITIOUS MARY. YOU, he says, FULL OF THE HIGHEST GRACE, that is of the highest, that is of God, AND BLESSED AMONG ALL WOMEN, you who WILL GIVE BIRTH TO THE KING, WHO WILL CONDEMN, that is dissolve, THE DIRE CHAINS OF DEATH eternal WITH his MIGHT, that is through his death, crushing death by living in divinity.

BY WILLINGLY FREEING HIS CREATION AND BESTOWING BLESSED LIFE

Above he says: Christ, the king, FREEING, that is liberating, HIS CREATION, that is man, whom he made, WILLINGLY, that is by pure will, AND BESTOWING, namely to him, BLESSED LIFE, that is celestial life.

THE GIRL SOON BELIEVES HIS WORDS AND SHE, BOTH CHILD-BEARING AND CHASTE, IS AMAZED, BEARING A SON BEAUTIFUL IN FORM WHO WILL RULE ALL KINGDOMS OF THE EARTH

After Gabriel's salutation THE GIRL SOON BELIEVES HIS WORDS, namely the angelic, saying: Behold the handmaid of the Lord, AND SHE, who is BOTH CHILDBEARING, that is a mother, AND CHASTE, that is a virgin, IS AMAZED, that is she wonders. She, he says, BEARING, that is carrying, HER SON BEAUTIFUL IN FORM, whence this: 'Beautiful above the sons of men.' A son, he says, WHO WILL RULE ALL KINGDOMS OF THE EARTH because he is the King of kings.

SHE IS THE UNWATERED ROD YET FLOWERING BY THE GRACE OF GOD, SHE IS THE SOLE MISTRESS OF ALL OBSCURING THE MATERNAL GUILT

It is prophesied from the ancient fathers how the rod of Jesse, not having been watered, flourished, and the mystical understanding is that the unviolated virgin bore a flower, since mystically the flower is Christ, whence you construe it thus: SHE, namely the blessed Mary,

EST VIRGA NON IRRIGATA. Prophetica verba sunt hec, id est 'sine rore' et hoc est dictum 'sine virili semine' et semper manens inviolata. Per
 285 virgam intellige virginem allegorice, unde illud: *Egredietur virga de radice Iesse*. Vel sic et melius: NON IRRIGATA, id est non semine virili rigata, hoc est non violata vel non deflorata, SED FLORIGERA, id est florem gerens, id est Christum, DEI GRACIA, unde illud: Ave Maria gracia plena Dominus tecum. HEC EST SOLA HERA, id est domina,
 290 CUNCTORUM. HERA, dicit, OBSCURANS, id est regens vel obnubulans, MATERNA PIACULA, id est peccata Eve prime matris. Et dicitur sic, quod obscurum est illud, quod non potest videri. Sic Eve peccata non possunt videri, quia per Filium hominis incarnatum et crucifixum adnichilantur. Et dicitur peccatum piaculum a 'pio, -as', quod est
 295 mundo, -as, non quia mundet sed quia mundari debet secundum excigenciam mandatorum Dei. Vel sic: OBSCURANS, id est obscure mutans, MATERNA PIACULA, id est maternum peccatum eo, quod alie deflorate pariunt et ipsa inviolata peperit. Ita obscurum fiat illud, quia non prius visum.

300 VELUD ROSA DECORANS SPINETA, SIC, QUOD LEDAT, NIL HABET MARIA

VELUT ROSA DECORANS, id est per decorem vel pulcritudinem illuminans, SPINETA, id est locum spinarum, et non leditur a spinis. Sic MARIA NIL HABET, QUOD LEDAT, id est quod ledere possit eam concipiendo neque pariendo.

305 QUOD ATTULIT PRIMA, CHRISTI EFFUGAT MARIA

Construe sic: VIRGO MARIA, CHRISTI SPONSA, EFFUGAT, id est destruit, illud, quod EVA ob evum malum PRIMA mater ATTULIT, unde illud: Paradisi porta per Evam cunctis clausa.

283 sine rore] *cf. e.g. Missus Gabriel de caelis, AH, LIV, 192*: Virga sicca sine rore, novo ritu, novo more, fructum protulit cum flore, sic et virgo peperit. 284 sine ... semine] *cf. Ambr., hymn. Intende qui regis Israel/Veni redemptor gentium*. 285 Egredietur ... 286 Iesse] *Is. 11. 1*. 308 Paradisi ... clausa] *CAO, 7726*.

297 mutans] nutans *cod.* 298 fiat] fiut *cod.* 301 decorans] decora *cod.*; *cf. l.* 300 302 spineta] speneta *cod.* 305 prima] prius *cod.*; *cf. l.* 307 307 ob] ab *cod.* | evum] evam *cod.* 308 Paradisi] paradici *cod.*

IS THE UNWATERED ROD. These words are prophetic, that is 'without a drop of dew' and it is said 'without a male seed' and she remains unviolated forever. Allegorically the virgin should be understood through the rod, whence this: 'There shall come forth a shoot from the root of Jesse.' Or like this and better: UNWATERED, that is not watered by a male seed, that is unviolated or not deflowered, YET FLOWERING, that is bearing a flower, that is Christ, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, whence this: 'Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee.' SHE IS THE SOLE MISTRESS, that is matron, OF ALL. MISTRESS, he says, OBSCURING, that is ruling or overshadowing, THE MATERNAL GUILT, that is the sin of Eve, the first mother. And it is thus said that the obscure is that which cannot be seen. Thus Eve's sins cannot be seen since they have been annihilated through the incarnated and crucified Son of man. And the sin is called *piaculum* from *pio*, -as, which is to cleanse, not because it will cleanse but since it ought to be cleansed according to the exigency of God's commands. Or thus: OBSCURING, that is removing obscurely, THE MATERNAL GUILT, that is the maternal sin, since other females give birth deflowered and she gave birth unviolated. In this manner that became obscured which had not previously been seen.

JUST AS A ROSE DECORATING THE THORNY THICKETS, SO MARY HAS NOTHING WHICH HARMS

JUST AS A ROSE DECORATING, that is illuminating through its decoration or beauty, THE THORNY THICKETS, that is a place full of thorns, and it is not harmed by the thorns, SO MARY HAS NOTHING WHICH HARMS, that is which could harm her in the conceiving or giving birth.

THAT WHICH THE FIRST CAUSED, CHRIST'S MARY PUT TO FLIGHT

Construe thus: VIRGIN MARY, THE BRIDE OF CHRIST, PUT TO FLIGHT, that is destroyed, THAT, WHICH Eve, the FIRST mother, CAUSED on account of the eternal evil, whence this: 'The gates of Paradise were closed for everyone by Eve.'

O SOLA VIRGO, MATER CASTA, NOSTRA CRIMINA SOLVE DANS REGNA,
 310 QUIS BEATA REGNANT AGMINA

O VIRGO, SOLA MATER CASTA, id est inviolata, SOLVE NOSTRA CRIMINA, id est absolve nos a criminibus, id est a peccatis, DANS illa REGNA, QUIS, id est quibus regnis, BEATA AGMINA, id est agmina beatorum, REGNANT.

315 POTES ENIM CUNCTA UT CELI REGINA / ET IURA CUM NATO OMNIA 63^b
 cernis et DECERNIS IN SECUA ET ULTRA

ENIM pro quia, POTES CUNCTA, id est potens facere es cuncta, UT REGINA CELI, et DECERNIS, id est iudicas vel deorsum cernis, OMNIA IURA CUM NATO, id est omnem equitatem cum ipso, quia vis equitatem,
 320 cum et iusticia eius manet, ET ULTRA quam IN SECUA, quia per infinita seculorum secula.

SUBNIXA ES IN GLORIA CHERUBINE ELECTA CERAPHINQUE CLARA NAM IUXTA FILIUM POSITA SEDES IN DEXTERA RUTILANS VIRTUS, LAMPAS ET SOCIA.

325 Tu, dicit, ELECTA, scilicet Deo, qui est sol iusticie, et CLARA ut luna ES SUBNIXA, id est sublevata vel assumpta, IN GLORIA CHERUBIN et SERAPHIN, hoc est ab illis agminibus angelorum, de quibus tangendum est plenius in cantico sequenti, NAM tu POSITA ab illis agminibus IUXTA FILIUM SEDES IN DEXTERA RUTILANS, id est rutilanti. Tu, dicit, SOCIA,
 330 VIRTUS ET LAMPAS, id est claritas sociatur nato.

NATIVITAS UNDE GAUDIA NOBIS HODIE CONFERT ANNUA

UNDE propter causas precedentes NATIVITAS, scilicet tua, CONFERT NOBIS GAUDIA HODIE, id est hac die. Et sciendum, quod hec dictio 'hodie' quandoque sumitur pro tempore gracie ut hic: *Hodie si vocem*
 335 *eius audieritis*. Quandoque notat tempus presentis vite, ut hic: Panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie. Quandoque notat eternitatem, unde psalmista: *Ego hodie genui te*.

334 Hodie ... 335 audieritis] *Ps. 94. 8 et Hebr. 3. 7 et 15. 337 Ego ... te] Ps. 2. 7.*

312 peccatis + *verbum quod non leg.* 315 Potes] potest *cod.*; *cf. l. 317* 316 decernis] discernis *cod.* 318 decernis] discernis *cod.* | cernis] sernis *cod.* 329 rutilans] rutila *cod.*; *cf. l. 323* 330 sociatur] sociatur *cod.*

O YOU VIRGIN, ALONE CHASTE MOTHER, REDEEM OUR SINS, GIVING THE KINGDOMS OVER WHICH THE BLESSED TROOPS REIGN

O YOU VIRGIN, ALONE CHASTE MOTHER, that is unviolated, REDEEM OUR SINS, that is absolve us from our crimes, that is from our sins, GIVING these KINGDOMS, OVER WHICH, that is over which kingdoms, THE BLESSED TROOPS, that is the troops of the holy, REIGN.

FOR YOU ARE CAPABLE OF ALL AS THE QUEEN OF HEAVEN, AND JUSTLY WITH YOUR SON YOU note and JUDGE EVERYTHING FOR EVER AND BEYOND

FOR, instead of because, YOU ARE CAPABLE OF ALL, that is you are capable of doing everything, AS THE QUEEN OF HEAVEN, also JUDGE, that is you judge or you note below, EVERYTHING JUSTLY TOGETHER WITH YOUR SON, that is all equity together with him, since you want equity, when also his justice remains, AND BEYOND FOREVER, since it is forever and ever.

YOU ARE SUPPORTED IN THE GLORY OF THE CHERUBIM, THE ELECTED ONE, AND THE SERAPHIM, FOR YOU, THE BRIGHT ONE, ARE SITTING PLACED NEXT TO YOUR SON ON THE RIGHT, GLIMMERING VIRTUE, LIGHT, AND KINDRED

YOU, he says, THE CHOSEN ONE, namely by God, who is the sun of justice, and BRIGHT as the moon ARE SUPPORTED, that is elevated or adopted, IN THE GLORY OF THE CHERUBIM and SERAPHIM, that is of those hosts of angels, with whom we will deal more fully in the following song,³ FOR you, PLACED by those hosts, SIT NEXT TO THE SON ON THE RIGHT, GLIMMERING, that is reddening. You, he says, KINDRED, VIRTUE, AND LIGHT, that is, clarity is united with the Son.

WHENCE THE BIRTH BRINGS US ANNUAL JOY TODAY

WHENCE on account of the preceding causes, THE BIRTH, namely yours, BRINGS US JOY TODAY, that is this day. And it should be known, that this word 'today' is sometimes used for the time of grace, as here: 'Today if you hear his voice.' Sometimes it denotes the time of the present life, as here: 'Give us this day our daily bread.' Sometimes it signifies eternity, whence the Psalmist: 'Today I have begotten you.'

³ This refers to the next sequence in the collection, *Ad celebres rex*.

ET RESONET CAMENIS AULA IN LAUDE TUA VIRGO MARIA

O MARIA, AULA, scilicet celica vel ecclesia, RESONET CAMENIS, id est
340 cantibus amenis, IN TUA LAUDE.

GAUDET PER CLIMATA ORBIS ECCLESIA, DICENS ALLELUYA

Construe sic: ECCLESIA, id est congregacio fidelium, GAUDET, id est
gaudere debet, PER CLIMATA, id est partes, ORBIS, id est mundi vel
spacia localia mundi. ECCLESIA, dicit, DICENS ALLELUYA, hoc est
345 laudem Deo vel Domino, scilicet beate Marie.

Et sciendum, quod maiores orbem dividunt in partibus, partes in
provinciis, provincie in regionibus, regiones in locis, loca in territoriis,
territoria in agris, agri in centuriis, centuria in iugeribus, iugera in
climatibus, climata in actibus, per actus passus, gradus, cubitos, pedes,
350 palmas, uncias, digitos. Incipiamus ab ultimo ascendendo: digitus est
minima pars agrestium mensurarum et continet decem grana ordei in
longitudine continuata disposita dicens digitus geometricus. Uncia
continet digitum et terciam partem digiti, palmus quattuor digitos et
duas uncias, pes sexdecim digitos. Cubitus prout habet unum pedem et
355 semissem. Gradus habet duos cubitus. Passus habet quinque pedes,
pertica duos passus, scilicet decem pedes, et dicitur a 'portando', quasi
portica. Omnes autem precedentes mesure in corpore sunt ut palmus
et cetera. Sola autem pertica portatur; est enim decem pedum ad instar
calami. Actus alius minimus superficialis, alius quadratus. Actus minimus
360 superficialis habet in latitudine pedes quatuor, in longitudine centum
et viginti. Actus quadratus undique finitur pedibus centum viginti tam
in longitudine quam in latitudine, et hunc Betici agripennem sive
arpennem vocant. Clima vero habet pedes utrinque sexaginta tam in
longitudine quam in latitudine. Iuger sive iugerum constat in longitudine
365 ducentorum pedum et sexaginta, in latitudine vero centum et decem.

346 Et ... 367 vocabatur] *cf. Isid., orig., 15. 15. 1–7.*

345 scilicet *ut vid.* 346 orbem dividunt *cum Isid. scripsi*, orbes dividuntur *cod.* 348 centuriis]
senturiis *cod.* | centuria] senturia *cod.* 349 actibus] *ex agris corr. cod.*

AND THE HALL RESOUNDS WITH SONGS IN PRAISE OF YOU, VIRGIN MARY
O MARY, THE HALL, namely the heavenly or the church, RESOUNDS
WITH SONGS, that is with sweet songs, IN PRAISE OF YOU.

THE CHURCH REJOICES THROUGHOUT THE CLIMES OF THE GLOBE,
SAYING ALLELUIA

Construe thus: THE CHURCH, that is the congregation of the faithful, REJOICES, that is it should rejoice, THROUGHOUT THE CLIMES, that is parts, OF THE GLOBE, that is of the world or the areas of the world. THE CHURCH, he says, SAYING ALLELUIA, that is praise to God or to the Lord, namely to the blessed Mary.

And it should be known that our ancestors divide the globe into parts, the parts into provinces, the provinces into regions, the regions into areas, the areas into territories, the territories into fields, the fields into *centuriae*, the *centuriae* into *iugera*, the *iugera* into climes, the climes into *actus*, through *actus* paces, steps, ells, feet, hands, twelfth-parts, inches. Let us start from the last, moving up: an inch is the smallest part of the agrarian measurements and it is equivalent to ten seeds of grain placed continuously lengthwise, called 'a geometric inch'.⁴ A twelfth-part is equivalent to one-and-a-third of one inch, a hand to four inches and two twelfth-parts, a foot to sixteen inches. An ell is just as a foot and a half. A step is two ells. A pace is five feet, a *pertica* is two paces, namely ten feet, and it derives from *portare*, just as a *portica*.⁵ All the preceding measures are found in the body, as a hand et cetera. Only the *pertica* is carried, for it is like a ten-foot pole. One is the minimal surface *actus* and another is the square *actus*. The minimal surface *actus* is four feet in width, a hundred and twenty in length. The square *actus* is a hundred and twenty feet in all directions, in width as well as in length, and this the Boetians⁶ call *agripennis* or *arpennis*.⁷ But a clime is sixty feet on both sides, in length as well as in width. A *iuger* or *iugerum* is two hundred and sixty feet in length, but in width a hundred and ten.

⁴ The sixteenth part of a Roman foot.

⁵ A *pertica* is a measuring-rod for measuring out land and hence the same word is used to denote the area of land measured out. A *portica* is a colonnade.

⁶ The inhabitants of the province of Boetis in southern Spain.

⁷ These are variants for the standard Latin *arepennis*, which is a measure of land equivalent to a half acre.

Centuria continet ducenta iugera, quia apud antiquos quasi centum iugeribus vocabatur. Stadium habet passus centum et triginta et pedes quingenti centum viginti quinque, cuius mensura computata facit miliarium. Leuca autem continet unum miliarium et dimidium. Et sic patet quid sit 'clima'.

Et sciendum, quod 'ecclesia' multipliciter accipitur, quia ecclesia aut celestis aut terrestris. Terrestris vero / alia intrinseca, alia extrinseca. 63^a Extrinseca vero est ecclesia materialis, scilicet ex lapidibus et lignis constructa. Intrinseca vero est congregatio fidelium in ecclesia materiali orans et sacrificans. Celestis: alia triumphans, alia angelica. Ecclesia triumphalis est chorus sanctorum. Ecclesia angelica est chorus angelorum. Et sic patet 'ecclesia'.

QUOD ET PALLACIA CELI CLAMANT DINDIMA USQUE DANCIA PRECONIA

Ita dictum est, quod ecclesia gaudet per climata orbis dicens Alleluya, id est laudate Dominum vel laudem Domino, QUOD, id est quod tantum vel laudem Dei per Alleluya representatam, ET PALLACIA CELI, id est gaudentes in pallacio celesti, et DINDIMA, id est subsellia angelorum, qui sunt in celi pallacio, CLAMANT, id est clamando continuo. Et sciendum, quod dicitur 'hic dindimus' in singulari numero et in plurali 'hec dindima, -orum'. Et sunt dindima proprie promontoria Troie sed propter eius celsitudinem transsumitur hic ad significandum quendam ordinem angelorum, qui quidem dicitur sedes vel subsellium. DINDIMA, dico, DANCIA USQUE, id est assidue, PRECONIA ad honorem Dei et beate virginis.

(Ad celebres rex)

AD CELEBRES, REX CELICE, LAUDES CUNCTA PANGAT NUNC CANORA CATERVA SIMPHONIA

367 Stadium ... 369 dimidium] *cf. Isid., orig., 15. 16, 2–3.*

372 intrinseca] intrinseca *cod.* | extrinseca] extrinseca *cod.* 373 Extrinseca] extrinsecus id est *cod.* 374 Intrinseca] intrinseca *cod.* 376 chorus] tronus *cod.* 378 celi *bis scr. cod. ante corr.* 381 quod¹] quoniam *cod.*; *cf. l. 378* | quod²] quoniam *cod.* 383 subsellia] subcellia *cod.* 387 Troie] troge *cod.* 388 subsellium] subcellium *cod.* 392 *ante AD spatium litterae initialis praebebat cod.*

A *centuria* is two hundred *iugera*, since among the ancients it was denoted as it were through a hundred [*centum*] *iugera*. A *stadium* is one hundred and thirty paces and six hundred and twenty-five feet, whose measure when summed up constitutes a mile. But a *leuca* is a mile and a half. And thus it is clear what a clime is.

And it should be known that 'church' is understood in many ways, since the church is either the celestial or the terrestrial. The terrestrial is either intrinsic or extrinsic. The extrinsic is the material church, namely the one constructed from stones and wood. But the intrinsic is the congregation of the faithful praying and offering in the material church. The celestial one is the triumphant and another is the angelic. The triumphant church is the choir of the saints. The angelic church is the host of the angels. And so 'church' is made evident.

SO THAT ALSO THE PALACES OF HEAVEN CALL THE MYSTERIES GIVING PRAISES CONTINUOUSLY

So it is said, that the church rejoices through the climes of the globe saying Alleluia, that is praise the Lord or praise to the Lord, SINCE, that is 'since' on its own or since the praise of God is represented by the Alleluia, ALSO THE PALACES OF THE HEAVEN, that is the ones rejoicing in the celestial palace, and THE MYSTERIES, that is the seats of the angels, who are in the palace of the heaven, THEY CALL, that is by calling continuously. And it should be known that it is said *hic dindimus* in the singular and in the plural *hec dindima, -orum*. And properly *dindima* is the mountain ridge near Troy,⁸ but on account of its height it is here transferred to signify a certain order of angels, which is called seats or small seats. THE MYSTERIES, I say, GIVING PRAISES in the honour of God and the holy virgin CONTINUOUSLY, that is constantly.

(Ad celebres rex)

HEAVENLY KING, TO THESE CELEBRATED PRAISES THE WHOLE CROWD MAY NOW SING WITH MELODIOUS SYMPHONY

⁸ *Dindymus*, home to the Goddess of Cybele, is a mountain in Phrygia near Troy.

Construe sic: o REX CELICE, CATERVA CUNCTA, tam homines quam
 395 angeli, PANGAT, id est canat, NUNC CANORA SIMPHONIA, id est sonora
 vocum concordia, que est mentis et oris, vel illa concordia, que est inter
 sonos plurium personarum. Et differt simphonia et armonia, quia armonia
 est vocis modulacio; simphonia modulacionis temperamentum, sive sit in
 voce sive sit in plausu. AD CELEBRES LAUDES, id est ad festivas laudes.

400 ODAS ATQUE SOLVAT CONCIO TIBI NOSTRA

ATQUE pro et, et NOSTRA CONCIO, id est convocacio, SOLVAT, id est
 quasi debitum reddat, ODAS, id est laudes vel cantus, TIBI, hoc est ad
 honorem tuum.

CUM IAM RENOVANTUR MICHAELIS INCLITA VALDE FESTA

405 CUM VALDE INCLITA FESTA, id est valde gloriosa festa, MICHAELIS,
 scilicet archangeli, RENOVANTUR IAM, id est annuatim quadam
 renovacione celebrantur.

PER QUEM LETABUNDA PERORNANTUR MACHINA MUNDI TOTA

PER QUEM, scilicet Michaellem, PERORNANTUR, id est bene ornantur,
 410 LETABUNDA, id est illa festa quadam leticia habundanter celebrata,
 TOTA MACHINA MUNDI, id est cum omni illo, quod continetur sub
 firmamento.

NOVIES DISTINCTA PNEUMATUM SUNT AGMINA PER TE FACTA

AGMINA, id est consorcia, PNEUMATUM, id est spirituum. Et sciendum,
 415 quod hoc nomen 'neuma' duplicem habet acceptionem, et potest
 cognosci in scripcione. Quandoque autem debet scribi per 'p' et 'n' et
 tunc significat spiritum, secundum quod hic accipitur. Quandoque
 autem scribitur per 'm' et 'n' vel per 'n' tantum et protendit iubilum, qui
 fit post antifonam. Qui quidem iubilus non potest exprimi corde et ore

395 sonora ... 397 personarum] *cf. Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., pp. 196–97.* 414 Et ... 419
 antifonam] *cf. Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 198.* 419 Qui ... 420 tantum] *cf. Petr. Lomb., in*
psalm. 46, PL, CXCI, 456A.

398 temperamentum] teperamentum *cod.* 406 quadam] qua *cod.* 413 pneumatum] mneumatum
cod.; cf. ll. 416–17 414 pneumatum] neumatum *cod.; cf. ll. 416–17* 416 autem *ut vid.* | *et¹ bis scr.*
cod. ante corr. 417 Quandoque] quando *cod.*

Construe thus: O HEAVENLY KING, THE WHOLE CROWD, men as well as angels, MAY SING, that is it may chant, NOW WITH MELODIOUS SYMPHONY, that is with a sonorous concord of voices, which concord is of the mind and the mouth, or with the concord between the sounds of several people. And there is a difference between ‘symphony’ and ‘harmony’, since ‘harmony’ is the modulation of the voice, ‘symphony’ the moderation of the modulation, whether it is in the voice, or in the clapping. TO THESE CELEBRATED PRAISES, that is to festive praises.

AND ALSO MAY OUR CONGREGATION RECOMPENSE WITH ODES

AND ALSO, instead of and, and OUR CONGREGATION, that is assembly, MAY RECOMPENSE, that is as it were may pay a debt, WITH ODES, that is praises or songs, TO YOU, that is to your honour.

WHEN NOW MICHAEL’S MOST GLORIOUS FEAST IS RENEWED

WHEN THE MOST GLORIOUS FEAST, that is this very glorious feast, OF MICHAEL, that is of the archangel, IS NOW RENEWED, that is celebrated yearly through a certain renewal.

THROUGH WHOM IT IS ADORNED JOYFUL WITH THE WHOLE MACHINE OF THE WORLD

THROUGH WHOM, namely Michael, IT IS ADORNED, that is decorated, JOYFUL, that is this celebrated feast abounds in a certain joy, WITH THE WHOLE MACHINE OF THE WORLD, that is along with all that exists under the firmament.

THEY ARE NINEFOLD DIVIDED, THE HOSTS OF SPIRITS MADE BY YOU

THE HOSTS, that is the troops, OF SPIRITS, that is of spiritual beings. It should be known that this word *neuma* has a twofold meaning and it can be noted in the spelling. For sometimes it should be written with *p* and *n* and then it signifies the spirit, as it is interpreted here. But sometimes it is written with *m* and *n*, or with *n* only, and it designates the *iubilus* which comes after the antiphon. This *iubilus*, however, cannot be expressed through the heart and the mouth,

420 sed sono tantum et fit ad designandum celeste gaudium, quod non potest demonstrari corde et ore pre eius magnitudine sed sono vel intellectu tantum, unde versus:

Terna dat 'hoc pneuma' cum 'p' pro flamine sacro.

Prima dat 'hec' sine 'p' pro cantu, ternaque neutrum.

425 PER TE, scilicet Dominum, FACTA. Inproprie utitur vocabulo 'facta', quia aliud est fieri et aliud est creari. Fieri enim est facere vel factum esse aliquid ex preiacenti materia; creare est aliquid facere sine preiacenti materia, secundum quod Deus creavit angelos sine preiacenti materia. DISTINCTA SUNT, id est divisa, NOVIES, id est per novenarium, quia
430 novem sunt / ordines angelorum. 63^b

Nam, CUM VIS, FACIS HEC FLAMMEA PER ANGELICAS OFFICINAS

Nam, CUM VIS, FACIS HEC FLAMMEA, id est per angelicum officium, hoc est quandoque nunciat hominibus; vel aliter: FLAMMEA, id est ignea propter ardorem caritatis, quem predicant hominibus.

435 INTER PRIMEVA SUNT HEC, NAM CREATA TUA, CUM SUMUS NOS ULTIMA FACTURA SED YMAGO TUA

Hic ostendit quod quodammodo sancti angeli antiquiores hominibus, unde dicitur: *In principio creavit Deus celum et terram*. Per 'celum' intellige celestia, per 'terram' terrestria, et sic quandam prioritatem
440 habent angeli ante homines. NAM HEC, suple agmina angelorum, SUNT CREATA TUA, id est tue creature. INTER PRIMEVA SUNT CREATA TUA, id est primo evo creata, CUM NOS SUMUS FACTURA TUA ULTIMA SED YMAGO TUA. YMAGO, quia nos imitamur Deum in iusticiam et sapienciam et prudenciam, quia ipse iustus est et iusticia, sic et nos iusti
445 per iusticiam. Similitudo est in liniamentis corporis, et ymago est quantum ad animam, similitudo quantum ad corpus.

423 Terna ... 424 neutrum] *versus non inveni*. 425 Inproprie ... 428 materia] *cf. Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 198; cf. etiam Petr. Lomb., sent. 2. 1. 2.* 432 Nam ... 434 hominibus] *cf. Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 198.* 438 In ... terram] *Gen. 1. 1.*

420 fit] *sic cod.* 421 magnitudine] *magnitudinem cod.* 423 Terna *subauditur* declinatio | pneuma] *neuma cod.* 424 Prima *subauditur* declinatio | ternaque *subauditur* declinatio 429 Distincta] *dicticta cod.* 431 Nam] *sed exspectes* 439 quandam prioritatem] *quemdam preornat cod., ut vid.* 443 Ymago²] *ultima cod.* 445 liniamentis] *liniametis cod.*

but in sound alone, and is made in order to designate the heavenly joy that cannot be demonstrated through the heart and the mouth, due to its magnitude, but through sound or intellect alone, whence this verse:

The third declension gives *hoc pneuma* with a *p* for the Holy Spirit.

The first declension gives *hec* without *p* for the song, and the third is neuter.

MADE BY YOU, namely the Lord. The word 'made' is used improperly, since it is one thing to be made and another to be created. For to be made is to make or to have been made something from pre-existing matter; to create is to make something without pre-existing matter, according to which God created the angels without pre-existing matter. THEY ARE DIVIDED, that is, they are separated, NINEFOLD, that is by means of nine, since there are nine orders of angels.

For, WHEN YOU WANT, YOU MAKE THESE AFLAME THROUGH ANGELIC OFFICES

For, WHEN YOU WANT, YOU MAKE THESE AFLAME, that is through the angelic office, that is when he informs the humans; or differently: AFLAME, that is fiery on account of the ardour of love, which they preach to the humans.

THEY ARE AMONG THE PRIMEVALS FOR THEY ARE YOUR CREATION, WHEN WE ARE THE LAST MAKING, BUT YOUR IMAGE

Here he shows that the holy angels in some way are prior to humans, whence it is said: 'In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.' By 'the heavens' understand the celestial beings, by 'the earth' the terrestrial. And thus angels have a certain priority over humans. FOR THEY, understand the troops of angels, ARE YOUR CREATION, that is Your creations, THEY ARE YOUR CREATION AMONG THE PRIMEVALS, that is created at the beginning of time, WHEN WE ARE YOUR LAST MAKING, BUT YOUR IMAGE. LAST, since we imitate God in justice and wisdom and prudence, since he himself is just and justice, so we are also just through justice. Similarity is in the lines of the body, and image is with respect to the soul, similarity with respect to the body.

THEOLOGA CATEGORIZENT SIMBOLA HEC TER TRIPARTITA PER PRIVATA officina

HEC, scilicet agmina angelorum, TER TRIPARTITA, id est per
450 novenarium disposita, PER PRIVATA officina, id est per propria officia,
CATEGORIZENT, id est predicant, THEOLOGA SIMBOLA, id est divina
misteria.

Et notandum, quod symbolum dupliciter accipitur. Quandoque enim
idem est quod communis comporcio, ut in convivio, et dicitur a 'sin',
455 quod est con, et 'bolos', porcio. Similiter symbolum dicitur dominica
oracio et 'Credo' et illud testimonium, quod dicitur 'Quicumque vult',
ubi est collexcio plurium articulorum Christiane fidei, unde 'symbolum'
secundum quosdam interpretatur collexcio. Item 'symbolum' aliquando
sumitur pro misterio, unde interpretatur singnum, et ita hic accipitur,
460 quia angeli nunciant divina misteria, quia ea sepe ministrant et alia
signant.

PLEBS ANGELICA, PHALANX ET ARCHANGELICA, <PRINCIPANS TURMA>,
VIRTUS URANICA AC POTESTAS ALMIPHONA, DOMINANCIA NUMINA,
DIVINA et SUBSELLIA, CHERUBIN ETHEREA AC SERAPHIN ardencia

465 Quia in sequencia fiet mencio de gerarchia, ideo videndum est, quid
sit gerarchia, et unde dicatur, et quot species habeat. Gerarchia est
legitimum nature rationalis dominium.

'Dominium' dicit, quia in nullo loco est cherarchia, nisi sit ibi
dominium.

470 'Nature rationalis' dicit, quia bruta animalia habent dominium,
quod non dicitur cherarchia.

453 Quandoque ... 457 collexcio] cf. *Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 200–01.* | 457 symbolum ...
459 singnum] cf. *Isid., orig. 6. 19. 57; cf. etiam Alan. Ins., dist., PL, CCX, 964C.* 465 Quia ... 484
rura] cf. *Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., pp. 202–03.*

447 ter in marg. 448 officina] officia *exspectes* 456 et¹] scilicet *cod.* 457 Christiane] christiani *cod.*
462 principans turma *supplevi*; cf. l. 631 464 subsellia] subcellia *cod.* | ardencia] ignicoma *exspectes*
465 fiet] fiot *cod.*, ut vid. 467 dominium cum *Alan. Ins. scripsi*, dominetur *cod.* 468 Dominium
ut vid. | in supra l. | nullo ex illo *corr. cod.*, ut vid. | cherarchia] cherachia *cod.* 471 cherarchia]
cherachia *cod.*

THEY MAY PREACH THEOLOGICAL SYMBOLS, THESE THREEFOLD BY THREE THROUGH INDIVIDUAL functions

THESE, namely the troops of angels, THREEFOLD BY THREE, that is ordered by means of nine, THROUGH INDIVIDUAL functions, that is through their personal offices, MAY PREACH, that is they preach, THEOLOGICAL SYMBOLS, that is the divine mysteries.

Note also that 'symbol' has a twofold meaning. For sometimes it is the same as a joint share, as in a social feast, and it is derived from *sin*, which is together, and *bolos*, portion. Similarly, the Lord's prayer is called a symbol, as well as both the *Credo* and that testimony which is called *Quicumque vult*, where there is a collection of several articles of the Christian faith, whence 'symbol', according to some, is interpreted as collection. Furthermore, 'symbol' is sometimes used for mystery, whence it is interpreted as sign, and this is the sense here, since the angels announce the divine mysteries, for often they manage these and designate others.

THE ANGELIC PEOPLE AND THE ARCHANGELIC PHALANX, THE RULING CROWD, THE URANIC VIRTUE AND THE EUPHONIOUS POWER, THE DOMINATING SPIRITS AND THE DIVINE SEATS, THE ETHEREAL CHERUBIM AND THE glowing SERAPHIM

Since hierarchy is mentioned in the sequence, it should be considered what a hierarchy is, and whence it is named, and how many forms it has. Hierarchy is the legitimate dominance of the rational nature.

'Dominance' he says, since there can be no hierarchy unless there is dominance.

'Of the rational nature' he says, since the irrational animals exercise dominance which is not called hierarchy.

‘Legittimum’ dicit, quia reges et huiusmodi habent potestatem super alios, et hi forctan non habent legittimam secundum legem. Et dicitur a ‘chere’, quod est sacer, et ‘arcos’, quod est principatus sive
 475 dominium.

Cherarchia vero dividitur in tres species, scilicet in supercelestem et celestem et subcelestem. Supercelestis cherarchia est summe trinitatis ypostaseos monarchia, et est ypostasis idem quod substantia. Celestis vero cherarchia est ordo angelicus, qui dividitur in ix ordines;
 480 subcelestis cherarchia ut apostolatus, archiepiscopatus et huiusmodi. De supercelesti cherarchia dicit mencionem faciendo, ubi dicitur: PER VOS PATRIS CUNCTA. De celesti cherarchia tangit, ubi dicitur: VOS PER ETHRA. De subcelesti cherarchia tangit, ubi dicitur: NOS PER RURA.

485 Sed quia dictum est, quod celestis cherarchia dividitur in ix ordines, ideo videndum est, quid sit ordo, vel quare dicatur ordo, et in quot species habeat dividi.

Ordo angelicus est, ut ait magister Iohannes Scotus, [est] caractere theophanie simplicis et non ymaginarie et reciproce uniformis scilicet
 490 spirituum insignita multitudo. Sed videndum, quid quodlibet membrum in hac descriptione positum operetur.

‘Multitudo’ apponitur, quia ordo angelicus non potest esse, nisi ibi sit multitudo.

‘Spirituum’ apponitur ad differentiam hominum, quia sepe homines
 495 contemplantur / ipsum creatorem per creaturas ipsas. 64^{ra}

‘Insignita caractere’ quasi quodammodo sigillata signo. Caractere enim idem est quod signum.

‘Theophanie’ apponitur et dicitur a ‘theos’, Deus, et ‘phanos’, visio sive contemplacio, quasi Dei visio.

485 Sed ... 528 presencialiter] *cf. Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 203–04.*

473 legittimam *ex* legittimum *corr. cod., ut vid.* 476 cherarchia] cherachia *cod.* 477 cherarchia] cherachia *cod.* 478 ypostaseos *cum Alan. Ins. scripsi, apostacios cod.* | ypostasis] apostasis *cod.* 482 Patris] patres *cod.; cf. l. 712* 483 ethra] etherea *cod.; cf. ll. 759–60* | subcelesti *ex* subcelestia *corr. cod.* | nos] vos *cod.; cf. l. 762* 488 est *delevi* 489 theophanie] theophonie *cod.* | scilicet *ut vid.* 490 quid] quod *cod.; cf. l. 534* 496 caractere] carectere *cod. post corr. ex* cacarectere 498 Theophanie] theophonie *cod.*

‘Legitimate’ he says, since kings and the like have power over others and these may not have legitimate [power] according to the law. And it derives from *chere*, which is sacred, and *arcos*, which is dominion or dominance.

The hierarchy is divided into three forms, namely the supercelestial, the celestial, and the subcelestial. The supercelestial hierarchy is the monarchy of the highest trinity of *hypostasis*, and *hypostasis* is the same as substance. The celestial hierarchy is the angelic order, which is divided into nine orders; the subcelestial hierarchy just as the episcopal dignity, the archbishopric and the like. He speaks of and mentions the supercelestial hierarchy, where it is said: THROUGH YOU THE FATHER’S EVERY. He touches upon the celestial hierarchy, where it is said: YOU THROUGHOUT THE ETHER. He touches upon the subcelestial hierarchy where it is said: WE THROUGHOUT THE LANDS.

But since it is said that the celestial hierarchy is divided into nine orders, it should be considered what an order is, or why it is called an order, and in how many forms it can be divided.

‘An angelic order is’, as master John Scottus says, ‘a uniform multitude namely of spirits, marked by the mark of the simple, non-figurative, and reciprocal theophany.’ But it should be considered how each element in this description operates.

‘Multitude’ is added, since the angelic order cannot exist unless there is a multitude.

‘Of spirits’ is added in contrast to the humans, since humans often contemplate the creator himself through the creations themselves.

‘Marked by the mark’ as if in some way sealed with a sign. For a mark is the same as a sign.

‘Of theophany’ is added, and this is derived from *theos*, God, and *phanos*, vision or contemplation, as it were a vision of God.

500 ‘Simplicis’ apponitur ad differentiam composite contemplacionis,
 quia quedam contemplacio est simplex, quedam composita. Composita
 contemplacio in duas dividitur species: in contemplacionem secundum
 sensum et contemplacionem secundum rationem. Secundum sensum
 fit contemplacio, quando contemplamur Deum creatorem per ipsas
 505 creaturas, id est per solem et lunam et stellas et huiusmodi. Secundum
 rationem fit contemplacio, quando nos contemplamur coherenciam
 inter materiam et formam, unde scimus, quod admisit materiam et
 formam, et hec contemplacio est composita. Simplex contemplacio est,
 que fit inter angelos, quia contemplantur Deum, prout est in maiestate
 510 sua et non per aliquas creaturas.

‘Non ymaginarie’ apponitur, quia <quedam> contemplacio est
 ymaginaria, quedam non ymaginaria. Ymaginaria est illa, que fit per
 potenciam et sapienciam et bonitatem Dei. Potencia est ipse Deus
 Pater. Sapiencia est Filius Dei. Bonitas est Spiritus sanctus. Per potenciam
 515 prospicimus ipsas res excistere, per sapienciam illarum ordinationem,
 per bonitatem illarum divisionem, id est suum esse, quo excistunt. Et
 sic ymaginarie contemplamur, unde dicitur: *Per speculum videmus
 in enigmate, tunc autem facie ad faciem. Ex parte enim cognoscimus
 et ex parte prophetamus*. Non ymaginaria est illa, que fit inter angelos,
 520 quia angeli vident creatorem facie ad faciem et non per aliquam
 ymaginem.

‘Reciproce’ apponitur et tractum est a ‘speculo’, quia, sicut radii
 visuales exeunt ab oculo ad discernendam formam illius et postea
 redeunt ad ipsam rem, sic angeli vident Deum et in hoc, quod vident
 525 ipsum, vident seipsos.

‘Uniformis’ apponitur, ne putaret aliquis, quod omnes angeli non
 viderent ipsum creatorem uniformiter, quamvis non omnes eque
 presencialiter.

Et sic habemus, quid singula membra operentur in hac descriptioe.

517 Per ... 518 faciem] *cf.* I Cor. 13. 12. 518 Ex ... 519 prophetamus] I Cor. 13. 9.

509 quia *supra* l. 511 ymaginarie] ymaginaria *cod.*; *cf.* l. 489 | quedam *supplevi* 522 speculo *ut vid.*

528 presencialiter] presenciaría *cod.* 529 quid] quod *cod.*; *cf.* l. 534

‘Simple’ is added in contrast to the composite contemplation, since a certain contemplation is simple, a certain composite. The composite contemplation is divided into two forms: a contemplation according to the senses and a contemplation according to reason. A contemplation according to the senses is when we contemplate God the creator through the creations themselves, that is through the sun and the moon and the stars and the like. A contemplation according to reason is when we contemplate the coherence between matter and form, whence we know that he approved of matter and form, and this contemplation is composite. A simple contemplation is that which exists amongst the angels, since they contemplate God as he is in his grandeur and not through any creations.

‘Non-figurative’ is added, since a certain contemplation is figurative, a certain non-figurative. Figurative is that which occurs through God’s power, wisdom, and goodness. The power is God the Father himself. The wisdom is the Son of God. The goodness is the Holy Spirit. Through the power we see that the things themselves exist, through the wisdom their arrangement, through the goodness their division, that is their essence through which they exist. And so we contemplate in a figurative way, whence it is said: ‘For now we see in a mirror dimly, but then face to face.’ ‘For we know in part and we prophesy in part.’ Non-figurative is that which occurs amongst the angels, since the angels see the creator face to face and not through any image.

‘Reciprocal’ is added, and it is derived from *speculum* [‘mirror’], since, just as visual rays emanate from the eye to discern its form and thereafter return to the thing itself, so the angels see God, and in that they see him, they see themselves.

‘Uniform’ is added, so that no one should think that all the angels do not see the creator himself in a uniform way, even if not all see him equally directly.

And thus we know how each element functions in this description.

530 Sed, ne videatur ignotum per ignocius exponere, ideo videndum est, quid sit theophania. Et est theophania ex consequentibus signis, non <ex> substantiis geniiis, mentibus ab ymaginacionibus defecatis, supersubstantialis originis pura et reciproca manifestacio. Unde videndum, quid sic singulum positum in hac descriptioe operetur.

535 'Manifestacio' apponitur, quia ubi est theophania, ibi est manifestacio, sed non e converso.

'Ex consequentibus signis' apponitur, quia quedam manifestacio fit ex consequentibus signis et quedam non ex consequentibus signis, quia quandoque cognoscimus causam per effectum, quandoque effectum per causam. Per effectum cognoscimus, ut quando videmus solem pati eclipsim. Tunc scimus, quod luna interponitur nobis et soli. Effectum per causam, ut quando videmus aliquid habere pulmonem. Per hoc scimus esse spirabile, quia pulmo est causa inspiracionis et respiracionis. Non ex singnis consequentibus fit illa manifestacio, quamvis videamus
545 aliquid fieri in illa signis consequentibus.

'Non ex substantiis geniiis' apponitur. Genius enim dicitur deus nature et inde dicitur 'genius, -a, -um', id est naturale, et 'Genesis' liber de natura, unde substantia genia, id est substantia naturalia. Et notandum, quod quedam naturalia sunt accidentalia, quedam
550 substantialia. Naturalia accidentalia sunt ipsa propria ut risibile et huiusmodi. Naturalia substantialia sunt ut substantiales difference ut racionalitas et huiusmodi.

Item notandum, quod est differentia inter theophaniam theologie et theophaniam phisice. Theophania theologie ascendit a sensu ad
555 intelligenciam. Theophania phisice descendit ab intelligencia ad sensum. Verbi gratia: Phisicus discernit proprium esse / piperis desiccare, et sic 64^b

530 Sed ... 575 est] *cf. Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., pp. 204–06.* 550 propria ... risibile] *cf. Boeth., Porph. isag., p. 7.*

530 videatur] videtur *ex* videntur *corr. cod.* | ignocius] ignosius *cod., i.e. ignotius* 531 theophania¹] theophonia *cod.* | theophania²] theophonia *cod.* 532 *ex cum Alan. Ins. supplevi; cf. etiam l. 546* 533 supersubstantialis *cum Alan. Ins. scripsi, substantialis cod.; cf. etiam ll. 571–73* 534 positum] pōnum *cod.* 535 theophania] theophonia *cod.* 543 et + non *ante corr.* | respiracionis] respiciens *cod.* 544 quamvis videamus] quando videmus *cod.* 545 illa *ut vid.* 553 differentia *ex* differentiam *corr. cod.* | theophaniam] theophoniam *cod.* 554 theophaniam] theophoniam *cod.* | phisice] phicise *cod.* | Theophania] theophonia *cod.* | theologie] theologice *cod.* | sensu] ssensu *cod.* 555 descendit] decendit *cod.*

But, for it not to seem that we explain the unknown through something even more unknown, we must consider what the theophany is. 'And the theophany is a pure and reciprocal manifestation of a super-substantial origin, from consecutive signs not from natural substances, in minds purified from images.' Whence it should be considered how each part in this description functions.

'Manifestation' is added, since where the theophany is, there is a manifestation, but not the other way round.

'From consecutive signs' is added, since a certain manifestation comes from consecutive signs and another not from consecutive signs, since we sometimes know the cause through the effect and sometimes the effect through the cause. We know [the cause] through the effect as when we see the sun suffer an eclipse. Then we know that the moon is placed between us and the sun. The effect through the cause is as when we see that something has a lung. Through this we know that it can breathe, since the lung is the cause for inhaling and exhaling. This manifestation does not come from consecutive signs even though we see that something happens in it from consecutive signs.

'Not from natural substances' is added. For the god of nature is called *genius*, and hence it is said *genius*, *-a*, *-um*, that is natural, and Genesis is the book of nature, whence *substantia genia*, that is natural substance. And it should be noted that some are natural accidentals and some are natural substantials. Natural accidentals are the distinctive characteristics such as being able to laugh and the like.⁹ Natural substantials are for instance substantials of difference, as rationality and the like.

Furthermore it should be noted that there is a difference between the theophany of theology and the theophany of physics. The theophany of theology ascends from the senses to the intellect. The theophany of physics descends from the intellect to the senses. For example: a natural scientist discerns that the distinctive characteristic of pepper is to burn, and thus

⁹ To be able to laugh was the common example of a *proprium* used in Boethius's translation of Porphyry's *Isagoge*, his introduction to Aristotle's *Categories*. It is later found in the writings of, for example, both Thomas Aquinas and William of Ockham.

habet intelligenciam sensus, quod calide nature est, et sic apponit
 differenciam herbis suis. Sed tali modo non debemus Deum contemplari
 per substantiales differencias aliquas, quia nihil in Deo est, quod non sit
 560 Deus. Non opponitur.

‘Non ex substanciis geniiis, mentibus ab ymaginacionibus defecatis’
 apponitur ad removendam quorundam opinionem, qui dicebantur
 antropomorfite, qui contemplari Deum solebant secundum liniamenta
 corporis, scilicet magnum et sedentem in cathedra, vallatum
 565 excercitibus angelorum. Sed non debemus sic Deum contemplari
 ex liniamentis corporis sed quodammodo simpliciter et sine omni
 composicione, et ideo dicitur ‘mentibus ab ymaginacione defecatis’, id
 est depuratis.

‘Supersubstantialis originis’ apponitur, quia quedam origo est
 570 substantialis, quedam supersubstantialis. Origo substantialis est causa
 materialis et causa formalis et huiusmodi. Origo supersubstantialis
 est illa, a qua omnis origo sumit originem, que est causa causalissima
 omnium rerum, id est ipse Deus, et ideo hoc apponitur.

‘Pura’ apponitur, quia omnis manifestacio, que est de Deo, debet
 575 esse pura, immo purissima et reciproca, ut superius dictum est.

Et sic habemus, quid sit theophania et ita sic dictum est. De
 cherarchia tractat magister Iohannes Scotus in quadam summa, quam
 composuit.

Theophania autem in tres partes sive species dividitur: in epiphaniam,
 580 in yperfaniam et ypofaniam.

Epifania dicitur ab ‘epi’, quod est super, et ‘fanos’, visio, quasi
 superior Dei visio. In epifania autem continentur tres ordines
 spirituum. Primus dicitur ceraphin, secundus cherubin, tercius dicitur

579 Theophania ... 613 nuncius] *cf. Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., pp. 206–10.*

559 differencias *ex* differenciasi *corr. cod.* 561 substanciis] *substanci cod.; cf. l. 532* | defecatis]
 defecsa *cod., ut vid.; cf. l. 532* 563 antropomorfite] *antropomorfanice cod.* 564 sedentem]
 cedentem *cod.* 569 Supersubstantialis *cum Alan. Ins. scripsi, substancialis cod.; cf. etiam ll.*
 571–73 572 causalissima] *casualissima cod.* 577 cherarchia] *chererchia cod.* | Scotus] *scttus cod.*
ut vid. 579 theophania] *theophonia cod.* 581 fanos] *fonos cod., sed cf. l. 594* 582 autem *ut vid.*
 | continentur *ex* continentre (*ut vid.*) *corr. cod.*

he gains a sensory knowledge that it has a warm nature, and in this way he identifies the difference in the herbs. But we should not contemplate God thus through some substantial differences, since there is nothing in God which is not God. We do not oppose this.

‘Not from natural substances, in minds purified from images’ is added in order to eliminate the opinion of those called *Anthropomorphitae*, who used to imagine God according to the features of the body, namely as sitting grandly in a bishop’s seat surrounded by the hosts of angels. But we should not contemplate God thus after the features of a body but somehow simply and without any composition, and therefore it is said ‘in minds purified from images’, that is cleansed.

‘Of a supersubstantial origin’ is added, since a certain origin is substantial, a certain supersubstantial. The substantial origin is the material cause, the formal cause, and the like. The supersubstantial origin is that from which every origin takes its origin, which is the most causal cause of all things, that is God himself, and therefore it is added here.

‘Pure’ is added, since every manifestation coming from God ought to be pure, indeed even most pure and reciprocal, as has been said above.

And thus we understand what the theophany is, and so it has thus been said. Master John Scottus treats the hierarchy in a certain *summa* written by him.

But the theophany is divided into three parts or forms: *epiphania*, *hyperphania*, and *hypophania*.

Epiphania derives from *epi*, which is above, and *phanos*, vision, as it were a superior vision of God. The epiphany contains three orders of spirits. The first is called seraphim, the second cherubim, the third is called

troni. Seraphin dicitur ardens, quia spiritus in illo ordine infundunt
 585 cordibus hominum ardorem et amorem caritatis. Cherubin dicitur
 plenitudo sciencie, quia illi spiritus, qui in illo ordine sunt, plenitudinem
 sciencie Dei ministrant mentibus hominum. Et notandum, quod, licet
 sciencia Dei superior sit quam amor Dei, tamen amor prius est, quia
 dicitur: Seraphim fructuosior est. Troni dicuntur propter dignitates,
 590 quas habent, scilicet quod suggerunt hominibus discrecionem discernendi
 bonum a malo et e converso.

Item in yperphania continentur tres ordines. Primus est, qui dicitur
 dominaciones, secundus principatus, tercius potestates. Et dicitur
 yperphania ab 'yper', quod est inter, et 'phanos', visio, quasi media
 595 visio, quia spiritus, qui in illa continentur, sunt inferiores respectu
 superiorum et superiores respectu inferiorum. Dominaciones dicuntur,
 quia ministrant hominibus quandam subieccionem habere ipsi creatori.
 Principatus dicuntur eo, quod ostendunt hominibus reverenciam illius
 Domini, quam debent Deo exhibere. Potestates dicuntur eo, quod
 600 habent potestates claudi illas insidias, quas inmundi spiritus instigant
 hominibus.

Item in ypophania continentur tres ordines spirituum. Et dicitur
 ypophania ab 'ypos', sub, et 'phanos', visio, quasi subterior Dei visio.
 Primus ordo est virtutes, secundus archangeli, tercius angeli. Virtutes
 605 dicuntur eo, quod per ipsos spiritus Deus facit miracula in suis creaturis,
 ut cecum videre vel huiusmodi, quia, licet philosophi non admittant
 Deum aliquid facere contra naturam, admittimus, cum contra naturam
 esset, ut cecus postea videat. Archangeli dicuntur spiritus illi, qui magna
 nunciant, quasi principales vel summi nuncii, quia per illos nunciantur
 610 hominibus magna et maxima. Angeli dicuntur alii spiritus, qui minima
 nunciant hominibus, et dicitur ab 'an', quasi quod est sursum, et 'gelos',
 missus, quasi desuper missus. / Archangelus dicitur ab 'arcos', princeps, et 64^{va}
 'angelus', nuncius, quasi principalis nuncius.

589 Seraphim ... est] *cf. Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 208.* 606 cecum videre] *cf. Tob. 11; Matt. 9. 27–31; Matt. 20. 29–34; Mar. 8. 22–26; Luc. 18. 35–43; Ioh. 9.*

589 Seraphim *ut vid.* 590 quas] *quam cod.* | hominibus] *homines cod.* 592 yperphania] *eperphania cod.* 602 ypophania] *ypophonia cod.* 603 ypophania] *pophonia cod.* | phanos] *phonos cod.* 605 ipsos] *ipsas cod.* 607 admittimus *ex admittamus corr. cod., ut vid.* 608 esset] *esse cod.* | *ut cecus bis scr. cod.* 609 quasi] *quod cod.*

the thrones. Seraphim are called glowing, since the spirits in this order infuse the glow and love of charity into the hearts of humans. Cherubim are called fullness of knowledge, since the spirits in this order administer the fullness of the knowledge of God in the minds of the humans. And it should be noted that even if the knowledge of God is superior to the love of God, love nevertheless comes first, since it is said: 'The seraphim are more fruitful.' The thrones are named thus because of the greatness they possess, namely that they bestow upon the humans the capacity of distinguishing between right and wrong and vice versa.

The *hyperphania* contains three orders. The first is that called the dominions, the second the principalities, the third the powers. And *hyperphania* derives from *hyper*, which is between, and *phanos*, vision, as it were a middle vision, since the spirits in this order are inferior with regard to the superior, and superior with regard to the inferior. The dominions are named thus since they assist people in observing a certain subjection to the creator himself. The principalities are named thus because they show people the reverence of the Lord that they should show God. The powers are named thus because they have the power to shut out the snares set for people by the unclean spirits.

The *hypophania* contains three orders of spirits. And *hypophania* derives from *hypo*, under, and *phanos*, vision, as it were a lower vision of God. The first order is the virtues, the second the archangels, the third the angels. The virtues are named thus because through these spirits God performs miracles in his creations, so that a blind man can see or the like, since, although the philosophers do not admit that God does anything contrary to nature, we admit [it], since it is contrary to nature that a blind man afterwards can see. The spirits who announce great things are called archangels, as it were the principal or the highest messengers, since the great and the greatest things are announced to humans through them. Other spirits who announce the smallest things to humans are called angels, and it is derived from *an*, which is as that which is high above, and *gelos*, sent, as it were sent from above. Archangel is derived from *arcos*, the principal, and *angelus*, messenger, as it were the principal messenger.

Et sic patet, quod ix sunt ordines spirituum, quod patet per hos versus:

615 Spirituum regnat in celis ordo novenus.
 Angelus est primus, archangelus estque secundus.
 Tercius est tronus, dominacio cui sociatur,
 virtus huic, ordo princeps, exinde potestas,
 octavus cherubin, ceraphin sedet ordo novenus.

620 Redeamus ad litteram.

PLEBS ANGELICA

Hic fit mencio de tercio ordine, qui fit in ypophania. Et nota, quod proprie 'plebs' est collexcio multorum hominum et ponitur hic transsumptive ad significandum infimum ordinem angelorum propter
 625 excellenciam aliorum ordinum. Ita dico, si aliquis sit alcior alio, quamvis sit propinquior Deo, et sic incipitur a novissimo gradu ascendendo.

PHALANX ET ARCHANGELICA

Nota, quod proprie 'phalanx, -gis', est exercitus equitum, et hic transsumitur ad significandum ordinem archangelorum propter
 630 excellenciam, quam habent super angelos, sicut equites super pedites.

PRINCIPANS TURMA

Id est principatus, et est ordo medius in yperphania, et commutatur hic naturalis ordo causa metri, ut sepe contingit. Et sciendum, quod 'turma' potest dici de racionabilibus tantum, 'turba' vero de racionabilibus et
 635 irrationabilibus.

VIRTUS URANICA

Hic redit ad primum ordinem ypophanie. 'Uranos' Grece, 'ignis' Latine, unde 'uranica', id est ignea, et ponitur singulare pro plurali, quia 'virtus' propter 'virtutes'.

615 Spirituum ... 619 novenus] *versus non inveni sed de ordine angelorum vide e. g. Isid., orig. 7. 5. 4.*

617 sociatur] sosciatur *cod.* 619 sedet] cedit *cod.* 622 ypophania] ypiphania *cod.* 626 ascendendo] assendendo *cod.* 631 Principans] principatus *cod.* 632 yperphania] ypiphania *cod.*; *cf. l. 593* | commutatur *ut vid.* 634 racionabilibus] racionalibus *cod.* 638 plurali + quia potestas propter potestates causa metri *ante corr.*

And thus it is clear that there are nine orders of spirits, which is evident from these lines:

A ninefold order of spirits reigns in the heavens.
 The angels are the first, archangels the second,
 the thrones the third, the dominions follow on this,
 the virtues on that, the order of principalities, then
 the powers,
 cherubim as the eighth, the seraphim sit as the ninth.

Let us return to the text.

THE ANGELIC PEOPLE

Here there is a mention of the third order in the *hypophania*. And note that strictly speaking ‘people’ is a gathering of many people, and it is here used metaphorically in order to signify the lowest order of angels due to the excellence of the other orders. I say this, if someone is higher than someone else, even if he is closer to God, and thus he starts by ascending from the lowest grade.

AND THE ARCHANGELIC PHALANX

Note that strictly speaking *phalanx*, *-gis* is the troop of the cavalry, and here it is transferred in order to signify the order of the archangels on account of the excellence it has over the angels, just as the cavalry over the infantry.

THE RULING CROWD

This is the principalities, and it is the middle order in the *hyperphania*, and here the natural order is changed due to the metre, as often happens. And it should be known that *turma* can be used only of rational beings, whereas *turba* can be used both of irrational and rational beings.

THE URANIC VIRTUE

Here he returns to the first order of the *hypophania*. *Uranos* in Greek, *ignis* [‘fire’] in Latin, whence *uranica*, that is fiery, and it is used in the singular for the plural because of ‘virtue’ in exchange for ‘virtues’.

640 AC POTESTAS ALMIPHONA

Hic est tercius ordo in yperphania, et hic mutatur naturalis ordo ut superius, et ponitur hic singulare pro plurali, quia 'potestas' propter 'potestates' causa metri. ALMIFONA, id est sacra sonantes. 'Almum' enim sanctum, 'phonos' sonus est. Et potestates dicuntur eo, quod
 645 faciunt nos resistere instigacionibus demonum.

DOMINANCIA NUMINA

Id est dominaciones. Hic redit ad naturalem ordinem, et est primus ordo in yperphania.

DIVINAQUE SUBSELLIA

650 Id est troni. Hic est tercius ordo in epiphania. Et sunt subsellia sedes iudicum proprie sicut troni, et dicitur de 'sub' et 'sella', quod est diminutivum de 'sedes' et dicitur sella quasi sedella.

CHERUBIN ETHEREA

Hic est secundus ordo in epiphania. ETHEREA dicit, quia ether est
 655 limpidus et clarior ceteris corporibus, et sic ponitur ad significandam claritudinem et sinceritatem sciencie Dei.

Et SERAPHIN ardencia

Hic est primus ordo in epiphania. Ardencia dicit eo, quod ille ordo, qui dicitur seraphin, infundit cordibus hominum ardorem caritatis.

660 Et notandum, quod aliud est cherubin, et aliud est cherubim, et aliud est cherub. 'Cherubin' enim scriptum per 'n' significat illam multitudinem, que est in illo ordine, et est neutri generis et pluralis numeri. 'Cherubim' vero scriptum per 'm' significat aliquos de illa multitudine ut duos vel tres,

660 Et ... 667 multitudine²] *cf. Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 212.* 662 Cherubim ... 664 generis] *cf. Hier., in Is. 1. 2, PL, XXIV, 25B.*

641 yperphania] ypophania *cod.*; *cf. l. 593* 648 yperphania] ypophania *cod.*; *cf. l. 593* 649 subsellia] subcellia *cod.* 650 epiphania *ex* ephiphania *corr. cod.* | subsellia] subcellia *cod.* | sedes] cedes *cod.* 651 sella] cella *cod.* 652 diminutivum *ut vid.* | sedes] cedes *cod.* | sella] cella *cod.* | sedella] cedella *cod.* 655 clarior] clarius *cod.* 656 sinceritatem] cinceritatem *cod.* 657 ardencia] ignicoma *expectes*

AND THE EUPHONIOUS POWER

This is the third order in the *hyperphania*, and here the natural order is changed as above, and it is used here in the singular for the plural because of 'power' in exchange for 'powers' on account of the metre. EUPHONIOUS, that is sounding holy things. For *almum* is holy, *phonos* is sound. And they are called powers because they make us resist the temptations of the demons.

THE DOMINATING SPIRITS

This is the dominions. Here he returns to the natural order and this is the first order in the *hyperphania*.

AND THE DIVINE SEATS

This is the thrones. It is the third order in the *epiphania*. And strictly speaking *subsellia* are the judges' seats, like thrones, and it derives from *sub* ['under'] and *sella* ['seat'], which is the diminutive of *sedes* and it is called *sella*, as it were *sedella*.

THE ETHEREAL CHERUBIM

This is the second order in the *epiphania*. He says ETHEREAL since ether is bright and clearer than other bodies, and here it is used in order to signify the clarity and sincerity of the knowledge of God.

And the glowing SERAPHIM

This is the first order in the *epiphania*. He says glowing because the order of the seraphim infuses the ardour of love into the hearts of people.

And it should be noted that *cherubin* is one thing, *cherubim* another, and cherub yet another. For *cherubin* written with an *n* signifies the multitude in this order, and it is neuter and plural. But *cherubim* written with an *m* signifies some individuals from this multitude, as two or three,

et etiam est pluralis numeri et masculini generis. 'Cherub' autem
 665 significat unum de multitudine. Similiter dicendum est de differentia
 inter seraphin, seraphim et seraf. 'Seraphin' est ipsa multitudo,
 'seraphim' aliqui de multitudine, 'seraf' unus de multitudine. Aliter
 tamen dicunt quidam, quod 'cherubin' ponitur pro multitudine et
 'cherubim' pro uno multitudinis, et opponunt ita in hoc versu:

670 *N* corus angelicus, ast *m* tenet angelus unus.

Sed tunc non liquet, quid est cherub. Ideo dicunt alii, quod 'cherub'
 et 'seraf' sunt nomina angelorum, 'cherubin' et 'seraphin' eorum
 multitudo.

Postea facit mencionem determinate de quibusdam spiritibus, scilicet
 675 angelis, / dicens:

64^{vb}

O VOS, MICHAEL, CELI SATRAPA

Et interpretatur MICHAEL quis ut Deus, vel dicitur a 'mico, -cas' et 'el',
 quod est Deus, quasi micans ante Deum. SATRAPHA, id est principans
 vel princeps vel id est nuncius. Et dicitur 'satrapha' quasi satis paratus
 680 vel apparens, unde 'satrapeia', id est principatus vel nunciatio. CELI, id
 est celestis regni.

GABRIELQUE VERA DANS VERBI NUNCIA

GABRIEL dicitur a 'gabri', quod est fortis, et 'el', quod est Deus, quasi
 fortitudo Dei, vel dicitur Gabriel ethimologice quasi Gerens Ave Beate
 685 Reatum Illicitum Eve Lavanti. DANS VERA NUNCIA VERBI, id est Filii.

Et notandum, quod 'verbum' quinque modis accipitur. Quandoque
 idem est quod dicio, unde Plautus: Verbum de verbo extulit.
 Quandoque pro sermone, unde est: Sis stabilis verbo. Quandoque
 ponitur pro deceptione, unde Ovidius: Verba dat omnis amans.
 690 Quandoque pro una parte oracionis, sicut ponit Donatus. Quandoque

670 N ... unus] *versum non inveni*. 677 Michael ... Deus] *cf. Hier., nom. hebr., p. 82, ll. 7–8*.
 684 fortitudo Dei] *cf. Hier., nom. hebr., p. 140, l. 24*. 687 Verbum ... extulit] *cf. Ter., Ad., l. 11*.
 688 stabilis verbo] *cf. Guill. Tyr., hist. rer. transm., PL, CCI, 437D*. 689 Verba amans] *cf. Ov., rem.,*
l. 95. 690 ponit Donatus] *cf. Don., min. 1*.

674 quibusdam] quibus *cod.* 687 Plautus *ut vid.* 689 dat ex tat *corr. cod., ut vid.*

and this is also plural and masculine. But cherub signifies one being from this multitude. The same is to be said of the difference between *seraphin*, *seraphim*, and seraph. *Seraphin* is the multitude itself, *seraphim* some individuals from the multitude, seraph a single being from the multitude. However, others say on the contrary that *cherubin* is used for the multitude and *cherubim* for a single being from the multitude and thus they disagree using this verse:

N is the angelic crowd but *m* denotes a single angel.

But then it is not clear what a cherub is. Therefore others say that 'cherub' and 'seraph' are the names of the angels, *cherubin* and *seraphin* their multitude.

Thereafter he mentions specifically some spirits, namely the angels, saying:

O YOU, MICHAEL, THE SATRAP OF HEAVEN

And MICHAEL is interpreted as 'who is like God', or it is derived from *mico*, *-cas*, and *el*, which is God, as it were 'Shining before God'. SATRAP, that is the ruling one or the principal or it is a messenger. And 'satrap' as it were 'Prepared enough' or 'visible', whence *satrapia*, that is a reign or an announcement. OF HEAVEN, that is of the heavenly kingdom.

AND GABRIEL GIVING THE TRUE MESSAGE OF THE WORD

GABRIEL is derived from *gabri*, which is strong, and *el*, which is God, as it were 'The strength of God', or Gabriel is derived etymologically as *Gerens Ave Beatae Reatum Illicitum Evae Lavanti* ['bringing *Ave* to the blessed one who is washing away Eve's unlawful guilt']. GIVING THE TRUE MESSAGE OF THE WORD, that is of the Son.

And note that 'word' can be interpreted in five ways. Sometimes it is the same as an expression, whence this from Terence: 'He has translated word by word.' Sometimes for speech, whence this is: 'May you be firm in your word.' Sometimes it is used for deceit, whence Ovid: 'Every lover gives his word.' Sometimes for a part of speech as Donatus says. Sometimes

ponitur pro Filio, unde illud: *Verbum caro factum est*, et ita accipitur hic. VERBI, id est Filii, et hac ratione, quia, sicut verbum est interpret cordis, sic Dei Filius est interpret Patris ad homines. Filius semper erat apud Patrem, unde in evangelio: *In principio erat verbum et verbum erat*
 695 *apud Deum*.

ATQUE RAPHAEL, VITE VERNULA

RAPHAEL interpretatur medicina Dei. VERNULA, id est diminutivum de 'verna', id est cliens, VITE, id est salutis.

NOS TRANSFERTE INTER PARADISICOLAS, id est colentes paradisum.

700 Et notandum, quod super hiis nominibus, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, duplex est opinio. Quidam enim dicunt, quod sunt nomina officiorum, et quandoque alicui permittitur spiritui potestas fortitudinis, tunc potest dici Michael, ut quando pugnavit cum dracone et expulit eum de terra et similiter in die iudicii detrudet eum in infernum et suos complices.
 705 Similiter quando alicui spiritui permittitur potestas nunciandi, tunc potest dici Gabriel, unde illud: *Missus est Gabriel* ad Mariam et ad Annam et ad Ioachim et ad Zachariam. Item quandoque alicui spiritui permittitur potestas medendi, tunc potest dici Raphael, sicut ad Thobiam et ad Iob missus est Raphael. Quidam autem dicunt, quod
 710 sunt nomina propria angelorum. Sed utrum sic vel sic sit, nobis est minus, dum scitur diversorum opinio.

PER VOS PATRIS CUNCTA COMPLENTUR MANDATA, QUE DAT EIUSDEM SOPHIA

O vos angeli, CUNCTA MANDATA PATRIS COMPLENTUR PER VOS,
 715 QUE, scilicet mandata, SOPHIA, id est Filius, EIUSDEM, scilicet Patris, DAT. SOPHIA, id est sapientia, et ab inicio cum Deo fuit, id est Filius.

691 Verbum ... est] *Iob. 1. 14.* 694 In ... 695 Deum] *Iob. 1. 1.* 697 Raphael ... Dei] *cf. Hier., in Dan. 2. 930–31.* 700 Et ... 710 angelorum] *cf. Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 212–13.* 703 quando ... 704 complices] *cf. Apoc. 12. 7–9.* 706 Missus ... Mariam] *cf. Luc. 1. 26–27.* 707 ad Zachariam] *cf. Luc. 1. 19.* 709 ad Thobiam] *cf. Tob. 3. 25.* | Quidam ... 710 angelorum] *cf. Petr. Lomb., sent. 2. 10. 2.*

696 Raphael ex Gabriel *corr. cod.* 697 est + dei nuncius *ante corr.* 701 enim *ut vid.* 702 spiritui] spiritum *cod.* 707 Zachariam ex izachariam *corr. cod.* 709 autem *ut vid.* 710 sit] *sic cod.* 712 cuncta] *cuncta cod.*

it is used for the Son, whence this: 'The Word became flesh', and so it is interpreted here. OF THE WORD, that is of the Son, because, just as the word is the interpreter of the heart, so the Son of God is the interpreter of the Father to the humans. The Son was always with the Father, whence in the Gospel: 'In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God.'

AND RAPHAEL, THE HANDMAID OF LIFE

RAPHAEL is interpreted as 'God's medicine'. HANDMAID, that is the diminutive of *verna*, that is slave, OF LIFE, that is of the salvation.

LEAD US AMONG THE PARADISICAL BEINGS, that is those who live in paradise.

And it should be noted that the opinion regarding the names Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael is twofold. For some say that they are the names of the offices, and whenever the power of strength is granted to a spirit, then he can be called Michael, as when he fought with the dragon and expelled him from earth, and in the same way will drive him and his accomplices down to the underworld on Judgement Day. Similarly, when the power of announcing is granted to a spirit, then he can be called Gabriel, whence: 'Gabriel was sent' to Mary, Anna, Joachim, and Zacharias. Again, when the power of healing is granted to a spirit, then he can be called Raphael, just as Raphael was sent to Tobias and to Job. But some say that they are the proper names of angels. But whether it is this or that, is of less importance for us, as long as the opinion of several people is known.

THROUGH YOU IS FULFILLED THE FATHER'S EVERY COMMAND,
WHICH THE WISDOM OF THE SAME GIVES

O you angels, THE FATHER'S EVERY COMMAND IS FULFILLED BY YOU, WHICH, namely the commands, THE WISDOM, that is the Son, OF THE SAME, namely of the Father, GIVES. THE WISDOM, that is sagacity, and from the beginning it was with God, that is the Son.

Et fit mencio de Patre, cum dicitur: PER VOS PATRIS; de Filio, cum dicitur: EIUSDEM SOPHIA <id est sapiencia; de Spiritu sancto, cum dicitur COMPAR QUOQUE PNEUMA,> id est sapiencie COMPAR, id
 720 est equaliter se habens ad Patrem et ad Filium, quia nulla prerogativa inter tres personas est.

Et ne aliquis crederet, quod tres essent ibi substantie, sicut et tres persone, subiungit hoc, quod dicit:

UNA PERMANENS IN USIA, id est permanens in una essentiali substantia.

725 CUI ESTIS ADMINISTRANCIA DEO MILIUM MILIA SACRA

CUI, scilicet Deo, VOS MILIA MILIUM, id est mille milia agmina, SACRA. Anteponitur ibi numerus finitus pro numero infinito, quia nullus est ibi numerus quoad nos. ESTIS ADMINISTRANCIA, id est famulancia.

VICES PER BIS QUINAS BIS ATQUE QUINGENTA DENA CENTENA MILLENA
 730 ASSISTUNT IN AULA, AD QUAM REX OVEM CENTESIMAM TERRIGENAM DRAGMAMQUE DECIMAM VESTRA DUXIT SUPER ALGAMATA

CENTENA MILLENA, id est centum milia distincta, PER BIS QUINAS VICES, id est per x ordines, BIS ATQUE QUINGENTA DENA, id est per x milia, et ponitur aduc numerus finitus pro infinito, ASSISTUNT IN
 735 AULA, id est in conspectu Dei in celo apparent, AD QUAM, scilicet aulam, REX, id est Filius, ducit OVEM CENTESIMAM, id est hominem (et hoc intellige sic, quod decies decem perficiunt centum, et ix angelorum et homo perficiet decimum, et sic dicitur 'ovis centesima'), TERRIGENAM (vel verbigenam, secundum diversam litteram: si 'terrigenam', respice
 740 generacionem secundum carnem; si 'verbigenam', respice / illam, que fit ex aqua et Spiritu sancto), DRAGMAMQUE DECIMAM. Et 65^{ra} notandum, quod 'hec dragma, -me' octava pars est uncie, pondus denarii argenti, et dicitur denarius, quia pro x nummis imputatur, et ita DRAGMAM DECIMAM, hoc est hominem completurum decimum

736 ovem ... 738 decimum] *cf. Greg. M., in evang. 34. 3.* 744 hoc ... 745 angelorum] *cf. Greg. M., in evang. 34. 6.*

718 id ... 719 pneuma *supplevi* 728 administrancia] ministrancia *cod.*; *cf. l. 725* 731 vestra] nostra *cod.* | duxit] ducit *cod.*; *cf. l. 746* 734 aduc *i.e.* adhuc

And there is a mention of the Father when it is said: THROUGH YOU THE FATHER'S; of the Son when it is said: THE WISDOM OF THE SAME, that is, the sagacity; of the Holy Spirit when it is said ALSO THE EQUAL SPIRIT, that is equal with the wisdom, that is existing equally with the Father and the Son, since there is no prerogative between the three persons.

And so that no one would think that there are three substances, as there are three persons, he adds this, which he says:

REMAINING IN ONE ESSENCE, that is remaining in one essential substance.

UNTO WHOM YOU ARE THE MINISTRATION, UNTO GOD THOUSANDS OF THOUSANDS HOLY

UNTO WHOM, namely to God, THOUSANDS OF THOUSANDS, that is a thousand thousand troops, HOLY. A finite number is used here for an infinite number, since there is no number there as to us. YOU ARE THE MINISTRATION, that is servants.

THROUGH TWO TIMES FIVE AND TWO TIMES FIVE HUNDRED, HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS ASSIST IN THE HALL, TO WHICH THE KING brings THE EARTH-BORN HUNDREDTH SHEEP AND THE TENTH DRACHMA ABOVE YOUR HEIGHTS

HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS, that is a hundred separate thousands, THROUGH TWO TIMES FIVE, that is through ten orders, TWO TIMES FIVE HUNDRED, that is through ten thousand, and here a finite number is again used for an infinite, ASSIST IN THE HALL, that is they appear in heaven before God, TO WHICH, namely the hall, THE KING, that is the Son, leads THE HUNDREDTH SHEEP, that is man (and understand it thus that ten times ten make one hundred, and nine of the angels and man will make ten, and thus it is said the hundredth sheep), EARTH-BORN (or word-born, according to a different text: if earth-born, consider the begetting according to the flesh; if word-born, consider that which comes from water and the Holy Spirit), AND THE TENTH DRACHMA. And it should be noted that *haec dragma, -me* is the eighth part of an ounce, the weight of a silver denarius, and it is called a denarius since it is the equivalent of ten silver coins. And so THE TENTH DRACHMA, that is mankind who will complete the tenth

745 ordinem angelorum. Dragma enim dicitur denarius nummus, sicut dictum est. Ita dixi. DUXIT SUPER VESTRA ALGAMATA, id est supra celicam celsitudinem vel celi culmina.

Et notandum, quod quidam dicunt 'hoc agalma, -tis', id est culmen, et tunc dicitur ab 'a', quod similiter sine, et 'ge', terra, et 'almus, -a, -um' et
 750 'maneo, -nes', quasi sine terrenitate alma mancio. Quidam autem alii dicunt, quod 'hoc agalma' est domus pastoris vel ovile, et, quia Deus se assimulat pastori, et angeli et homines assimilantur ovibus, autor ponit transsumptive hoc nomen 'agalma' ad significandum celum. Ita dicunt quidam, et est probabilis utraque opinio, et tunc 'agalma' ab 'agolo',
 755 quod est baculus pastoralis.

Autor huius cantici apostrofatur in hoc loco, id est vertit sermonem in communi ad omnes spiritus, dicens:

VOS PER ETHRA

'Hec ethra, huius ethre', id est qualitas aeris, sed non ponitur hic in ista
 760 significacione sed per sincopam 'per ethra', id est per ethera, scilicet per celestia, scilicet date vota.

NOS PER RURA, id est per civitates et villas, id est per terrena, DAMUS VOTA, NOS, dicens, DENA PARS ELECTA, id est ad supplendum decimum ordinem a Deo electa.

765 ARMONIE VOTA DAMUS YPERLIRICA CITHARA

DAMUS VOTA ARMONIE, id est consonantie nostre, id est ut consonemus cum angelis, YPERLIRICA CITHARA, id est super sonanti cithara. Et dicitur yperlirica ab 'yper', quod est super, et 'liros', quod est sonans, quasi super sonans.

750 Quidam ... alii] *cf. Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 216.* 759 Hec ... 764 electa] *cf. Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 216.* 763 id ... 764 electa] *cf. Greg. M., in evang. 34. 6; cf. etiam Petr. Lomb., sent. 2. 9. 6.*

746 vestra] nostra *cod.* 752 assimulat] assimilatur *cod.* 756 apostrofatur in] apostrofatur *cod.* 758 ethra] etherea *cod.*; *cf. ll. 759–60* 759 sed] secundum *cod.* | ista significacione] istam (*ut vid.*) significacionem *cod.* 763 decimum] desimum *cod.* 765 cithara] citharea *cod.*; *cf. l. 767* 767 | cithara¹] citharea *cod.*

order of angels. For *dragma* is called a denarius as has been said. So I have said: HE LED ABOVE YOUR HEIGHTS, that is above the celestial altitude or the heights of heaven.

And it should be noted that some say *hoc agalma*, *-tis*, that is height, and then it derives from *a*, which is similar to without, and *ge*, earth, and *almus*, *-a*, *-um* and *maneo*, *-nes*, as 'A propitious abode without earthliness'. But others say that *hoc agalma* is the shepherd's dwelling-place or the sheepfold, and since God likens himself to a shepherd and the angels and the humans are likened to sheep, the author uses this word *agalma* metaphorically in order to signify heaven. This is what some say and either opinion is probable, and then *agalma* from *agolo*, which is the shepherd's crook.

At this point, the author makes an apostrophe, that is he turns his speech in general to all the spirits, saying:

YOU THROUGHOUT THE ETHER

Haec aethra, huius aethrae, that is a kind of air, but it is not used here in that signification but through syncope *per aethra*, that is *per aethera*, namely through the heavenly beings, namely you give promises.

WE THROUGHOUT THE EARTH, that is throughout the towns and villages, that is throughout the earth, GIVE PROMISES, saying WE THE CHOSEN TENTH PART, that is chosen by God to fulfil the tenth order.

THE PROMISES OF HARMONY WE GIVE WITH THE HYPERLYRIC HARP

WE GIVE PROMISES OF HARMONY, that is of our consonance, that is so that we sound together with the angels, WITH THE HYPERLYRIC CITHARA, that is with the supersonant harp. And it is called hyperlyric from *hyper*, which is above, and *liros*, which is sounding, as it were sounding above.

770 Et hoc totum facimus, UT POST BELLA MICHAELIS INCLITA, id est post bella Michaelis in die iudicii, quando detrudet Luciferum in infernum cum complicibus suis bellando. INCLITA, id est valde gloriosa. Dicitur enim inclitus ab 'in', quod est valde, et 'cleos', gloria.

NOSTRA DEO SINT ACCEPTA AUREAM CIRCA ARAM THIMIAMATA

775 NOSTRA THIMIAMATA, id est sacrificia. 'Thimus, -mi' quoddam genus floris est, unde 'hoc thimiama, -matis' est quedam confexcio ex illo flore et aliis, unde solebant aras incensare. SINT ACCEPTA DEO CIRCA AUREAM ARAM.

Et sciendum secundum theologos, quod due erant are in veteri
780 testamento: ara olocausti et ara incensi. Ara olocausti erat extra templum sub diem, id est sub aere, ad quam sacrificabantur animalia, et per illam debemus intelligere mortificationes viciorum in cordibus nostris. Et dicitur olocaustum ab 'olon', quod est totum, et 'causton', sacrificium vel incensum, quasi totum incensatum.

785 Alia enim erat ara in templo et dicebatur ara aurea, ad quam non licuit sacerdoti accedere nisi semel in anno, et tunc cum odoramentis et timiamatibus et huiusmodi, et per illam debemus intelligere corda defecata a viciis et Spiritu sancto repleta et illuminata. Et est sensus huius versiculi talis, ut post diem iudicii viciis mortalitatis simus puri et
790 Spiritu sancto illuminati.

QUO IN CELESTI GLORIA CONDECANTEMUS ALLELUIA

QUO, id est ut, CONDECANTEMUS, id est simul cum angelis cantemus, IN CELESTI GLORIA, quando erimus in denario ordine positi, ALLELUIA. 'Allelu' interpretatur laudate, 'ya', universalis, et tunc 'alleluia', id est
795 laudate universalem, id est Deum; vel 'ya', Dominus, unde 'alleluia', ut dictum est, idem est quod laudate Dominum, qui vivit et regnat per infinita seculorum secula.

Explicit tractatus trium canticorum.

779 Et ... 790 illuminati] *cf. Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 217.* | due ... 780 incensi] *cf. Ex. 27. 1–8; 30. 1–10.* 783 Et ... 784 incensatum] *cf. Isid., orig., 6. 19. 35.* 785 ad ... 786 anno] *cf. Ex. 30. 10.* 794 Allelu ... 796 Dominum] *cf. Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 217; cf. etiam Hier., epist. 26. 3 et Aug., in psalm. 110. 1.*

777 incensare] insensari *cod.* 784 incensum] insensum *cod.* | incensatum] insensatum *ex* insencatum *corr. cod.* 785 aurea] aure *cod.* 786 odoramentis] adoramentis *cod.* 788 Spiritu *ex* spiritui *corr. cod.*

And we do all this, SO THAT AFTER MICHAEL'S GLORIOUS BATTLE, that is after Michael's war on Judgement Day when he, through waging a war, will drive Lucifer together with his accomplices down to the underworld. GLORIOUS, that is very glorious, for *inclitus* is derived from *in*, which is very, and *cleos*, glory.

MAY OUR INCENSE UPON THE GOLDEN ALTAR BE ACCEPTED BY GOD

OUR INCENSE, that is sacrifices. *Thimus*, *-mi* is a species of flower, whence *hoc thimiama*, *-matis* is a preparation of this and other flowers, with which they used to incense the altars. MAY BE ACCEPTED BY GOD UPON THE GOLDEN ALTAR.

And it should be known that according to the theologians there were two altars in the Old Testament: the holocaust altar and the incense altar. The holocaust altar was outside the temple in the open, that is under the open sky, at which the animal sacrifices were made, and through this we should understand the mortifications of the sins in our hearts. And *holocaustum* is derived from *holon*, which is whole, and *causton*, sacrifice or burning, as it were a burnt whole.

For there was another altar in the temple and it was called the golden altar, which the priests were not allowed to approach save once a year and then with perfumes and incense and the like. And through this we should understand hearts purified from sins and filled and illuminated by the Holy Spirit. And the sense of this little verse is that we, after the Day of Judgement, are purified from the sins of mortality and illuminated by the Holy Spirit.

SO THAT WE MAY SING IN HEAVENLY GLORY ALLELUIA

SO THAT, that is so, WE MAY SING, that is we may sing together with the angels, IN HEAVENLY GLORY, when we will be placed in the tenth order, ALLELUIA. *Allelu* is interpreted as praise, *ya*, universal, and then ALLELUIA means praise the universal, that is God; or *ya*, Lord, whence ALLELUIA, as has been said, is the same as praise the Lord, who lives and reigns forever and ever.

Here ends the treatise on the three songs.

ANTHOLOGY OF TEXTS AND MUSIC

The English translations of this selection of liturgical texts are intended to be literal rather than poetic, more functional than elegant. The orthography follows that of the manuscript sources. Since some of the texts edited here are taken from sources other than those used for the musical transcriptions, there are occasional readings that differ between them. In the notes to the transcriptions, ‘ signifies an upward liquescence, , a downward liquescence, and ~ a quilisma; \ shows a missing note. The text editions and translations have been made by Gunilla Iversen and Erika Kihlman and the musical transcriptions are by Marie-Noël Colette.

I	Fulgens preclara	XI	Mater clemens ac benigna
II	Gloriosa dies adest	XII	<i>Kyrie</i> Fons et ortus pietatis
III	Clarior vocibus	XIII	<i>Sanctus</i> Quem ut daret
IV	<i>Gloria</i> Laudibus eximiis	XIV	<i>Agnus</i> Qui de patre genitus
V	<i>Gloria</i> Cui canit hymnologum	XV	<i>Sanctus</i> Archetypi mundi
VI	Letetur et concrepet	XVI	Virgines caste
VII	Alma chorus Domini	XVII	Epithalamica dic sponsa
VIII	<i>Alle-celeste</i>	XVIII	Zima vetus
IX	Ad celebres rex	XIX	Rex Salomon fecit templum
X	Orbis totus	XX	Quam dilecta tabernacula

I

1 Fulgens preclara

- | | | | |
|-----|--|-----|--|
| 2a | Rutilat per orbem
hodie dies, in qua Christi
lucida narrantur ovanter prelia | 2b | De hoste superbo,
quem Iesus triumphavit pulchre
castra illius perimens teterrima. |
| 3a | Infelix culpa Eve,
qua caruimus omnes vita! | 3b | Felix proles Marie,
qua epulemur modo una! |
| 4a | Benedicta sit celsa regina illa | 4b | Generans regem spoliantem tartara, |
| 5a | Pollentem iam in ethera:
<i>Rex in eternum
suscipe benignus
preconia nostra
sedula tibi canentia,</i> | 5b | Patris sedens ad dexteram,
<i>Victor ubique
morte superata
atque triumphata
polorum possidens gaudia.</i> |
| 6a | O magna, o pulchra, o celsa
tua clemencia, Christe,
luciflua per secla. | 6b | Laus tibi honorque ac virtus,
qui nostram antiquam
allevasti sarcinam. |
| 7a | Roseo cruore
agni benignissimi emta
florida coruscat hec aula. | 7b | Potenti virtute
nostra qui lavit facinora,
tribuit dona fulgida. |
| 8a | Stupens valde in memet iam
miror hodierna | 8b | Tanta indignis pandere
nobis sacramenta: |
| 9a | Stirpe Davitica
<i>Ortus de tribu Iuda,
leo potens
surrexisti in gloria.
Agnus visus es in terra,</i> | 9b | Fundans olim arva,
<i>Regna petens supera,
iustis reddens
premia in secula.
digniter ovantia.</i> |
| 10a | Dic, impie Zabule,
quid valet nunc fraus tua? | 10b | Igneis nexus loris
Christi victoria. |
| 11a | Tribus lingue admiramini:
quis audivit talia misteria, | 11b | Ut mors mortem sic superaret,
rei perciperent talem gratiam? |
| 12a | Iudea incredula,
cur manes adhuc inverecunda? | 12b | Perspice chriticolas,
qualiter leti canunt inclita |

- | | |
|--|--|
| 13a Redemptoris carmina.
<i>Ergo, pie rex Christe,
nobis dans peccamina,
solve nexorum vincula.</i> | 13b Electorum agmina
<i>Fac tecum resurgere
ad beatam gloriam
digna rependens merita.</i> |
| 14a Paracliti sancti
consolationem piam | 14b Exspectamus
secundum promissionem tuam |
| 15a Peracta ascensionis tue
sancta sollempnia, | 15b Qua es regressus in celum
nube tectus clara |

16 Pollens laude eterna. Amen.

BnF n.a.lat. 1871, fols 116^r–117^r; AH, VI, no. 44; AH, LIII, no. 35

Alleluia *ms* | 2b hoste] oste *ms* | perimens teterrima] per immense spacia *ms* | 3a vita] una *ms* | 3b una] vita *ms* | 5a pollentem iam] pollentemque *ms* | 7a micat] coruscat *ms* | 9a surrexisti] surrexit *ms* | 10b victoria] manu dextera *ms* | 12b canunt] candunt *ms* | 13a carmina *ex* agmina *corr. ms* | dans peccamina] dona veniam *ms* | 14a sancti consolationem piam] quoque consolatione pia *ms* | 15b celum] celo *ms* | tectus] susceptus *ms* | 16 Amen *om. ms*.

(Today the radiant day spreads its glowing light over the world, the day when Christ's luminous battles are narrated exultantly; the battles with the haughty enemy where Jesus beautifully triumphed, destroying his horrible fortress. | Unlucky was the fault of Eve, by which we all lost life; lucky is the fruit of Mary, by which we will soon all be nourished. | Blessed be this elevated Queen who gives birth to the King who plunders Tartarus, | who is now reigning mightily in heaven: O eternal King, listen benevolently to the praises that we eagerly sing to you, who sit at the right hand of the Father, victorious everywhere, having conquered and triumphed over death and possessing the joys of heaven. | Magnificent, beautiful, and heavenly is your mercy, O Christ, flowing with light through the ages. Praise be to you and honour and virtue, you who took away our ancient burden. | Redeemed by the rosy blood of the most beneficent lamb, this hall is glowing, abounding with flowers. He who with his powerful virtue cleansed our sins gave us his shining gifts. | Greatly stupefied I wonder within myself at the unfolding of the so great mysteries of this day to us unworthy ones. | Sprung from the stem of David, from the tribe of Judah, you the mighty lion have risen in glory. As the Lamb you are seen on earth, once founding the earth, seeking the celestial reigns, bringing rewards to the righteous in eternity, courteously exulting. | Say, impious devil, where is now the power of your fraud? You are bound by the thongs of fire through Christ's victory. | Wonder, tongues, in threefold ways: who has heard of such mysteries, that death should conquer death in such a way, that the guilty should receive such a grace? | Incredulous Judea, why do you still remain shameless? Look at the Christians, how cheerfully they sing the glorious | songs of the Redeemer. Therefore, mild Christ, making atonement for us, dissolve the fetters of our bondage. Let the troops of the elect rise together with you to blessed glory and reward them for their worthy merits. | According to your promise,

we expect the pious consolation of the Holy Spirit | after the holy solemnity of your ascension, in which you, covered by a shining cloud, returned to heaven, | mightily reigning in eternal glory. Amen.)



1 *Ful-gens pre -cla-ra*



2a Ru-ti-lat per orbem ho -di -e di -es, in qua Christi lu-ci -da narran-tur o -van -ter pre-li-a

2b De oste su-perbo, quem Ihesus triumphavit pul-cre castra il-li-us pe -ri-mens te -ter-ri-ma.



3a In-fe-lix cul-pa Evae, qua caruimus omnes vita!

3b Fe-lix pro-les Ma-ri-ae, qua epulemur omnes una!



4a Be-ne-dic-ta sit cel -sa re-gi -na il -la

4b Generans regem spoli-antem tar -ta-ra,



5a Pollentem iam in e -te-ra : *Rex in e -ter-num sus-ci-pe be-nignus preco-ni-a nostra,*

5b Patris se-dens ad dexteram, *Vic -tor u -bi -que morte su-pe-ra-ta atque triumphata,*



se-du-la ti-bi ca -nenti-a

polorum possidens gaudi-a



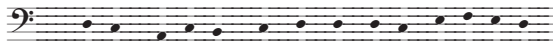
6a O magna, o pulcra, o cel-sa tu -a cle-men-ci -a, Chris-te, lu -ci-flu -a per secla,

6b Laus ti-bi honorque ac virtus qui nos -tram an-tiquam le -vi -a-sti \ sarcinam.



7a Rose -o cru-ore a -gni be-nignissi-mi empta flori-da coruscat haec au-la

7b Potenti vir-tute nostra qui lavit fa-ci -nora, tri \-buit dona \ ful -gi-da



8a Stupens valde in me-met iam mi-ror hodi-er-na

8b Tanta in-di-gnis pan-de -re no-bis sacramenta:



9a Stir-pe Da-vi-ti-ca *Ortus de-tri-bu Iu-da, le-o potens surre-xi-sti in glo-ri-a*

9b Fundans holim arva, *Regna petens su-pe-ra, iustis reddens premi-a \ in se-cu-la.*



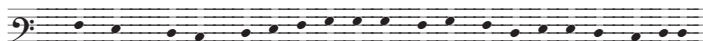
Agnus visus es in terra,

Digniter o-van -ti \ -a.



10a Dic, im-pi-e Za -bule, quid va-let nunc fraus tu-a?

10b I -gne-is ne-xus lo-ris Chris-ti ma-nu dex -te-ra



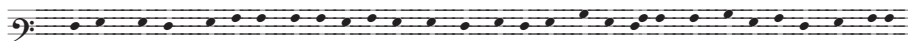
11a Tri-bus lin-gue ad-mi-ra-mini: quis au-di-vit ta-li -a mis -te-ri-a,

11b Ut mors mortem sic su-pe-raret, re -i per-ci - perent talem gratiam?



12a Iu-de -a in -credu-la, cur manes adhuc in ve -re-cunda?

12b Perspice christi -co-las, qua-li -ter lae-ti scandunt in-cli -ta



13a Redemptoris carmina. *Er-go, pi-e Rex Christe, nobis dans pec-ca-mi-na, sol-ve nexorum vin-cula.*

13b E-lec -torum ag-mina *Fac te-cum re-sur -ge -re ad be-a -tam glo-ri-am.* dig-na rependens me-rita.



14a Pa -ra -cli-ti quoque con -so-la-ti -o-ne pi-a

14b Expectamus se-cun -dum promissi-o-nem tu-am



15a Per-ac -ta As-cen-si -o-nis tuae sancta sollem-pni-a,

15b Qua es re -gressus in cae-lo nu -be sus-cep-tus cla-ra



16 Pollens lau-de e -ter -na.

BnF n.a.lat. 1871, fols 79^v–80^r, 116^r–117^r

1 Ful-] G' | pre-] C~DEDC | 5b ubique] a GF G | 6b nostram antiquam] Ga G F G G | 7b tribuit] *only* G D *legible* | 9b digniter ovantia] G F D EF E C D | 12a in verecunda] *ms* E E D E E | 15b nube] EE D | *from 14 probably B flat.*

II

1 *Gloriosa*

2a	Dies adest haec, qua processit prepotens ex virginis aula.	2b	Idem Deus, conditor hominum, factus est homo die ista.
3a	Iam 'Gloria in excelsis' cantant sancta agmina.	3b	Regi nato hoc quoque personet simul vox nostra.
4a	Ipsa namque, ut curaret nostra facinora et peccata non linquens celestia	4b	Presepio poni non distulit, ut, qui panis vivus erat, nobis daret pabula.
5a	Iam nunc igitur alacres laudum feramus preconia	5b	Nostra certantes, ut sit pura mens et conscientia.
6a	O beate protomartyr Stephane, cuius instat sollemnitatis gloriosa,	6b	Te quesumus, ut possimus tuo obtentu fulti vite sumere pascua,
7a	Quibus satiati adeamus digni angelorum consortia	7b	Atque leti videamus Christum, regem natum virgine Maria,
8a	Regnantem cum patre pariter in sede etherea,	8b	Cui est honor et potestas in eterna secula.

9 'Amen' dicant omnia.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, c.l.m. 14843, fol. 95^v; AH, VII, no. 193; AH, LIII, no. 219

Since this manuscript lacks musical notation, the musical analysis is based on the version of the manuscript from Moissac, BnF, n.a.lat. 1871, fol. 105^{r-v}, transcribed below, which contains two further strophes: (5a) 'Iam nunc igitur alacres | laudum feramus preconia. (5b) Iamque petimus incessanter | dari nobis suffragia. (6a) Te donante nobis, Christe, | nostra certantes, ut sit pura | mens et conscientia. (6b) Presentis vite necne et poli | scandere florigera sancti dica [*recte* sanctifica] premia.' The opening lines 1–2a read 'Gloriosa per seculi ampla iam nunc dies adest haec qua processit potens ex virginis aulam', and Strophe 6b has the variant reading 'Te poscimus et petimus'.

(This is the glorious day when the most mighty proceeded from the Virgin's palace.
He who is God and Creator of mankind was himself made man on this day. | Now

the holy hosts sing 'Glory in the highest'; let also our voice sing this out at the same time to the King who is born. | For he did not hesitate to be placed in a manger, not leaving his heavenly abode, in order to cure our misdeeds and sins, so that he who is the bread of life might give us nourishment. | Now let us therefore joyfully bring forth our songs of praise, eagerly striving to make our soul and our conscience pure. | O blessed protomartyr Stephen, whose glorious feast is here, we beseech you that we, supported by your protection, may enjoy the pasture of life, | nourished by which we may worthily join the company of the angels and happily behold Christ, the King born of the Virgin Mary, | who reigns equally together with the Father in the heavenly throne, to whom be the glory and power in all eternity. | Let all say: 'Amen.')



1 *Glo-ri -o -sa per se-cli ampla*



2a Iam nunc di-es a -dest haec, qua pro-ces -sit po -tens ex vir -gi-nis au-la.

2b I -dem De-us, condi -tor ho-mi-num, fac -tus est ho-mo di-e is-ta.



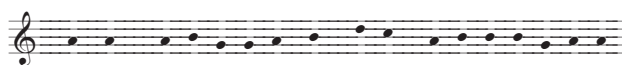
3a Iam 'Glo-ri-a in ex-cel-sis' cantant sancta ag-mi-na

3b Re-gi na-to hoc quoque per-so-net simul vox nostra.



4a Ip-se namque, ut cu-ra -ret nostra fa-ci -no-ra et pec-ca-ta non relinquens ce-les-ti-a

4b Pre-se-pi -o po-ni non dis-tu-lit, ut, qui pa-nis vi-vus erat, no-bismet da-ret pa-bu-la.



5a Iam nunc i-gi-tur a-la -cres laudum fe-ramus preco-ni-a

5b Iam-que pe-timus in-ces-san -ter da -ri nobis suffra-gi-a.



6a Te donante nobis, Christe, nostra certantes, ut sit pura mens et cons-ci-en-ti-a,

6b Presentis vi-te necne et po-li scandere flo-ri-ge-ra sanc-ti -fi-ca premi-a.



7a O be -a-te pro-to-martyr, Stephane, cuius instat nunc sollem-ni-tas glo-ri -o-sa,

7b Te posci-mus et pe-ti-mus tu-o ob-tentu suful -ti vi-te su-me-re pas-cu-a.



8a Quibus sa-ti -a -ti a-de -a -mus digni an-ge -lo-rum con-sor-ti -a

8b At -que le-ti vi-de-amus Christum, regem natum vir -gi -ne Ma-ri -a,



9a Re-gnantem cum pa -tre pa-ri-ter in se-de ae -the-re-a,

9b Cu -i est ho -nor et potestas in e-ter -na se -cu-la.



10 'Amen' dicant omni-a.

BnF n.a.lat. 1871, fols 78, 105^{r-v}

6b sanctifica] santi dica *ms.*

III

1 Alleluia

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|--|
| 2a | Clarīs vocibus inclita
cane, turma,
sacra melodimata. | 2b | Voci mens bene concina,
sonent verbis
neumata concordia. |
| 3a | Divina robusto tetracorda
plectro docta manus perite feriat. | 3b | Resultet virtutum pie lyra
Deo nunc dramata dulcissima. |
| 4a | Est armonia hec divina
sonore virtutum liquidissima. | 4b | Myxta castitas est qua intrat
hominum coniungans Deo federa. |
| 5a | Huius vite consistoria
inimitabilia, | 5b | Que mater es inviolata
virgoque puerpera. |
| 6a | Idcirco tua Deum fuere
digna ferre viscera, | 6b | Que non celica neque terrea
cuncta claudunt spacia. |
| 7a | Virginum o regina,
te canimus, Maria,
per quam fulsere clara
mundi lumina, | 7b | Tu salus orbis alma,
tu celi porta facta,
per te seculo vita
omni dedita. |
| 8a | Celicis terrea
tu iungis, divinis humana. | 8b | Paradisiaca
per te patet nobis ianua. |

9a Adesto famulis, piissima,
influa iam,
suspende prece pericula.

9b Audi fidelia precamina
impetratam
deferens celitus veniam

10a Et quiete nobis
temporum inclita.

10b Hac in vita nostra
dirige opera,

11a Post funera uranica
nos duc ad abitacula,

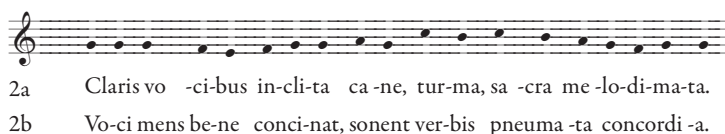
11b Quo letemur omnes una
tecum per cuncta secula.

12 Exclamat nunc omnigena
'Amen!' redemta.

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 1169, fols 12^v–13^r; AH, VII, no. 104; AH, LIII, no. 101

5b es] est *ms.*

(*Alleluia.* Sing glorious sacred songs in high-sounding voices, O choir! Let the voice sound out in accordance with the soul, the notes in concord with the words. | Let the learned hand skilfully strike the divine tetracord with a firm plectrum. Let the lyre of virtues now devoutly resound to God with sweet-sounding songs. | This divine harmony is most sweet-flowing with the sound of virtue. This is the mixed chastity through which comes the union of mankind and God. | You, whose condition in life is such that it cannot be imitated, are a mother, unviolated, and a virgin giving birth to a child. | Thus was your womb worthy of bearing God, your womb that all the space in heaven and earth cannot enclose. | O queen of virgins, we praise you, Mary, by whom the lights of earth shone clear: you are the mild salvation of the world; you are made the door to heaven; through you life was given to the whole world. | You unite the terrestrial to the celestial, the human to the divine. Through you the door to paradise is opened to us. | Help your servants, O mildest one; overflow us; suspend the perils through your prayer. Listen to our faithful prayers and bring us the grace you procured from heaven | and temporal peace, blessed one. Direct our work in this life, | and after death lead us to the heavenly dwellings, where we all shall rejoice with you for ever and ever. Now may all redeemed mankind exclaim 'Amen!')





3a Di-vi-na ro-bus-to tetracorda plectro doc -ta ma -nus pe-ri -te fe-ri-at.

3b Resultet vir-tu-tum pi-e ly -ra De-o sonans nunc dog-ma-ta dul-cissona.



4a Est ar-moni-a hec di -vi-na so-no-re vir-tu-tum li-qui-dis-si-ma.

4b Mixta cas-titas est qua intrat in se-de lo-ca-ta mixso-li-di-ca.



5a Hu-ius vi-te consis-to-ri-a i -ni-mi-ta-bi-li-a,

5b Que ma-ter es in -vi-o -la-ta virgo-que pu-er-pe-ra.



6a Id -cir-co tu-a De-um fu-e-re di-gna fer -re vis-ce-ra,

6b Que non ce-li-ca ne-que ter-re-a cuncta claudunt spa-ci-a.



7a Vir-ginum o re -gi-na, te ca-ni-mus, Ma-ri -a, per quam ful-se-re cla-ra mundo lu-mi-na,

7b Tu sa-lus or-bis al-ma, tu ce-li por -ta facta, per te se-cu-lo vi-ta om-ni est da-ta.



8a Ce-li-cis ter-re -a tu iun-gis, di -vi-nis hu-ma-na

8b Pa-ra-di-si -a-ca per te no-bis pa-tet ia-nu-a.



9a A-desto famulis, pi -is-si-ma, in-flu-a suspendens iam pre-ce pe -ri-cu-la.

9b Audi fi-de-li-a precami-na impetra-tam de-fe -rens ce -li -tus ve-ni-am.



10a Et qui-e-te no-bis temporum incli-ta.

10b In hac vi-ta nostra di -ri-ge o-pe-ra.



11a Post fu-ne-ra u -ra -ni-ca nos duc ad a -bi -ta-cu-la,

11b Quo le-temur omnes u-na te -cum per cuncta se-cu-la.



12 Exclament nunc omni-ge-na 'Amen!' redempta.

BnF n.a.lat. 1871, fols 79^{r-v}, 113^{r-v}

4b qua intrat hominum coniungans Deo federa *Ars 1169* | qua] quos *ms* | 5a Cuius *ms* | ini-]
fecdd *del* | 6a ferre] sacra *ms* | 9b deferens celitus veniam] fge gfd cdd.

IV

Gloria in excelsis Deo

et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.

Laudibus eximiis, bone rex, te corde colentes

Laudamus te.

Oribus hymnidicis modulanti voce canentes

Benedicimus te.

Corpore subnixa celebrantes mente subiacti

Adoramus te.

Gloria de cuius benedicta loco nitet almo,

Glorificamus te.

Gratia nos gratos quia gratos praescia gignit,

Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam.

Domine Deus, rex caelestis, Deus Pater omnipotens,

Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, Filius Patris,

Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.

Qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram,

Ut velut incensum caeli conscendat ad aulam.

Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis,

Vulnera dira medens et sancto munere ditans,

Quoniam tu solus sanctus,

A quo percipiunt sancti fore quique beantur.

Tu solus dominus

Caelorum terraeque, maris necnon et abyssi.

Tu solus altissimus, Iesu Christe,

Carne et mente simul hominem quem credimus esse,

et hominem verumque Deum Christum veneremur

Cum sancto Spiritu in gloria Dei Patris. Amen.

BnF lat. 13252, fol. 30^{r-v}

(*Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace to men of good will. With exceeding songs of praise we worship you, good King; with our hearts We praise you. Singing with melodious voice and lips uttering hymns, We bless you. Celebrating with body bent to the ground and mind lifted up, We adore you. From your benign abode blessed glory shines forth: We glorify you. Since the grace who knows us and brings us glory is born, we give thanks to you for your great glory. O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father almighty. O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father. You who take away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. You who take away the sins of the world, receive our prayer, so that it may ascend like incense into the hall of heaven. You who sit at the right hand of the Father, have mercy upon us, curing our wounds and enriching us with your holy gift. For you only are holy, by whom all the saints are received and become blessed. You only are the Lord, of heavens and earth, of the sea and the abyss. You only are most high, Jesus Christ, whom we believe in flesh and soul to be man and whom we venerate as man and true God, Christ with the Holy Ghost, in the glory of God the Father. Amen.*)

V

Gloria in excelsis Deo,
 Cui canit hymnilogum celestis turba melodum,
Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis,
 Celicolas mundo quae iungit foedere digno.
Laudamus te,
 Laudibus angelicus quem succinit ordo novenus.
Benedicimus te,
 Aula cui supra resonat benedictio magna.
Adoramus te,
 Quem cetus laudat bis et duodenus adorat.
Glorificamus te,
 Glorificat totis quem semper viribus orbis.
Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam.
 Sancte pater, releva clemens peccamina nostra.
Domine Deus, rex caelestis, Deus pater omnipotens,
 Quem sanctum Cherubim proclamant atque Seraphim.
Domine, fili unigenite,
 Invidue maculam veteris qui tergis ab Adam,
Iesu Christe,
 In crucis articulis patiendo vulnera mortis.
Domine Deus, agnus Dei, filius patris,
Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis,
 Quando quadrifidum tinxisti sanguine lignum.

*Qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram,
Quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu solus dominus, tu solus altissimus,
Imperitare quadro te monstrans, rex pie, mundo,
Iesu Christe,
Climatibus quadris, quibus omnis clauditur orbis,
Solus adoraris, tibi gloria personet omnis
Cum sancto Spiritu in gloria Dei patris. Amen.*

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, c.l.m. 14322, fol. 109^{r-v}

(*Glory to God in the highest*, to whom the celestial throng of melodious hymn-singers sings praises. *And on earth peace to men of good will*, which unites the dwellers in heaven to the earth in a worthy alliance. *We praise you*, whom the ninefold angelic order extols with praises. *We bless you*, to whom the blessing resounds in the great celestial hall. *We adore you*, whom the choir of the twenty-four elders praises and adores. *We glorify you*, whom the world always glorifies with all forces. *We give you thanks for your great glory*. Holy Father, take away our sins in mercy. *O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father almighty*, whom the Cherubim and Seraphim proclaim to be Holy, *O Lord, the only-begotten Son*, who wipes off from the old Adam the stain of hatred, *Jesus Christ*, by suffering the wounds of death on the limbs of the cross. *O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, you who take away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us*, when you coloured the four-cleft wood of the cross with your blood. *You who sit at the right hand of the Father, have mercy upon us. You who take away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. For you only are holy, you only are the Lord; you only are most high*, showing that you, O pious King, rule the fourfold world, *Jesus Christ*, in the four climates encompassing the whole world you alone are adored. To you resounds all glory, *with the Holy Spirit, in the glory of God the Father. Amen.*)

VI

1 *Letetur*

2a	Et concrepet devota fidelium plebs carmina in hac aula	2b	Prebeatque cantica gratiarum nunc praeclara mente pura
3a	Tibi, Christe, per secula qui depellis grananter noxia,	3b	Qui venisti pro nostra omnium saluteque in arva.
4a	Ergo tibi decet salus et gloria hucusque pia,	4b	Namque moderaris celsa et ima virtute tua.

- | | | | |
|--|---|-----|--|
| 5a | Sic mente pura—
<i>suscipe, laus angelorum,
laudum carmina leta,</i>
—Poscimus | 5b | Nos in hac aula—
<i>Prece, voto suplici
nostra que mittit caterva</i>
—Rex, una. |
| 6a | Tu ades enim, sanctorum
omnium corona,
lux eorumque pia, | 6b | Via, veritas et vita
permanens tu sine fine
passim per secla. |
| 7a | Tuam, Deus, lucem claram
deposcimus omnes una
voce celsa. | 7b | Ideoque in hac aula
persplendent clementer tua
nempe iussa. |
| 8a | Corda nostra
iam tu potenter inlustra, | 8b | Sacro dira
numine terge delicta. |
| 9a | Voce quo excelsa
<i>te conlaudans adoret,
sancte rex, in hac aula</i>
hec vox nostra. | 9b | Supplex expostulat:
<i>et dona per secula
sancta tabernacula</i>
et eterna. |
| 10a | Poscimus tuam et immensam,
rex pie, clementiam omnes, hac aula. | 10b | Quo conservare tu digneris
semper eam potenter immaculatam. |
| 11a | In qua et laudes promat maximas
tibi domino, fidelium turma | 11b | Celsa voce que psallat cantica
convexo corde inquiens dulcia |
| 12 Sit regi nostro
perhennis semper
honor et gloria. | | | |

BnF n.a.lat. 1871, fol. 134^{r-v}; AH, VII, no. 224; AH, LIII, no. 248a

(Let the devoted choir of the faithful rejoice and sing chants of praise in this hall; with pure mind, let it now bring forth splendid songs of thankfulness | to you, O Christ, who gracefully casts out our sins throughout the ages, who has come to the world for the salvation of us and of all. | Therefore, to you be salutation and endless glory, for you reign over heaven and earth with your virtue. | Thus we pray with pure heart: *Accept, O glory of the angels, the joyous songs of praise that our devoted choir brings to you in this sacred place with supplicant prayer*, O King, that we all urgently desire in this hall. | For you are here, O crown of all the saints and their pious light, the way, the truth, and the life, remaining everywhere without end through the ages. | With one voice together we all pray for your brilliant light. Therefore, in this sacred hall let indeed your commands mercifully shine. | Now enlighten our hearts with your power, with your divinity take away our

awful faults, | so that with loud voice this our voice may *sing praises and adore you, holy King, in this sacred place*, and eagerly pray to you: *Give to us in the world temples that are holy and eternal.* | O pious King, we all in this place ask for your immense clemency, that you might in your power preserve her immaculate for ever. | May the choir of your faithful sing the greatest praises to you in this place, and with high voice and in the temple of the heart sing sweet songs. | Eternal honour and glory be for ever to our King.)



1 Le-te -tur



2a Et concrepet devota fidelium plebs carmina in hac au-la

2b Prebe-at-que cantica gratiarum nunc praeclara mente pu-ra



3a Ti -bi, Christe, per secla qui de-pel -lis gra-tanter no-xi-a,

3b Qui ve -nis-ti pro nostra om-ni-um sa -lu -te -que in ar-va



4a Er -go ti-bi decet salus et glo-ri -a hucusque pi-a,

4b Namque modera-ris celsa et y-ma vir -tu -te / tu -a.



5a Set mente pu-ra sus-ci -pe, laus ange-lo-rum, laudum car-mi -na le-ta, Poscimus

5b Nos in hac au-la prece, vo -to supli-ci nos -tra que mit-tit ca -terva Rex, u-na.



6a Tu a-des e-nim, sancto-rum om-ni-um co-ro-na, laus e -o-rum-que pi -a,

6b Vi-a, ve-ri-tas et vi-ta permanens tu si-ne fi -ne passim per se-cla.



7a Tu-am, De-us, lu-cem claram de -pos -ci -mus omnes u-na vo -ce celsa.

7b I - de -o-que in hac au-la persplendent cle-menter tu-a nempe iussa.



8a Corda nostra iam tu po-tenter in-lus-tra,

8b Sa -cro di-ra numi-ne terge de-li-cta



9a Vo-ce quo ex-celsa TE CONLAUDANS A-DO-RET, SANCTE REX, IN HAC AU-LA hec vox nostra

9b Supplex ex -postu-lat: ET DO -NA PER SE-CU -LA SANCTA TA -BER-NA-CU -LA et e -ter -na.



10a Poscimus tu-am et inmensam, rex pi -e, cle-menti -am omnes, hac au-la

10b Quod conservare tu di-gne-ris sem-per e -am po-ten-ter in-ma-cu-la-tam.



11a In qua et laudes promat maximas ti-bi do-mino, fi-de-li -um tur-ma

11b Celsa voce que psallat can-ti-ca con-vexo corde inquiens dul-ci-a:



12a Sit re-gi nostro perhennis semper honor et glo-ri-a.

BnF, n.a.lat. 1871, fols 82, 134^{r-v}

1 Lete-] G aFa | 5b voto] d ed | nostraque mittit caterva] e d d d d e d, c | 7b aula] d d | persplendens clementer] e f g g g f | 9a conlaudans] c d' e | aula] c' d | 9b dona per secula] c de e, ed cd d | tabernacula] c c, b cd d.

VII

- 1 Alma chorus Domini nunc pangat nomina summi:
- 2a Messias, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonai.
- 2b Est unigenitus, via, vita, manus, homousion,
- 3a Principium, primogenitus, sapientia, virtus,
- 3b Alpha, caput finisque simul vocitatur et est O.
- 4a Fons et origo boni, paraclitus et mediator,
- 4b Agnus, ovis, vitulus, serpens, aries, leo, vermis,
- 5a Os, verbum, splendor, sol, gloria, lux et imago,
- 5b Panis, flos, vitis, mons, ianua, petra lapisque,
- 6a Angelus et sponsus pastorque, propheta, sacerdos,
- 6b Athanatos, kyrios, theos pantocrator, Iesus.
- 7 Salvificet nos, sit cui secla per omnia doxa.

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 1169, fols 52^v–53^r; AH, LIII, no. 87

1a pangat] pangant *ms* | 3b O] ho *ms*.

(Now let the choir sing the sweet names of the highest Lord: | Messiah, *Sother*, Emmanuel, Sabaoth, Adonai. He is the only-begotten, the way, the life, the right hand, the *homousion*, | the beginning, the first-born, the wisdom, the virtue. Alpha is he, at the same time he is called the beginning and the end, and he is Omega; | the fountain and origin of good, the paraclete and mediator, the lamb, the sheep, the calf, the serpent, the ram, the lion, the worm, | the mouth, the word, splendour, sun, glory, light, and image, the bread, the flower, the vine, the mountain, the door, the cliff, and the stone, | the angel and the bridegroom and the shepherd, prophet and priest, *athanatos*, *kyrios*, *theos pantokrator*, Jesus. | May he save us, to whom be glory for ever.)

VIII

1 *Alle-celeste*
nec non et perhenne-*luya*,

2a	Dic paraphonista cum mera simphonia	2b	Tuba et canora pallinodiam canta.
3a	Nam omnis usia hanc Christi genitricem die ista	3b	Congaudet exortam, per quam sibi sublatam capit vitam.
4a	Davidica stirpe sata, Davidis ad sceptrum est regenda prole fecundata,	4b	Nec gravidata viscera sunt tamen per ulla patris membra sed ex fide sola.
5a	Ab arce summa angelus adstat: Maria, inquit, alma, ave plena	5b	Gracia summa et benedicta feminas inter omnes, paritura
6a	Regem, qui dira mortis vincula dampnabit mira cum potencia, suum plasma solvens sponte sua atque beatam donans vitam.	6b	Fit mox puella verbis credula et puerpera stupet et casta, natum gestans speciosum forma, regem cuncta orbis regna.

- | | | | |
|---|--|-----|--|
| 7a | Hec est virga
non irrigata
sed Dei gracia
florigera. | 7b | Hec est sola
cunctorum hera
materna obscurans
piacula. |
| 8a | Velud rosa
decorans spineta,
sic, quod ledat,
nil habet Maria. | 8b | Virgo Eva
quod attulit prima,
Christi sponsa
effugat Maria. |
| 9a | O virgo, sola
mater casta,
nostra crimina | 9b | Solve dans regna,
quis beata
regnant agmina. |
| 10a | Potens enim cuncta
ut celi regina
et iura
cum nato omnia
decernis in secula
et ultra;
subnixa es in gloria | 10b | Cherubin electa
Seraphinque clara;
nam iuxta
Filium posita
sedes in dextera,
rutilans
virtus, lampas et socia, |
| 11a | Nativitas
unde gaudia
nobis hodie
confert annua. | 11b | Et resonet
camenis aula
in laude tua,
virgo Maria. |
| 12a | Gaudet per climata
orbis ecclesia | 12b | Dicens: Alleluya
quod et pallacia |
| 13 Celi clamant
dindima
usque dancia
preconia. | | | |

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 6. 8, fols 62^v–63^v; AH, VII, no. 98; AH, LIII, no. 97

4a Davidica] davitica *ms* | sceptr]a] septra *ms* | 4b sed] set *ms* | 5a adstat] astat *ms* | inquit] inquit *ms* | 6a mira *om. ms* | 10b seraphinque] ceraphinque *ms*.

(Say, paraphonista, with a pure symphony, ‘Alle-’, the heavenly, and also the eternal ‘-luia’, and with a euphonious pipe sing a palinode. | For every being may rejoice over Christ’s mother begotten this day, through whom he gains for himself the sustained life. | You, originating from David’s stock, are pregnant with the heir to David’s sceptres to be ruled,

and your insides were not made heavy by any of the Father's limbs but by faith alone. | At the top of the summit the angels stand. Hail, propitious Mary, he says, full of the highest grace and blessed among all women; you who will give birth to | the King, who will condemn the dire chains of death with his wonderful might by willingly freeing his creation and bestowing blessed life. The girl soon believes his words and she, both child-bearing and chaste, is amazed, bearing a son, beautiful in form, who will rule all kingdoms of the earth. | She is the unwatered rod yet flowering by the grace of God. She is the sole mistress of all, obscuring the maternal guilt. | As a rose decorating the thorny thickets, so Mary has nothing which harms. That which was caused by the first virgin, Eve, was put to flight by Christ's bride, Mary. | O you virgin, alone chaste mother, redeem our sins, giving the kingdoms over which the blessed troops reign. | For you are capable of all as the queen of heaven, and with your Son you judge justly everything for ever and beyond; you are supported in the glory of the Cherubim and the Seraphim, for you, the elected and bright one, are sitting placed next to your Son on the right, glimmering virtue, light, and kindred, | whence the birth brings us annual joy today and the hall resounds with songs in praise of you, Virgin Mary. | The church rejoices throughout the climes of the globe, saying Alleluia, so that also the palaces of heaven call the mysteries giving praises continuously.)

IX

1 Ad celebres,
rex celice,
laudes cuncta

2a Pangat nunc canora
caterva symphonia

2b Odas atque solvat
concio tibi nostra,

3a Cum iam renovantur
Michaelis inclita
valde festa,

3b Per quem letabunda
perornantur machina
mundi tota.

4a Novies distincta
pneumatum sunt agmina
per te facta.

4b Sed, cum vis, facis hec
flammea per angelicas
officinas.

5a Inter primeva
sunt hec nam creata tua,
cum sumus nos ultima
factura, sed ymago tua.

5b Theologa
categorizent hec simbola
nobis hec ter tripartita
per privata officia:

6a Plebs angelica
phalanx et archangelica, principans
turma, virtus uranica
ac potestas almiphona,

6b Dominancia
numina divinaque subsellia
Cherubin etherea
ac Seraphin ignicomma.

7a	Vos, o Michael, celi satrapa, Gabrielque vera dans verbi nuncia,	7b	Atque Raphael, vite vernula, transferte nos inter paradisicolas.
8a	Per vos Patris cuncta complentur mandata, que dat eiusdem Sophia compar quoque Pneuma una permanens in usia, cui estis administrancia Deo milia milium sacra.	8b	Vices per bis quinas bis atque quingenta dena centena millena assistunt in aula, ad quam rex ovem centesimam terrigenam dragmamque decimam vestra duxit super algamata.
9a	Vos per ethra, nos per rura, dena pars electa, harmonie vota damus hyperlyrica cithara,	9b	Ut post bella Michaelis inclita nostra Deo sint accepta auream circa aram thimiamata,
10a	Quo in celesti iam gloria	10b	Condecantemus Alleluia.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 6. 8, fols 63^v–65^r; AH, LIII, no. 190; AH, VII, no. 178

4b Sed] nam *Ox. ms* | 5b hec¹ *om. ms* | nobis *om. ms* | officia] officina *ms* | 6b subsellia] subcellia *ms* | ignicoma] ardentia *ms* | 8a compar quoque pneuma *om. ms* | 8b vestra] nostra *ms* | 9a harmonie] armonie *ms* | hyperlyrica] yperlyrica *ms* | 10a iam *om. ms*.

(Heavenly King, to these celebrated praises the whole crowd may now sing with melodious symphony and may our congregation also recompense you with odes, | when Michael's most glorious feast is now renewed, through whom it is adorned, joyful with the whole machine of the world. | They are ninefold divided, the hosts of spirits made by you. For, when you want, you make these aflame through angelic offices. | They are among the primevals for they are your creation, when we are the last making, but your image. They may preach for us the theological symbols, these threefold by three through individual functions: | the angelic people and the archangelic phalanx, the ruling crowd, the Uranic virtue, and the euphonious power, the dominating spirits and the divine seats, the ethereal Cherubim and the fiery-haired Seraphim. | O you, Michael, satrap of heaven, and Gabriel, giving the true message of the word, and Raphael, the handmaid of life, lead us among the paradisiacal beings. | Through you the Father's every command is fulfilled, which the wisdom of the same gives, and also the equal spirit, remaining in one essence, unto whom you are the ministration, unto God thousands of thousands holy. Through twice five and twice five hundred, hundreds of thousands assist in the hall, to which the King brings the earth-born hundredth sheep and the tenth drachma above your heights. | You throughout the ether, we throughout the earth, we the chosen tithe give the promises of harmony with the hyperlyric harp, | so that after Michael's glorious battle our incense upon the golden altar may be accepted by God, | so that we may sing in heavenly glory: Alleluia.)

X

- | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|---|
| 1a | Orbis totus
unda lotus
preciosi lavacri | 1b | Ad Mariam
matrem piam
voce clamet alacri; |
| 2a | Matrem illam,
que mamillam
prebuit altissimo, | 2b | Collaudemus,
decantemus
cantu iocundissimo. |
| 3a | Mater Dei,
per quam rei
redeunt ad veniam, | 3b | Seda diram
clemens iram
ac refunde gratiam. |
| 4a | Hostes arce,
servis parce
tibi famulantibus | 4b | Et felicem
genitricem
Dei te fatentibus. |
| 5a | Sis adiutrix,
Dei nutrix,
Christiani populi, | 5b | Cuius votis
ad te totis
diriguntur oculi. |
| 6a | Natum ora
et implora,
ne plebs eius pereat, | 6b | Sed ductrice
genitrice
te ad vitam redeat. |
| 7a | Dic, dic ei:
'Fili Dei,
sed et meus unice, | 7b | Nate meus
sed et Deus,
exorantem respice. |
| 8a | Recordare,
quis et quare
matrem habes virginem, | 8b | Causa nota
est et tota
ut salvares hominem. |
| 9a | En ancilla,
cuius stilla
te lactavit parvulum, | 9b | Per hanc audi
et exaudi
te colentem populum. |
| 10a | Memor esto,
quando mesto
blandiebar osculis | 10b | teque flentem
vel ludentem
nutriebam seculis. |
| 11a | Hac spe ducta
nec seducta
te ut natum alui | 11b | Et orando,
venerando
sicut Deum colui. |

12a Ergo, fili,
puerili
Deum tegens tegmine,

12b Quem fovebam,
quem mulcebam
latentem sub homine,

13 Exaudiar pro hac familia,
Oro, mater matris fiducia.'

BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fols 81^v–82^r; AH, XLVIII, no. 237

(Let the whole world, cleansed by the water of the precious bath, cry with vivid voice to her pious mother Mary. | Let us praise the mother who gave her breast to the highest, and sing to her with most pleasing song. | O mother of God, by whom the guilty return to mercy, in your mildness, calm the awful anger and fill us with grace. | Keep the enemies away, spare the servants who attend to you and who confess that you are the blessed mother of God. | O you who nurtured God, may you be the helper of the Christian people, whose eyes are lifted up to you in all prayers. | Beseech your son and implore him that his people may not perish, but be led to life through your motherly guidance. | Say, say to him: 'Son of God, but also my only son, my son but also God, see to me when I am praying to you. | Remember who and why you have a virgin mother: the known and whole reason is that you should save humanity. | So listen to the maid whose drop of milk fed you as a little child, listen through her and hear the people that worships you. | Remember when I soothed you with my kisses when you were sad, and suckled you when you were crying and playing in the world. | Led by this hope and not led astray I nurtured you as son, and by praying and worshipping I venerated you as God. | Thus, my son, sheltering God under the covering of a child, whom I cherished, whom I soothed hidden in a human form, | may I be heard for the sake of this family, I pray as mother with a mother's confidence.)'



1a Or-bis to-tus un-da lo-tus pre-ci -o -si la -va -cri
1b Ad Ma-ri-am ma-trem pi-am, vo-ce clamet a -la -cri.



2a Matrem il-lam, que ma-mil-lam pre-bu-it al -tis -si-mo,
2b Collau-demus, de -can-te-mus can-tu io-cun-dis -si-mo.



3a Ma-ter De -i, per quam re -i re -de-unt ad ve -ni -am, →
4a Hostes ar -ce, ser -vis parce ti -bi fa-mu-lan-ti -bus →



3b Se-da di -ram cle-mens i -ram ac re -fun-de gra -ci -am.
4b Et fe-li -cem ge-ni -tri-cem De-i te fa -ten -ti -bus.



5a Sis ad iu -trix, De -i nutrix, Chris-ti -an -i po -pu -li, →

6a Na -tum o -ra et im-plora, ne plebs e-ius pe -re -at, →



5b Cu-ius vo-tis ad te to -tis di -ri -gun-tur o -cu -li.

6b Sed duc -tri-ce ge-ni -tri -ce te ad vi -tam re-de -at.



7a Dic, dic e -i: 'Fi-li De-i, sed et me-us u -ni-ce, →

8a Re -cor-da-re, quis et quare matrem ha-bes vir -gi-nem, →



7b Na -te me-us sed et De-us, e -xo-ran -tem res -pi -ce.

8b Cau-sa no-ta est et to-ta ut sal-va -res ho -mi-nem.



9a En an -cil -la, cu -ius stil -la te lacta-vit par -vu-lum, →

10a Me-mor es-to, quan-do mes-to blandi -e-bar os -cu-lis →



9b Per hanc au -di et e -xau -di te co-len -tem po -pu-lum.

10b Tè-que flen -tem vel lu-den -tem nu-tri-e -bam se-cu-lis.



11a Hac spe duc-ta nec se-duc-ta te ut na-tum a -lu -i

11b Et o -rando, ve -ne-rando si-cut De-um co-lu -i.



12a Er -go, fi -li, pu -e -ri -li De-um te -gens teg -mi -ne,

12b Quem fo -ve -bam, quem mulce -bam la-ten -tem sub ho -mi -ne,



13 E -xau-di -ar pro hac fa-mi -li -a, O-ro, ma-ter ma-tris fi-du-ci -a.'

BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fols 81^v–82^r

4a hostes] aG FED | parce] FG, ED | 4b genitricem] aG FG FE ED | 6a implora] E, G a | 6b Sed] GG | 8a habes virginem] ED DE DC DE G | 8b ut] DC | salvares] G bab d | 9b, 10b *cadence: sic* | 10a quando] FEDE CE | 11b orando] aG c, ba | 12b quem] c,.

XI

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|--|
| 1a | Mater clemens ac benigna
super omnes laude digna
teophilo reddens signa,
que tulerat ars maligna, | 1b | Rosa vernans, o Maria,
Rachel, cui servit Lia,
peccatorum patens via,
fons hortorum, dulcis, pia, |
| 2a | Casta parens carens felle,
virga florens manans melle,
maris fluctus ac procelle
tempestates procul pelle. | 2b | Stella Iacob, virga Iesse,
celi cives fac nos esse,
aula regis plena messe,
lasse cibus atque fesse, |
| 3a | Formosi Ioseph cisterna,
Israhelis et lucerna,
pietate fac materna,
ne ruamus ad inferna. | 3b | Madefacta rore tellus,
qua rex sumpsit carnis vellus,
herbis viret hic agellus,
agnus cubat hic tenellus. |
| 4a | David regis stirpe sata,
ab electis nuntiata,
semper manans illibata,
porta Sion decorata, | 4b | Cunctis stellis clarior,
sole speciosior,
Theman sapientior
et Sansone fortior, |
| 5a | Salomonis fulgens thronus,
Babilonis frangens honus,
unguentorum odor bonus,
angelorum laus et sonus, | 5b | Surge, dulcis columbina
imperatrix et regina,
infirmorum medicina,
plagis nostris funde vina. |
| 6a | Puerpera summi regis
vetus purgans zima legis,
felix, que cum nato degis,
oves serva tui gregis. | 6b | Te laudamus voce, corde,
hac Egipto munda sorde
in hac valle nobis parce
et fer tecum Syon arce. |

Amen.

BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fols 79^r–80^r

(Mother, mild and kind, worthy of praise above all, bringer of signs to the lover of God (*theophilus*), which the wicked fraud had taken away. O Mary, flourishing rose, Rachel, whom Leah served, open road of sinners, fountain of the garden, sweet and mild, | chaste parent without fault, flowering rod dripping with honey, repel the turmoil of the sea, and take away the violence of the storms. You star of Jacob, rod of Jesse, make us citizens of heaven; you are the king's hall full of the harvest, food for the weak and tired. | You, handsome Joseph's cistern, lantern of Israel, in your maternal kindness let us not fall down to hell. You are earth moistened by dew, from whom the King took the fleece of flesh;

here the little field is green with grass, and here the little lamb is resting. | Coming from the stem of King David, announced by the chosen ones, always remaining unviolated, you adorned the door of Zion. Brighter than all the stars, more splendid than the sun, wiser than Themán and stronger than Samson, | you, shining throne of Solomon, breaking the woes predicted against Babylon, you sweet perfume of ointment, praise and sound of the angels, arise, sweet, dove-like empress and queen, remedy of the sick, and bring wine to our wounds. | Virgin mother of the highest king, who purifies the old leavened bread of the Law, you blessed one who lives with your son, take care of the sheep of your herd. We praise you in voice and heart. Purify us from this sordidness of Egypt; spare us in this valley and bear us with you to the ark of Zion. Amen.)



- 1a Mater clemens ac be-nigna,
super om-nes laude di-gna te-o-phi-lo reddens signa, que tu-lerat ars ma-li-gna,
1b Rosa vernans, o Ma-ria
Rachel, cu-i servit Lia, peccatorum pa-tens vi-a, fons hortorum, dul-cis, pi-a,



- 2a Casta parens ca-rens felle,
virga florens manans melle, maris fluctus ac pro-cel-le tempesta-tes pro-cul pel-le.
2b Stella Ia-cob, vir-ga Iesse,
ce-li ci-ves fac nos esse, aula re-gis plena messe, las-se ci-bus at-que fesse,



- 3a Formo-si Ioseph cister-na,
Is-ra-he-lis et -lu-cer-na, pi-e-ta-te fac materna, ne ru-a-mus ad in-fer-na.
3b Ma-de-fac-ta ro-re tellus,
qua rex sumpsit carnis vellus, herbis viret hic a-gel-lus, a-gnus cubat hic te-nellus.



- 4a Da-vid re-gis stir-pe sa-ta,
ab e-lec-tis nun-ti-a-ta, semper manans il-li-ba-ta, por-ta Si-on de-co-ra-ta,
4b Cunctis stellis cla-ri-or,
so-le spe-ci-o-si-or, Themán sa-pi-en-ti-or et San-so-ne for-ti-or,



- 5a Sa-lomonis fulgens thronus,
Babi-lo-nis frangens honus, unguento-rum o-dor bonus, an-ge-lo-rum laus et so-nus,
5b Surge, dulcis co-lum-bina,
im-pe-ra-trix et re-gina, in-fir-mo-rum me-di-ci-na, plagis nostris fun-de vi-na.



6a Pu-er -pe -ra summi re-gis
ve-tus purgans zi -ma le -gis, fe-lix, que cum nato de-gis, o-ves ser-va tu -i gre -gis.

6b Te lauda-mus vo -ce, corde,
hac E-gi -pto munda sorde in hac val -le nobis par-ce et fer tecum Syon ar -ce.



7 A -men.

BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fol. 79^r.

XII

Fons et ortus pietatis
fluctuantis nostre ratis *eleyson*.

Imperare potens ventis
Petri fere submergentis *eleyson*.

Pater, ad te reduc illum,
navigantis ad tranquillum *eleyson*.

Hac in gravi tempestate,
Christe, tibi desponsate *eleyson*.

Eius, que per tantos nexus
tuos fugit ad amplexus, *eleyson*.

Fili David, Dei proles,
cui non defert mundi moles, *eleyson*.

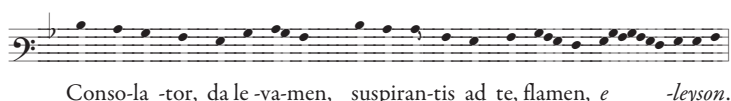
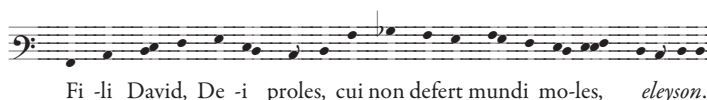
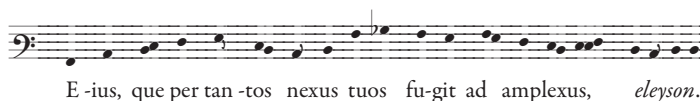
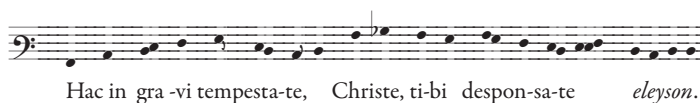
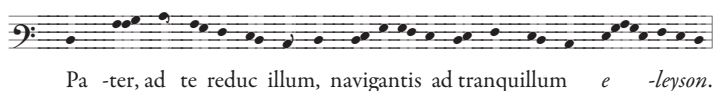
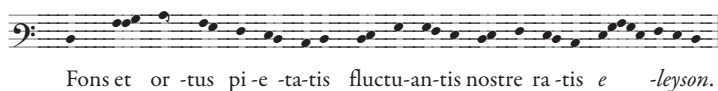
Consolator, da levamen,
suspirantis ad te, flamen, *eleyson*.

Maris undam fac sedari
timentisque naufragari *eleyson*.

Esto memor exulantis
tibi semper supplicantis *eleyson*.

BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fols 101^v–102^r

(Source and origin of piety, *have mercy* on our vacillating vessel. | You who have the power to command the winds, *have mercy* on Peter who is about to drown. | Father, *have mercy* on the one at sea and bring him back to you, to tranquillity. | Christ, *have mercy* on your spouse in this heavy storm. | *Have mercy* on her who flees into your arms from such great snares. | Son of David, Son of God, for whom the burden of the world is not taken away, *have mercy*. | O soothing breeze, bring consolation, and *have mercy* on the one who sighs to you. | Calm the wave of the sea, and *have mercy* on the one who fears to be shipwrecked. | Remember the one in exile, *have mercy* on the one who always prays to you.)



XIII

Sanctus

Quem ut daret virga Iesse,
tempus erat et necesse,
cum iam seges sit in messe.

Sanctus

Est de monte lapis cesus,
fuit tamen mons illesus,
quo processit noster Hiesus.

Sanctus

Qui de sede maiestatis
venit ad nos ferens gratis
nostre molem paupertatis.

Dominus Deus sabaoth.

<Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua.>

Osanna in excelsis.

Patris proles, lumen verum
fecundavit vas sincerum
pravas mundans vices rerum.

Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini.

<Osanna in excelsis.>

BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fol. 102^r

(*Holy* — It was time and it was necessary that the rod of Jesse should bring him forth, when the crop was about to be harvested. *Holy* — The stone was cut out from the mountain, but the mountain was unharmed from which our Jesus came forth. *Holy* — He came from the throne of majesty to carry through his grace the burden of our poverty. *Lord God of hosts. Heaven and earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the highest* — The son of the Father, the true light fertilized the pure vessel and purified the ugly vices of things. *Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.*)



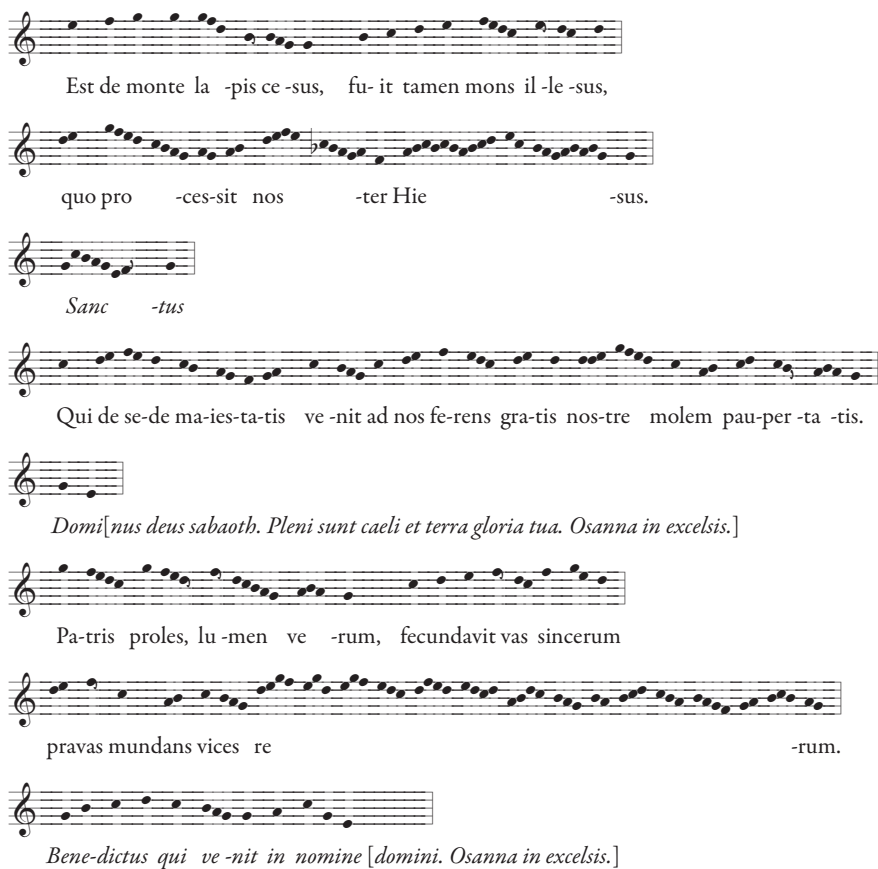
Sanc -tus



Quem ut da-ret vir-ga Ies-se, tempus e-rat et ne -ces-se, cum iam se-ges sit in mes-se.



Sanc -tus



Est de monte la -pis ce -sus, fu- it tamen mons il -le -sus,
 quo pro -ces-sit nos -ter Hie -sus.
Sanc -tus
 Qui de se-de ma-ies-ta-tis ve-nit ad nos fe-rens gra-tis nos-tre molem pau-per -ta -tis.
Domini[nus deus sabaoth. Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua. Osanna in excelsis.]
 Pa-tris proles, lu-men ve -rum, fecundavit vas sincerum
 pravas mundans vices re -rum.
Bene-dictus qui ve-nit in nomine [domini. Osanna in excelsis.]

BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fol. 102^r

B natural is probably intended from *Hiesus* onwards; the use of B flat is in any case problematic in this piece.

XIV

Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi,
 Qui de patre genitus matrem fecundasti,
 cuius alvum spiritu sancto consignasti,
 miserere palee quamvis segregasti,
Miserere nobis.
Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi,
 Qui pro bene placito singula disponis,

per quem fuit madidum vellus Gedeonis,
 reduc nos ad patriam destinatam bonis,

Miserere nobis.

Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi,
 Homo, pastor ovium et imago dei,
 successive copulans tenebras diei,
 gregi confer gaudium anni iubilei,

Dona nobis pacem.

BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fols 102^v–103^r

(*Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world*, born of the Father you fertilized the mother, whose womb you signed with the Holy Spirit, have mercy on the straw, although you sorted it out, *have mercy on us. Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world*, you who dispose of everything according to your will, by whom the fleece of Gideon was moistened, lead us to the fatherland destined for good things, *have mercy on us. Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world*, man, shepherd of the herd and image of God, who in due order couples the night to the day, bring to the herd the joy of the year of jubilee, *grant us peace.*)



Agnus De -i qui tollis pecca-ta mundi,



Qui de pa-tre genitus matrem fe-cun-das-ti,



cuius alvum spi-ri-tu sancto consignas-ti,



mise-re-re pale-e quamvis segre-gas -ti,



Mi-se -re -re no -bis.



Agnus De -i qui tollis pecca-ta mundi,



Qui pro be-ne pla-ci-to singula disponis,



per quem fu -it ma -di -dum vellus Ge -de-o -nis,
 reduc nos ad pa-tri -am destinatam bo -nis, *Mi-se-re-re no -bis.*
Agnus De-i qui tol-lis pec-ca-ta mundi,
 Homo, pastor o-vi-um et imago De -i,
 successive copulans tenebras di -e -i,
 gregi confer gaudi-um anni iu -bi -le -i,
Do-na no -bis pa -cem.

BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fols 102^v–103^r

XV

Sanctus,
 Archetypi mundi stans nutu cuius imago.
Sanctus,
 Summa sophia, nois, protopanton, prima propago.
Sanctus,
 Spes pia sanctorum, pax, gloria, vita bonorum.
Dominus deus sabaoth,
Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua.
Osanna in excelsis.
Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini.
Osanna in excelsis.

BnF n.a.lat. 3126, additional fol. 9^r

(*Holy*, whose image stands according to the will of the archetype of the world. *Holy*, highest wisdom, *nous*, first of all, the first progeny. *Holy*, pious hope of the saints, peace, glory, the life of the good. *Lord God of Sabaoth* ...)



Sanc -tus,



Ar -che -ty -pi



mun -di



stans nu -tu cu -ius



i -ma -go.



Sanc-tus,



Sum -ma so -phi -a,



no -is,



proto-pan -ton, prima pro -pa-go.



Sanc -tus,



Spes pi -a sanc -to -rum, pax, glo -ri -a,



*Dominus deus sabaoth, Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua. Osanna in excelsis.
Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini. Osanna in excelsis.*

BnF n.a.lat. 3126, additional fol. 9^r

The *b* flat is questionable and probably an addition.

XVI

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|--|
| 1a | Virgines caste
virginis summe
decus precinentes, | 1b | Ceteras quoque
condignas laude
post hanc venerantes, |
| 2a | Psalmis et hymnis
canticis dignis
sibi colloquentes | 2b | Solvant in istis
debite laudis
hostias sollempnes. |
| 3a | Hec est a dextris
assistens regis,
illa regina, | 3b | Iuncto latere
sola cum rege
precedit ipsa |
| 4a | Aurata veste
varietate
circumamicta. | 4b | Tanquam dominam
sequitur illam
queque beata. |
| 5a | Post eam adducte
virgines devote
regi sunt oblate,
Christo consecrate; | 5b | Talis erat Tecla,
Agnes et Lucia,
Agathes et multa
virginum caterva. |
| 6a | Filie Tiri
munera ferentes
et in his regis
vultum deprecantes | 6b | Hostias habent
cunctis puriores
corpore munde,
corde sanctiores. |
| 7a | Holocausta domino
offerunt ex integro
virgines carne,
integre mente,
immortalem sponsum
eligentes Christum. | 7b | O felices nuptie,
quibus nulle macule,
nulli dolores
partus sunt graves,
nec pelex timenda,
nec nutrix molesta. |

- 8a Lectulos harum
Christo vacantes
angeli vallant
custodientes,
ne quis incestus
temeret illos,
ensibus strictis
arcent immundos.
- 8b Dormit in illis
Christus cum ipsis:
felix hic sompnus,
requies dulcis,
quo confovetur
virgo fidelis
inter amplexus
sponsi celestis;
- 8c Dextera sponsi
sponsa complexa,
capiti leva
dormit subnixa:
pervigil corde
corpore dormit
et sponsi grata
sinu quiescit.
- 9a Approbans sompnum
Sponsus beatum
inquietari
prohibet illum:
- 9b 'Ne suscitetis',
inquit, 'dilectam,
dum ipsa volet,
ita quietam.'
- 10a Hic ecclesiastici
flos est ille germinis,
tam rosis quam liliis
multiplex innumeris,
- 10b Quorum est flagrantiis
ager sponsi nobilis
naribus et oculis
eque delectabilis.
- 11a Ornate tam bissina
veste quam purpurea,
leva tenent lilia,
rosas habent dextera
- 11b Et coronas geminas
redimite capita
Agni sine macula
percurrunt itinera.
- 12a His quoque floribus
semper recentibus
sanctorum intexta
capitum sunt sarta.
- 12b Hic agnus pascitur,
istis reficitur;
hic flores electa
sunt illius esca.
- 13a Hic choro talium
vallatus agminum
orthorum amena
discurrit hac illac,
- 13b Qui nunc comprehensus
ab his, nunc elapsus
quasi quadam fuga
petulans exultat.
- 14a Crebros saltus
dat hic agnus
inter illas discurrendo
- 14b Et cum ipsis
requiescit
fervore meridiano.

15a Inter mammas virginum
collocat cubiculum;

15b In earum pectore
cubat in meridiē.

16a Virgo quippe
cum sit ipse
virgineque matre natus,

16b Virginales
super omnes
querit et amat recessus.

17a Sompnus illi placidus
in castis est sinibus,

17b Ne qua forte macula
sua fedet vellera.

18a Hoc attende canticum
devotarum mentium,
insigne collegium,

18b Quo nostra devocio
maiore se studio
templum ornet Domino.

Amen.

BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fols 84^v–87^r; AH, LIV, no. 133; Plate 14

11a lilia] sui ilia *ut vid. ms*

(Chaste virgins, singing praises to the beauty of the highest virgin, venerating also other virgins worthy of praise, | singing together psalms and hymns and fitting canticles, let them duly bring solemn offerings in these songs of praise. | She sits on the right hand, this queen, assisting the King; close to his side, she proceeds alone with the King, | dressed in a robe with golden embroideries. All the beautiful follow her, as their Lady. | After her the devoted virgins are led in to be offered to the King, consecrated to Christ: so were Thecla, Agnes, and Lucy, Agatha and many troops of virgins. | The daughters of Tyre bring gifts and with these their prayers before the King's eyes. These virgins in their unpolluted body and more holy in their heart have offerings purer than all: | they bring offerings to the Lord of unviolated flesh, from a pure mind choosing Christ as their immortal bridegroom. O happy, spotless brides, who know not the heavy pains of childbirth, who have no mistress to fear, no nurse to trouble you! | The angels protect their beds that are vacant only to Christ, and they watch so that no unchaste man may frighten them, and with their drawn swords they keep the impure away. Christ sleeps with them in their beds: this sleep is blessed; sweet is the rest that the faithful virgin enjoys in the embrace of her heavenly bridegroom. To the right of the spouse the bride is embraced; to the left of his head she sleeps close to him. In her heart she is awake, though in her body she sleeps, and she rests gracefully in the lap of her spouse. | Favouring the blessed sleep the Bridegroom does not permit it to be disturbed. 'Do not awaken my beloved', he says, 'as long as she sleeps this peacefully.' | He is the flower of the bud of the Church, among countless roses and lilies. Amongst their glow is the noble meadow of the spouse, of equal delight to the nose as to the eyes. | Adorned with folded purple dresses they hold lilies in their left hands, roses in their right, and with double crowns on their heads they follow the path of the spotless Lamb. | And of these perpetually blossoming flowers are garlands woven for the heads of

the saints. Here the lamb is pastured; from these he is nourished; here the flowers are his choice pasture. | Cherished by the choir of such hosts of beautiful gardens he runs around here and there, now embraced, now escaped from these; as in a flight, he playfully rejoices. | Here the lamb joyfully gambols, running around between them, and rests with them in the midday heat. | His pillow is the bosom of the virgins. On their breast he takes his midday rest. | Himself a virgin, born from a virgin mother, most of all he searches and loves the virginal resting places. | Placid to him is sleep in chaste embrace, so that no stain might disturb his fleece. | Listen, glorious choir, to this song from devoted minds. May our devotion through this song the more eagerly adorn the temple to the Lord. Amen.)



1a Virgines cas -te, vir -gi-nis summe de -cus precinentes,

1b Ce-teras quoque condignas lau -de post hanc ve-neran-tes



2a Psalmis et hymnis canti -cis dignis si -bi colloquentes,

2b Solvant in is -tis de -bi-te laudis hosti -as sollempnes.



3a Hec est a dextris assis-tens regis, il -la re-gi-na,

3b Iunc-to la -te -re so-la cum rege pre -ce-dit ip-sa

4a Au -ra -ta ves-te va-ri -e -ta-te circum -a -micta.

4b Tanquam dominam sequi-tur illam que -que be-a -ta.



5a Post e-am ad -ducte vir-gi -nes devo -te re-gi sunt ob-la-te, Christo con -se-cra-te;

5b Ta -lis e -rat Tecla, A-gnes et Lu-ci -a, A -ga-thes et multa vir -ginum ca-terva.



6a Fi -li -e Ti -ri, mu -ne-ra fe-ren-tes

et in his re -gis vul -tum de -pre-can-tes,

6b Hos-ti-as habent cunc-tis pu-ri -o -res,

cor-pore munde, cor-de sancti -o -res.



7a Holocausta domino of-fe -runt ex in-tegro vir -gi-nes carne, in-te -gre mente, →

7b O fe-li -ces nupti-e, quibus nul -le macu-le, nul-li do -lo-res partus sunt graves, →



7a im-morta-lem spon-sum e -li-gen-tes Christum.

7b nec pelex ti -men-da, nec nutrix mo -les -ta.



8a Lectu-los harum Christo vacantes
an -ge-li vallant cus -to-di-en -tes:



ne quis incestus temeret illos, ensibus strictis arcent immundos.



8b Dormit in il -lis Christus cum ipsis:
fe-lix hic sompnus, re -qui -es dulcis,



quo confove-tur virgo fidelis inter am-ple-xus sponsi ce-les-tis;



8c Dextera sponsi sponsa complexa,
ca-pi-ti le -va dormit sub-ni-xa:



pervigil corde corpore dormit et sponsi gra -ta si -nu qui-es-cit.



9a Approbans sompnum Sponsus be-a -tum
in -qui-e -ta -ri pro -hi -bet illum:



9b 'Ne susci-te-tis', inquit, 'di-lectam, dum ipsa vo -let, i -ta qui-e-tam.'



10a Hic ecclesi -astici flos est il -le ger-mi-nis, tam ro -sis quam li -li-is
multi -plex in -numeris 10b Quo-rum est fla -gran-ci-is



10b a-ger sponsi nobilis naribus et oculis eque delectabilis.



11a Or-na-te tam bissina ves-te quam pur-pu-re-a, le-va te-nent li-li-a,
ro-sas ha-bent dexte-ra, 11b Et co-ro-nas ge-mi-nas



11b re-dimi-te ca-pi-ta. Agni si-ne macula percurrunt i-ti-ne-ra.



12a His quo-que flo-ri-bus semper re-centibus sanctorum intexta ca-pi-tum sunt sarta.

12b Hic a-gnus pasci-tur is-tis re-fi-citur; hic flores electa sunt il-li-us es-ca.

13a Hic cho-ro ta-li-um val-la-tus agminum, orthorum amena discurrit hac il-lac,

13b Qui nunc comprehensus ab his, nunc elapsus quasi quadam fuga petulans e-xul-tat.



14a Crebros saltus dat hic agnus, in-ter il-las discur-ren-do,

14b Et cum ip-sis re-qui-es-cit fer-vore me-ri-di-a-no.



15a Inter mammas vir-gi-num col-lo-cat cu-bi-cu-lum.

15b In e-a-rum pecto-re cu-bat in me-ri-di-e,



16a Virgo quippe cum sit ip-se vir-gi-ne-que matre na-tus,

16b Virgi-na-les su-per omnes que-rit et a-mat re-ces-sus.



17a Sompnus il-li pla-ci-dus in cas-tis est si-ni-bus,

17b Ne qua forte ma-cu-la su-a fe-det vel-le-ra.



18a Hoc at-tende canticum, de-votarum menti-um in-si-gne col-le-gi-um,

18b Quo nostra de-vo-ci-o ma-iore se-stu-di-o templum or-net Do-mi-no.

BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fols 84^v–86^v; Plate 14

3b preedit ipsa] G GE F GE D | 4b tanquam] D D, | 9a prohibet] a G a | 12a quoque] F Ga |
13b fuga] G FE | 14a discurrando] G F EDEC, D | 18b maiore se] D EFED C A.

b flat is probably intended in strophes 7, 10, and 11, *b* flat elsewhere.

XVII

- 1 Epithalamica dic, sponsa, cantica.
Intus que conspicias, dic foris gaudia
et nos letificans de sponso nuntia,
cuius te resonet semper presencia.
- 2 Adolescentule, vos corum ducite,
cum vox precinerit, et vos succinite.
Amicos sponsi vos vocarunt nuptie,
et nove modulos optamus domine.
- 3 In montibus hic ecce saliens,
ecce venit colles transiliens.
Per fenestras ad me respiciens
per cancellos dicit prospiciens:
- 4a ‘Amica surge propera,
columba nitens avola!’
- 5 Horrens enim hyems iam transiit,
gravis ymber recedens abiit,
Ver amenum terras aperuit,
parent flores et turtur cecinit:
- 4b ‘Amica surge <propera,
columba nitens avola!’>
- 6 Rex in accubitus iam se contulerat
et mea redolens nardus spiraverat;
in hortum veneram, in quem descenderat
at ille transiens iam declinaverat.
- 7 Per noctem igitur hunc querens exeo
huc illuc anxio querendo cursito.
Occurrunt vigiles ardenti studio,
quos dum transierim sponsum invenio.
- 8 Iam video, quod optaveram,
iam teneo, quod amaveram,

iam rideo, que sic fleveram,
plus gaudeo, quam dolueram.

9a Risi mane,
 flevi nocte;
 mane risi,
 nocte flevi.

10 Noctem insompnem dolor duxerat,
 quem vehementem amor fecerat,
 dilatione votum creverat,
 donec amantem amans visitat.

9b Plausus die,
 plactus nocte;
 die plausus,
 nocte plactus.

11 Eya, nunc comites et Syon filie,
 ad sponse cantica psalmum adnectite,
 quo mestis reddita sponsi presentia
 convertit elegos nostros in cantica.

BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fols 90^v–91^v; AH, VIII, no. 45

(Sing wedding songs, O bride; sing out loud the joy you behold in your heart, and make us rejoice at the news of the spouse, whose presence is forever resounding in you. | Young maiden, lead the dance; when the melody is sung before you, join in the singing. The friends of the bridegroom have called you to the wedding and we long for songs for the new bride. | See, he is running over the mountains; see, he is coming over the hills! | Looking for me in the windows, he calls for me searching through the bars: | 'O beloved, arise and hasten, my shining dove, fly here!' | For the horrible winter is over, the heavy rain has ceased, the lovely spring has opened the ground, the flowers come forth and the turtle-dove sings: | 'O beloved, arise and hasten, my shining dove, fly here!' | The king has already withdrawn to his chamber, and my nard has emitted its fragrance. I had entered the garden to which he had come, and coming over he was now at rest. | Thus I was out looking for him all night long, running back and forth, searching anxiously. The watchmen come forth in ardent search, passing whom I found, my bridegroom. | Now I see what I longed for; now I hold what I loved; now I burn, I who was crying; now I rejoice more than I used to suffer. | In the morning I was laughing; I cried in the night. I was laughing in the morning; in the night I cried. | The

sorrow had made the night sleepless, the night that love had made ardent and longer in delaying the fulfilment of wishes, until the lover visits the beloved. | There are songs of joy in the day, laments in the night; in the day there are songs of joy, in the night laments. | *Eia*, now, friends and daughters of Zion, add the singing of Psalms to the songs for the bride. Thus is the presence of the bridegroom told to those who are mourning and turns our songs of sorrow to songs of joy.)



- 1 E-pi-tha-la -mi-ca dic, spon-sa, can-ti-ca
Intus que conspi -cis, dic fo -ris gau-di-a
et nos le-ti -fi-cans de spon-so nun-ti-a,
cui-us te re -so-net semper pre-sen-ci-a.



- 2 A -do -les-cen-tu-le, vos co-rum du-ci-te,
cum vox pre-ci -ne-rit et vos suc -ci -ni-te.
A -mi -cos sponsi vos vo-ca -runt nupti-e
et no -ve mo-dulos op-ta -mus domine.



- 3 In mon-ti-bus hic ec -ce sa -li -ens, ec -ce ve-nit col-les tran-si -li-ens.
Per fe -nes-tras ad me res-pi -ci -ens per can-cel-los di -cit pros-pi -ci-ens:



- 4a. 'A -mi -ca sur-ge prope-ra,
co -lum-ba ni-tens a -vo -la!'



- 5 Horrens e -nim hy-ems iam tran -si -it, gra -vis ym-ber re-cedens a -bi-it,
Ver a -me-num ter-ras a -pe -ru -it pa -rent flo-res et tur tur ce -ci-nit:



- 4b. 'A -mi -ca sur-ge <prope-ra,
co -lum-ba ni-tens a -vo -la!>



- 6 Rex in ac -cubitum iam se con -tule-rat et me-a re-dolens nardus spi-ra -ve-rat -
7 Per noctem i -gitur hunc querens e-xe-o huc il -luc an-xi-o queren -do cur-si-to. -



In hortum ve -ne-ram in quem descenderat at il -le transiens iam de -cli -na-ve-rat.
Oc-currunt vi -gi -les ar-den -ti stu-di-o, quos dum transi erim sponsum in-ve -ni -o.



8 Iam vi-de -o, quod op -ta-ve-ram,
iam te-ne -o, quod a -ma-ve-ram,
iam ar-de -o, que sic fle-ve-ram,
plus gaude-o, quam do-lu -e-ram.



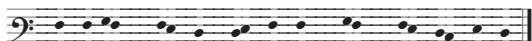
9a Ri -si mane,
fle-vi nocte,
mane ri -si,
nocte fle-vi.



10 Noc -tem in-som -pnem do-lor du-xe-rat,
quem ve -he-men-tem a -mor fe -ce-rat,
di -la -ti-o -ne vo-tum creve-rat
do -nec a -man-tem a-mans vi -si-tat.



9b Plau-sus di -e,
planctus nocte,
di -e plau-sus,
nocte planctus.



11 E -γ-a, nunc co -mi-tes et Sy -on fi -li -e,
ad spon -se can-ti -ca psal -mum ad -nec -ti-te,
quo mes -tis red-di -ta spon-si pre-sen -ti-a
conver -tit e -le-gos nostros in can -ti -ca.

BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fols 90^v–91^v

1 foris] GF FED | semper] ab G | 2 amicos sponsi] D F GF FED FG | can-] G, | 5 amenum] a
baa G a | parent flores] F G, FED FEC | 7 anxia *ms* | 11 sponse] G, Fe | psalmum] F G, |
convertit] F G, FE | in] F,.

XVIII

- | | | | |
|-----|--|-----|--|
| 1a | Zima vetus expurgetur,
ut sincere celebretur
nova resurrectio. | 1b | Hec est dies nostre spei
huius mira vis diei
legis testimonio. |
| 2a | Hec Egiptum spoliavit
et Hebreos liberavit
de fornace ferrea; | 2a | His in arto constitutus
opus erat servitutis
lutum, later, palea. |
| 3a | Iam divine laus virtutis,
iam triumphi, iam salutis,
vox erumpat libera: | 3b | 'Hec est dies, quam fecit Dominus
dies nostri doloris terminus
dies salutifera.' |
| 4a | Lex est umbra futurorum,
Christus finis promissorum,
qui consummat omnia. | 4b | Christi sanguis igneam
hebetavit romphaeam
amota custodia. |
| 5a | Puer, nostri forma risus,
pro quo vervex est occisus,
vitae signat gaudium. | 5b | Ioseph exit de cisterna,
Christus redit ad superna
post mortis supplicium. |
| 6a | Sic dracones Pharaonis
draco vorat a draconis
inmunis malicia; | 6b | Quos ignitus vulnerat,
hos serpentis liberat
enei presentia. |
| 7a | Anguem forat in maxilla
Christus hamus et armilla
in cavernam reguli. | 7b | Manum mittit ablactatus
et sic fugit exturbatus
vetus hostis seculi. |
| 8a | Irrisores Helisei,
dum conscendit domum Dei,
zelum calvi sentiunt. | 8b | David arrepticus,
hyrcus emissarius
et passer effugiunt. |
| 9a | In Maxilla mille sternit
et de tribu sua spernit
Sanson matrimonium. | 9a | Sanson Gaze portas pandit
et asportans portas scandit
montis supercilium. |
| 10a | Sic de Iuda leo fortis
fractis portis dire mortis
die surgens tertia | 10b | Rugiente voce patris
ad superne sinum matris
tot revexit spolia. |
| 11a | Cetus Ionam fugitivum,
veri Ione signativum,
post tres dies reddit vivum
de ventris angustia. | 11b | Botrus Cipri reflorescit,
dilatatur et excrescit,
synagoge flos marcescit
et floret ecclesia. |

12a Mane novum, mane letum
vespertinum tergat fletum;
quia vita vicit letum,
tempus est letitie.

12b Mors et Christus conflixere,
resurrexit Christus vere,
et cum Christo surrexere
multi testes glorie.

13a Iesu victor, Iesu vita,
Iesu vite via trita,
cuius morte mors sopita,
ad paschalem nos invita
mensam cum leticia.

13b Vive panis, vivax unda,
vera vitis et fecunda,
tu nos pasce, tu nos munda,
et a morte nos secunda
tua salvet gracia.

Amen.

BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fols 96^v–98^v; AH, LIV, no. 227

(The old leaven is purified so that the new resurrection may sincerely be celebrated. This is the day of our hope, the wonderful power of which is witnessed by the Law. | This day spoiled Egypt and liberated the Hebrews from the smelting-furnace; for those who were held in this distress, it was the work of slavery, mud and brick and straw. | Now let there be praise of the divine virtue, of triumph, of salvation. Let the liberated voice burst forth: 'This is the day that the Lord has made, the day that ends our sorrow, the day of salvation.' | The Law is a foreshadowing of the future; Christ is the aim of the promises that bring all to fulfilment. The blood of Christ weakened the fiery weapon when the guard was taken away. | The child, 'laughter' in our form, for whom the goat was killed, signifies the joy of life. Joseph came out of the cistern, Christ returned to the Highest after suffering the penalty of death. | Thus the dragon, free from the dragon's malice, devours the dragons of Pharaoh; whom the fire injures, the presence of the iron snake releases. | Christ, the hook and the iron hoop, pierces the jaw of the serpent in the cavern of the king. The newly weaned son stretched out his hand and so the old enemy of the world fled. | The mockers of Elijah perceive the zeal of the bald man when he ascends to the house of God. The inspired David, the scapegoat and the sparrow escape. | In Maxilla, Samson prostrated a thousand men and rejected the bride from his own tribe. Samson opened the doors of Gaza and lifting up the doors he climbed to the top of the mountain. | Thus the strong lion of Judah, rising on the third day after having broken the terrible doors of death, at the roaring voice of the father, brought the spoils to his high mother's bosom. | After three days, from the depths of its belly, the whale gave back the fugitive Jonah alive, a sign of the true Jonah. | The grape of Cyprus blossoms again, spreading out and growing. The flower of the Synagogue is fading and the Church is blooming. | The new dawn, the joyful dawn wipes away the evening's tears. Now is time for joy, since life has conquered death. Death and Christ have been in combat; Christ truly rose again, and with Christ many witnesses of his glory have risen. | O Jesus, conqueror, O Jesus, life, O Jesus, the trodden way of life, through whose death was death conquered, invite us joyfully to the Paschal table. You, bread of life and lively wave, true and fruitful wine, nourish us, cleanse us, and may your grace save us from the second death. Amen.)

XIX

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|---|
| 1a | Rex Salomon fecit templum,
quorum instar et exemplum
Christus et Ecclesia. | 1b | Huius hic est imperator,
fundamentum et fundator
mediante gracia. |
| 2a | Quadri templi fundamenta
marmora sunt, instrumenta
parietum paria: | 2b | Candens flos est castitatis
lapis quadrus in prelati,
virtus et constancia. |
| 3a | Longitudo,
latitudo
templique sublimitas | 3b | Intellecta
fide recta
sunt fides, spes, caritas. |
| 4a | Sed tres partes sunt in templo
Trinitatis sub exemplo:
ima, summa, media; | 4b | Yma signat vivos cunctos,
et secunda iam defunctos,
redivivos tertia. |
| 5a | Sexagenos queque per se
et tres tantum universe
habent alti cubitos; | 5b | Horum trium tres conventus
Trinitati dant concentus
unitati deditos. |
| 6a | Templi cultus extat multus:
cinnamonus odor domus,
mirra, stactis, cassia, | 6b | Que bonorum decus morum
atque bonos precum sonos
sunt significantia. |
| 7a | In hac casa cuncta vasa
sunt ex auro, de thesauro
preelecto penitus; | 7b | Nam magistros et ministros
deceat doctos et excultos
igne sancti Spiritus. |
| 8a | Hec ex bonis Salomonis,
que rex David praeparavit,
fiant aedificia; | 8b | His in lignis rex insignis
iuvit Tyri, cuius viri
tractant artificia. |
| 9a | Nam ex gente Iudeisque,
sicut Templum ab utrisque,
conditur Ecclesia. | 9b | Christe, qui hanc et hos unis,
lapis huic et his communis,
tibi laus et gloria! |

BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fols 91^v–92^v; AH, LV, no. 35

(King Solomon made a temple in whose likeness and example are Christ and the Church. Through his grace he is its emperor, its foundation, and its founder. | The foundations of the square temple are of marble, the material of the walls alike. The shining flower is that of chastity, the cornerstone lies in the virtue and consistency of the prelates. | The

longitude, the latitude, and the subtle height of the temple, understood with the right faith, are faith, hope, and charity. | But according to the example of the Trinity, there are three parts of the temple: the low, the high, and the middle. The low signifies all the living, the second the deceased, and the third the revived. | Each has sixty cubits, and all have three times this in height. The three convents of these three give consonant harmonies dedicated to the unity of the Trinity. | The manifold cult of the temple is conspicuous: the house smells of cinnamon, sweet cicely, myrrh oil, and cassia, which signify the beauty of good morals and the good sounds of prayer. | In this house all the vases are of gold, wholly taken from the elected treasure. For it is seemly that the masters and the ministers are learned and purified in the fire of the Holy Spirit. | These buildings are made from the goods of Solomon that King David had prepared. In these buildings the splendid king of Tyre was helping, whose men make pieces of art. | For as the Temple is founded by the gentiles and the Jews, so is the Church. Christ, who unites this and those, the cornerstone common to this and to these, to you be praise and glory!



- 1a Rex Sa-lomon fe-cit templum, quorum ins -tar et e -xemplum: Christus et Ec-cle-si-a,
1b Hu-ius hic est impe-ra -tor, fun-da -mentum et funda -tor me -di-an-te gra-ci-a.



- 2a Quadri -templi fundamenta marmo-ra sunt, instrumenta pa-ri -e-tum pa -ri -a:
2b Candens flos est cas-ti-ta -tis la -pis quadrus in pre -la -tis, virtus et constan-ci -a.



- 3a Longi-tudo, la-ti-tudo tem-pli-que su -bli-mi-tas
3b In -tellecta fi-de recta sunt fi-des, spes, ca-ri-tas.



- 4a Sed tres partes sunt in templo Tri-ni-ta-tis sub exemplo: ima, summa, me-di-a;
4b Y -ma signat vi -vos cunctos, et secunda iam defunctos, redi-vi-vos ter-ti -a.



- 5a Se -xa -ge-nos que-que per se et tres tantum u -ni -ver-se habent alti cubitus;
5b Horum tri-um tres conven-tus Tri-ni -ta-ti dant concentus u -ni -tati deditos.



- 6a Templi cul-tus extat multus: cinna -monus o-dor domus, mir-ra, stactis, cas-si-a,
6b Que bo-norum decus morum atque bonos precum so-nos sunt si -gni-fi-can-ti-a.



7a In ac ca-sa cuncta va-sa sunt ex au-ro, de thesauro pre-e-lecto penitus;

7b Nam magistros et mi-nistros de -cet doctos et excoctos i-gne sancti Spiritus.



8a Hec ex bonis Sa-lomonis, que rex David praepa-ravit, fi -ant ae-di-fi-ci-a;

8b His in lignis rex insi-gnis iu -vit Ty-ri, cu -ius vi-ri tractant ar-ti-fi-ci-a.



9a Nam ex gente Iude-is-que, si-cut Templum, ab u -tris -que condi-tur Eccle -si-a.

9b Christe, qui hanc et hos u-nis, la-pis huic et his commu -nis, ti -bi laus et glo -ri-a!

BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fols 91^v–92^v

1a fundator] a, FE D | 6a tactis *ms* | 7b ministros] c, a G | 9b huic et his] ef e d *ms* | communis] cunis *ms* ca F.

XX

1 *Quam dilecta tabernacula* Domini virtutum et atria!

2a	Quam electi architecti tuta edificia,	2b	Que non movent, immo foveant ventus, flumen, pluvia!
3a	Quam decora fundamenta per concinna sacramenta umbrae precurrentia!	2b	Latus Ade dormientis Evam fudit inmanentis copulae primordia.
4a	Arcam ligno fabricatam Noe servans gubernatam per mundi diluvium.	4b	Prole sera tandem feta anus Sara ridens leta, nostrum lactans gaudium.
5a	Servus bibit, qui legatur, et camelus adaquatur ex Rebeccae hydra;	5b	Hec in aures et armillas aptat sibi, ut per illas viro fiat congrua.
6a	Sinagoga supplantatur a Iacob, dum evagatur nimis freta littere.	6b	Lippam Liam latent multa, quibus videns Rachel fulta pari nubet federe.

7a	In bivio tegens nuda geminos parit ex Iuda Thamar diu vidua.	7b	Hic Moyses a puella, dum se lavat, in fiscella repperitur scirpea.
8a	Hic mas agnus immolatur, quo Israhel satiatur eius tutus sanguine.	8b	Hic transitur rubens unda, Egyptios sub profunda obruens voragine.
9a	Hic est urna manna plena, hic mandata legis dena, sed in arca federis.	9b	Hic sunt edis ornamenta, hic Aaron indumenta, que precedunt poderis.
10a	Hic Urias viduatur, Bersabee sublimatur sedis consors regie.	10b	Hec regi varietate vestis astat deauratae, sic et regum filiae.
11a	Huc venit Austri regina, Salomonis quam divina condit sapientia.	11b	Hec nigra est sed formosa, mirra et thure fumosa virga pigmentaria.
12a	Sic obscura, que figura obumbravit, reseravit nobis dies graciae.	12b	Iam in lecto cum dilecto quiescamus et psallamus! Adsunt enim nuptie,
13a	Quarum tenet principium in tubis epulantium et finis per psalterium.	13b	Sponsum millena milia una laudent melodia sine fine dicencia:

Alleluia, alleluia!

BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fols 92^v–94^v; AH, LV, no. 33

6a nimis] minus *ms* | 9a manna] magna *ms* | 13b laudent] laudum *ms*.

(How beautiful are the tabernacles of the Lord and the halls of his virtues! | How secure are the buildings of the chosen architect, that no wind, no flood, no rain can move, but only support! | How beautiful are the foundations through the consonant sacraments preceding the shadow! The side of the sleeping Adam made Eve the beginning of the immanent couple. | Noah steers the ark, fabricated of wood, through the flood of the world. Old Sarah, finally giving birth, is laughing with happiness and nourishing our joy. | The slave who is appointed drinks, and the camel obtains water from Rebecca's urn. She puts on earrings and bracelets to please her man with them. | The Synagogue is being overthrown by Jacob when she wanders astray, relying too much on the letter. Much is hidden for the bleary-eyed Leah relying on which the sharp-eyed Rachel is married on the same condition. | Covering her nudity, Thamar, long since a widow, gives birth to twins

through Judah where two ways meet. Here Moses is found by the girl in the basket of straw when she was washing herself. | Here the male lamb is sacrificed, by which Israel is satisfied, safe through his blood. Here the Red Sea is crossed, covering the Egyptians beneath the deep gulf. | Here is the urn full of manna; here are the ten commandments of the Law, but in the ark of the covenant. Here are the ornaments of the building; here are the garments of Aaron that precede the long garments of the priest. | Here Uriah became a widower. Here Beersheba was elevated to sit in the royal throne. | She stands by the king dressed in a variety of gold-decorated clothes, and so do the royal daughters. | To this place came the queen from the South, of whom the Wisdom of Solomon speaks: 'She is black but beautiful; she smells of myrrh and incense, of aromatic weed.' | Thus the day of grace has laid open to us that which was hidden, covered in darkness by figuration. Now let us rest and sing in bed together with the beloved! For now the wedding-day is here, | beginning with the trumpets of the guests and ending with the psaltery. | Let thousands upon thousands together praise the spouse singing melodies without end: *Alleluia, alleluia.*)



1 *Quam di-lec-ta ta-ber-na-cu-la* Do-mi-ni vir-tu-tum et a-tri -a!



2a *Quam e -lec-ti ar -chi-tec-ti tu-ta e -di -fi-ci-a,*
2b *Que non movent, immo fo-vent ventus, flumen, plu-vi-a!*



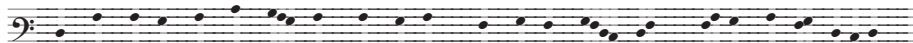
3a *Quam de -co-ra funda-men-ta per concinna sa-cra-men -ta umbre pre-cur-ren-ti-a!*
2b *La -tus A -de dormi-en -tis E-vam fudit in-ma-nen -tis co-pu -le pri-mor-di-a.*



4a *Archam ligno fa -bri -ca -tam No-e servans, guber-na -tam per mun -di di -lu -vi-um.*
4b *Prole se-ra tandem fe -ta a-nus Sar-ra ridens le -ta, nostrum lactans gaudi-um.*



5a *Ser-vus bi-bit, qui le-ga-tur, et ca-me-lus ad -a -qua -tur ex Re -be-cce hy-dri -a;*
5b *Hec in au-res et ar-millas ap -tat si -bi, ut per il -las vi -ro fi -at congru-a.*



6a *Si -na -go-ga supplan-ta -tur a Ia -cob, dum e -va -ga -tur ni-mis fre-ta littere*
6b *Lippam Li-am la -tent mul-ta qui-bus vi -dens Rachel ful -ta pa -ri nu-bit federe.*



7a In bi-vi-o tegens nu-da ge-mi-nos pa-rit ex lu-da Thamar, di-u vi-du-a.

7b Hic Moyses a pu-el-la, dum se la-vat, in fis-cel-la rep-pe-ri-tur scirpe-a.



8a Hic mas agnus immo-la-tur, quo Is-ra-hel sa-ti-a-tur e-ius tu-tus sangui-ne.

8b Hic tran-si-tur rubens un-da, E-gypti-os sub profun-da ob-ru-ens vo-ra-gi-ne.



9a Hic est ur-na manna ple-na, hic manda-ta le-gis de-na, sed in ar-cha fe-de-ris.

9b Hic sunt e-dis or-na-men-ta, hic A-arón indumen-ta, que precedunt po-de-ris.



10a Hic U-ri-as vi-du-a-tur, Bersa-be-e su-blima-tur se-dis consors re-gi-e.

10b Hec re-gi va-ri-e-ta-te vestis astat de-aura-tae, sic et re-gum fi-li-e.



11a Huc ve-nit Aus-tri re-gi-na, Sa-lo-mo-nis quam di-vi-na condit sa-pi-en-ti-a.

11b Hec ni-gra sed est formosa mir-ra et thu-re fumosa vir-ga pig-men-ta-ri-a.



12a Sic obscu-ra, que fi-gu-ra obumbravit, re-se-ra-vit nobis di-es gra-ci-e.

12b Iam in lec-to cum di-lec-to quies-ca-mus et psalla-mus! Adsunt e-nim nupti-e,



13a Quarum tenet princi-pi-um in tubis e-pu-lanti-um et fi-nis per psalterium;

13b Sponsum mille-na mi-li-a u-na laudent me-lo-di-a si-ne fi-ne di-cen-ci-a:



Al-le-lu-ia, al-le-lu-ia!

BnF n.a.lat. 3126, fols 92^v–94^v

4b sera] DC D | nostrum] aG FG | 6a minus freta littere *ms* | 6b pari nubit federe] F a G a FG
FDC D | 8a Hic mas] Hymas *ms* | 9a magna *ms* | 9b preedit *ms* G ba G | 10b varie-] a b a | 11b
pigmentaria] baG F ED C D | 12b psal-] aF, | adsunt] a, FG | 13b laudent] laudum *ms* | dicencia]
GF D C D.

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